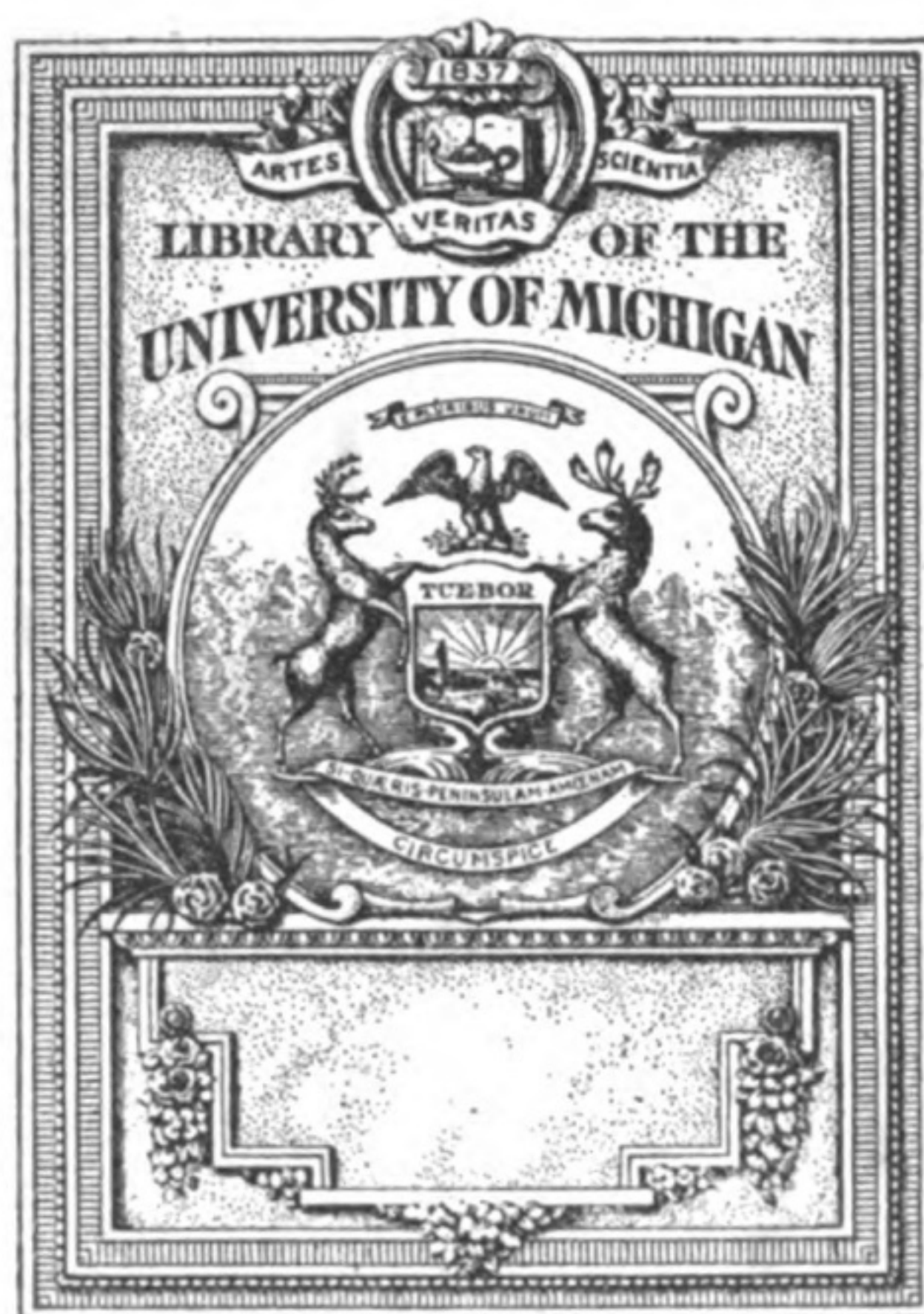


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SPRÅKVETENSKAP  
OCH  
HISTORISKA VETENSKAPER





ESSAY I.

# THE PREDICATIONAL CATEGORIES IN ENGLISH.

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ESSAY II.

# A CATEGORY OF PREDICATIONAL CHANGE IN ENGLISH.

BY

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## Preface

The present work contains two separate essays. The aim of the second essay is to study the phenomenon of transitive verbs used in English as predicate-verbs in the active form but with a passive sense. In dealing with so vast a body of verbs it was desirable to subdivide the material also in respect of such cases as could not be classed under the characteristic categories which we have termed the »modal» and the »resultative» class (of cat. F). As a self-evident principle of subdivision, then, we have considered the non-passive sense towards which the passive meaning oscillates. This sense may be of divers nature, inasmuch as it may lend a divers qualification to the grammatical subject. Thus, for instance, the oscillating non-passive sense may qualify the subject, making it the object of a specified action (reflexive sense). It may describe the subject as performing an action or as having or getting a specified quality, etc. It is evident that this point of view is of predication nature, since it refers to the manner in which the predicate-verb or the whole predicate qualifies the grammatical subject. It is also evident that sentences in general *may* be classed from this point of view. That such a predication classification *should* be made is recognized by logicians when they employ such terms as »Existentialsätze», »Identitätsurteile», etc. It is indirectly acknowledged also by linguists when, for instance, they discuss the difference in sense between the two principal kinds of interrogative sentences, a difference entirely of predication nature. And yet, a systematic and satisfactory classification of sentences from a predication point of view has not hitherto been presented either by logicians or linguists. In our essay on the predication categories in English we have tried to draw the outlines of such a classification. This essay is meant to form the terminological and classificatory basis for our treatise on the

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use of predicate-verbs in the active form but with a passive sense in English, the very title of which, *i. e.* 'A Category of predication change in English', has been suggested by it in order to emphasize that this phenomenon implies a change in predication function on the part of the verbs. Under such circumstances it was necessary to have the two essays printed together.

We have given no index of errata and addenda. For, though there certainly are several misprints in the present work and though in the case of several details corrections are desirable, these inadvertencies are on the whole immaterial to the main object of the inquiry. In conclusion an apology must be made for any deficiencies in the English wording of these essays, which unfortunately have lacked the advantage of being revised by an English expert.

Gothenburg

May 24, 1916.

K. F. S.

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## Essay II.

### A Category of predication change in English (p. 101—562)

#### Introductory . . . . . 101—10

#### Chapter I. Descriptive review of active predications of direct object in English.

In the following lists the verbs have been arranged according to the different periods in which their new function originated. At the same time a reference has been given to the page in Chapter II where this function has been etymologically explained.

## A. Predications of direct object or of reflexivity.

## a) The New English period.

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>amalgamate</i>	111	255 seq.	<i>exercise</i>	120	255-9
<i>arm</i>	111	260	<i>exhibit</i>	120	256
<i>arrange</i>	111	255, 260	<i>fix</i>	120	255 seq.
<i>berth</i>	112	255	<i>form II 2</i>	(121), 168	255, 260
<i>bind</i>	113	255-7	<i>frounce</i>	121	260
<i>bisect</i>	113	255	<i>incorporate</i>	121	255 seq.
<i>cement</i>	113	255	<i>inoculate</i>	122	255 seq.
<i>clean</i>	114	255 seq.	<i>intermingle</i>	122	255 seq.
<i>clench, clinch</i>	114	255 seq.	<i>intermix</i>	122	255 seq.
<i>combine</i>	115	255 seq.	<i>invalid</i>	123	260
<i>commix</i>	115	255 seq.	<i>join II 1</i>	123	257, 260
<i>concorporate</i>	115	255 seq.	<i>keep II 2 a</i>	(123), 202	255 seq.
<i>conjoin</i>	116	255 seq.	<i>knit II 2</i>	(123), 143	258, 260
<i>cut II 2</i>	(116), 193	260	<i>lap</i>	124	255 seq.
<i>disclose</i>	117	256	<i>lay</i>	124	255 seq.
<i>disentangle</i>	117	255 seq.	<i>list</i>	124	260
<i>distort</i>	118	256-7-8	<i>materialize</i>	124	255 seq.
<i>divide</i>	118	255 seq.	<i>matriculate</i>	125	260
<i>draw II 1 c</i>	(118), 177	258, 260	<i>mingle</i>	126	255 seq.
<i>drill</i>	118	256	<i>mix</i>	126	255 seq.
<i>embattle</i>	118	255	<i>moor</i>	127	259
<i>empty</i>	119	255 seq.	<i>outfit</i>	128	259, 260
<i>engage</i>	119	255 seq.	<i>reconcile</i>	128	255 seq.
<i>entangle</i>	119	255 seq.	<i>reinforce</i>	129	255 seq.
<i>erect</i>	119	255	<i>reopen</i>	129	256
<i>estrangle</i>	120	255 seq.	<i>tow</i>	129	255 seq.
<i>evacuate</i>	120	255			

## b) The Middle English period.

<i>bend</i>	112	254	<i>dissever</i>	118	254
<i>blend</i>	113	254	<i>fold II 2</i>	(121), 198	254
<i>cast II 1</i>	(113), 174	254	<i>hurt II 1</i>	121	254
<i>cleave</i>	114	256	<i>kithe</i>	202	540
<i>close</i>	115	254	<i>meddle</i>	125	254
<i>convert</i>	116	254	<i>mell</i>	125	254
<i>depart</i>	116	254	<i>redress</i>	129	254

## c) The Old English period.

<i>bēgan (bey)</i>	112, 242	251	<i>cerran (chare)</i>	114	251
<i>brādan</i>	243	251, 311	<i>gedālan</i>	243 251, 253, 311	
<i>tōbrādan</i>	243	251, 311	<i>tōdālan</i>	243	253, 311
<i>bregdan</i>	243	251	<i>(ā)gēotan</i>	243	251



	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>onhioldan</i>	243	251	<i>openian (open)</i>	127	251
<i>onhlidan</i>	243	252	<i>scēadan</i>	243	251, 311
<i>æt-, opiewan</i>	243	251	<i>twāman</i>	244	251, 311
<i>lūcan (louk)</i>	124	252	<i>þiedan</i>	244	251, 311
<i>mengan (meng)</i>	125	251	<i>þrāwan</i>	244	251
<i>bemiðan</i>	243	252	<i>gewendan (i-wende)</i>	123	251

## d) Gothic.

<i>biugan</i>	244	246 seq.	<i>bimaitjan</i>	245	248
<i>daupjan</i>	245	248	<i>gawandjan</i>	245	248

## B. Predications of direct object or of state and attribution.

## a) The New English period.

<i>accumulate</i>	130	334	<i>feel</i>	167	335, 502
<i>americanize</i>	130	334			543
<i>anglicize</i>	130	334	<i>fill</i>	137	334-5
<i>approximate</i>	131	334	<i>film</i>	138	334-5
<i>arefy</i>	131	334	<i>fire</i>	138	334
<i>attach</i>	131	334	<i>flat</i>	138	334
<i>batter II 1</i>	(131), 188	334	<i>fortify</i>	138	334
<i>blanch</i>	131	334	<i>frenchify</i>	139	334
<i>bleach</i>	131	334	<i>fur</i>	139	334
<i>blow II 3</i>	(132), 150	334	<i>gravel</i>	139	334
<i>calefy</i>	132	334	<i>heap II 1</i>	140	334
<i>cancel</i>	132	334	<i>illumine</i>	141	334
<i>clarify</i>	132	334	<i>immortalize</i>	141	334
<i>complicate</i>	132	334	<i>improve</i>	141	334
<i>consume</i>	132	334	<i>indent</i>	141	334
<i>(corrode)</i>	133, 476-7	334	<i>inebriate</i>	141	334
	511-13, 523		<i>inflame</i>	142	334
<i>corrugate</i>	133	334	<i>invert</i>	142	334
<i>crash</i>	133	334	<i>knit</i>	143	334
<i>crush</i>	134	334	<i>liberalize</i>	143	334
<i>(cure)</i>	(134), 198, 501	334, 542	<i>lower II 2</i>	(143), 204	334
<i>digest II 1</i>	(135), 194	334	<i>macerate</i>	143	334
<i>disarray</i>	134	334	<i>mineralize</i>	144	334
<i>discourage</i>	134	334	<i>mortify</i>	144	334
<i>disjoint</i>	134	334	<i>nettle</i>	144	334
<i>disorder</i>	135	334	<i>outwear</i>	144	334
<i>dwarf</i>	136	334	<i>patch</i>	144	334
<i>eche</i>	136	334	<i>people</i>	145	334
<i>enkindle</i>	136	334	<i>petrify</i>	145	334
<i>(evolve II 4)</i>	(137), 167, 476	334, 511-13	<i>pile</i>	145	334

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>pulverize</i>	145	334	<i>rip</i>	147	334
<i>reduce</i>	145	334	<i>ruin</i>	147	334
<i>replenish</i>	146	334	<i>stain</i>	147	334
<i>retard</i>	146	334	<i>tarnish</i>	148	334
<i>rid</i>	147	334			

## b) The Middle English period.

<i>anhang</i>	130	327	<i>fill II 3</i>	138	
<i>anhigh(e)</i>	130	<sup>1</sup>	<i>fret</i>	139	326
<i>break II 1</i>	(132), 151	<sup>1</sup>	<i>heap II 2</i>	140	327
<i>consume</i>	133	326	<i>hull</i>	141	327
<i>dissolve</i>	135	326	<i>infect</i>	142	326
<i>distil(l)</i>	135	326	<i>mar</i>	144	325
<i>ditch</i>	136	327	<i>rend</i>	146	325
<i>dry</i>	136	325	<i>resolve</i>	146	327
<i>enhance</i>	136	326	<i>rive</i>	(147), 213	325
<i>feather</i>	137	324, 327	<i>shend</i>	147	325

## c) The Old English period.

<i>gecēlan</i>	282	311	<i>slūtan</i>	282	311
<i>hātan (hight)</i>	140	312	<i>sprengan</i>	282	311
<i>hliewan</i>	282	311	<i>stillan</i>	282	311
<i>lengan</i>	282	311	<i>sweotolian</i>	283	311
<i>lȳtlian</i>	283	311	<i>āpēostrian</i>	283	311
<i>gemetgian</i>	283	311	<i>on-, miswenden (awend)</i>	131, 282	312
<i>miltan</i>	282	311			

## d) Gothic.

<i>ananiujan</i>	284	284	<i>(ufarfulljan)</i>	284	286
<i>(ufarassjan)</i>	284	286	<i>(ustiuhjan)</i>	284	286

## C. Predications of direct object or of action or perception.

## a) The New English period.

<i>adjourn</i>	149	363, 365	<i>discharge</i>	153	363-4
<i>beat II 2</i>	149	363-4	<i>dismiss</i>	153	363
<i>blow II 1, 2, 4</i>	150	363	<i>disperse II 1</i>	(153), 165	362
<i>break II 2, 3</i>	151	362-3	<i>dissipate II 1</i>	153	362
<i>careen</i>	151	365	<i>dock</i>	154	365
<i>catch</i>	151	366	<i>drain</i>	154	362
<i>coach</i>	152	365	<i>draw II 1 d, 2 b</i>	(154), 177	362-5
<i>concenter, -re</i>	152	362	<i>drive II 1 β, γ</i>	155	362-5
<i>concentrate</i>	152	362	<i>exhaust</i>	155	362-3

<sup>1</sup> Inflectional interpretation, cf. p. 319.

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>filter</i>	155	362-3	<i>peel II 1</i>	159	362-6
<i>filtrate</i>	155	362-3	<i>percolate</i>	159	362-3
<i>fire II 2</i>	(156), 138	363	<i>play II 1, 2</i>	160	363-4
<i>focus</i>	156	362-3	<i>prorogue</i>	160	363
<i>hoist</i>	156	362, 403	<i>pull II 2</i>	(161), 211	363-4-5
<i>illumine</i> (1801)	(156), 141	365	<i>push</i>	161	363-4
<i>keep II 2 b</i>	(156), 202	363	<i>reflect</i>	161	362
<i>lade</i>	156	365	<i>ruff</i>	161	363-4
<i>lodge</i>	158	362	<i>sift</i>	161	362-3
<i>mesh II 1</i>	(158), 206	366	<i>steer II 1</i>	162	363-4
<i>pay</i>	158	362-4-5	<i>unload</i>	162	365

## b) The Middle English period.

<i>bleed</i>	150	360	<i>lift II 1</i>	157	360-2
<i>blow II 2</i>	150	357	<i>overthrow</i>	158	360
<i>clap</i>	152	360-2-3	<i>pain</i>	158	361
<i>drive II 1 a</i>	154	<sup>1</sup>	<i>pine</i>	160	361
<i>heave</i>	156	360-1	<i>pitch</i>	160	360
<i>lere</i>	157	361	<i>rock</i>	161	360
<i>let</i> (< OE. <i>lettan</i> )	157	361	<i>row II 1</i>	(161), 213	362
<i>let II 1</i> (< OE. <i>lĕtan</i> )	(157), 182	360			

## c) The Old English period.

<i>(ā)blāwan</i>	346-7	357	<i>scūfan</i>	347	356
<i>ācweccan</i>	347	356	<i>sēon</i> (< * <i>sīxan</i> )	347	356-8
<i>dwellan</i>	347	356	<i>(tō)stregdan</i>	347	356-8
<i>gedrifan</i>	347	356			

## d) Gothic.

Cf. p. 347 foll.

## D. Predications of direct object or of existence and relation.

## a) The New English period.

<i>blow II 3</i>	(163), 150	376	<i>dispel</i>	165	374-5
<i>break II 2</i>	(163), 151	376	<i>disperse II 2</i>	165	374
<i>(class)</i>	164, 472	379	<i>dissipate II 2, 3</i>	(165), 153	374-5
		519-25	<i>enkindle</i> (1747)	(166), 136	374
<i>consume</i>	(164), 133	374	<i>evolve II, 2, 3</i>	167	377
<i>(deduce)</i>	164, 472-94	377, 525-39	<i>extinguish II 2</i>	167	376
<i>(derive)</i>	164, 472	377	<i>(extirp)</i>	167, 501	374, 541
		518-25	<i>feel II</i> (1768, 1844)	(167), 137	377
<i>discuss</i>	165	376	<i>form II 1</i>	168	374-5
<i>dislimn</i>	165	375-6	<i>found</i>	168	378

<sup>1</sup> Inflectional interpretation, cf. p. 356-8.



	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>gender</i>	168	374	<i>(preserve II 1)</i>	170, 475	376, 511-13
<i>hatch II 1 a</i>	(168), 180	374			
<i>hoard</i>	168	375-6	<i>(purge)</i>	170, 472	374, 513
<i>(identify II 1)</i>	169, 472-9	380, 511-13-36	<i>put</i>	170	374-5
<i>join II 2</i>	(169), 123	374	<i>redouble</i>	171	374
<i>kittle</i>	169	374	<i>relight</i>	171	374
<i>(number II 1)</i>	170, 472	379, 521	<i>reserve</i>	171	376
			<i>wear II 1 (1834)</i>	(171), 216	374

## b) The Middle English period.

<i>adrench</i>	163	374	<i>engender</i>	166	374
<i>aquench</i>	163	374	<i>ken</i>	169	374
<i>breed</i>	163	374	<i>kindle</i>	169	374-7
<i>brew</i>	164	374	<i>new</i>	169	374
<i>depart II 2</i>	(164), 117	374	<i>overshake</i>	170	374
<i>drench</i>	166	374	<i>quench</i>	171	374

## c) The Old English period.

<i>ālēdan</i>	372	373	<i>lāfan</i>	372	373
<i>stregdan</i>	372	373			

## d) Gothic.

Cf. p. 372.

## E. Predications of direct object.

## a) The New English period.

<i>bake II 1</i>	172	401-2	<i>draw II 1 a, 2 a</i>	176-7, 472	403-5-6
<i>besmear</i>	172	400	<i>entwine</i>	178	408
<i>boil</i>	172	401-2	<i>foil</i>	178	400
<i>brandish</i>	172	403-4	<i>grill</i>	179	401-2
<i>breed II 2</i>	(173), 164	400	<i>grin</i>	179	406-7
<i>broil</i>	173	401-2	<i>gull</i>	179	400
<i>burn II 2</i>	173	391	<i>hatch II 2</i>	180	400
<i>cast II 2</i>	174	402-3-6	<i>haul</i>	180	403-5-6
<i>concoct</i>	174	401-2	<i>hoist</i>	180	403 seq.
<i>contain</i>	174	406	<i>(hold)</i>	150, 472	407, 516
<i>cook II 1</i>	174	401-2	<i>(instance)</i>	181, 478	409, 524
<i>(count II 2) (174) 192, 477, 501 (407), 519</i>			<i>invest</i>	181	409
<i>damage</i>	174	400	<i>launch</i>	181	403
<i>damn</i>	175	407	<i>(let II 2, 1885)</i>	182, 477	410, 521
<i>damnify</i>	175	400	<i>lock II 1</i>	182	409
<i>demolish</i>	175	400	<i>modulate</i>	183	400
<i>deposit</i>	175	402-3	<i>mould</i>	183	401
<i>drag</i>	176	403	<i>pawl</i>	183	403-4

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>play II 3</i>	183	410	<i>scald</i>	185	400
<i>(realize)</i>	410	410, 553	<i>scorch II 1</i>	186	400
<i>reckon (1879)</i>	184	407, 521	<i>sell II 1</i>	186, 522	400, 522
<i>reflect II 2</i>	(184), 161	410	<i>tell</i>	410, 473	518
<i>(retail)</i>	184, 477	410, 522	<i>wear II 1 (1703)</i>	(186), 216	400-6
<i>ring up</i>	473	522	<i>weigh</i>	186	403-6
<i>rub II 2</i>	(185), 214	400-6			

## b) The Middle English period.

<i>burn</i>	173	390	<i>let II 1</i>	182	395
<i>debruisse</i>	175	393	<i>light</i>	182	391
<i>do</i>	175	398	<i>lisse</i>	182	392
<i>edify</i>	177	394	<i>open II 3</i>	(183), 123	395
<i>flourish</i>	178	397	<i>oppress</i>	183	395
<i>fry</i>	178	401-2	<i>polish II 1</i>	183	394
<i>hang</i>	179	391	<i>reach</i>	184	399
<i>hurt II 2</i>	(181), 121	393	<i>rehearse</i>	184	398
<i>impress</i>	181	397	<i>roast</i>	185	401-2
<i>ken (1399)</i>	(181), 169	392	<i>throw</i>	186	396

## c) The Old English period.

<i>cweþan (quethe)</i>	184	387-8	<i>āliefan</i>	386	387-8
<i>secgan (say)</i>	185	387-9	<i>cýþan</i>	386	387-8
<i>swutelian</i>	386	387-8	<i>trymman</i>	387	389

## d) Gothic.

Cf. p. 387.

## F. Predications of direct object &amp; attribution.

In the following survey the material adduced p. 187—216 has been distributed over the several subclasses into which this predicational category should be divided. In so doing we have also paid attention not only to the supplementary material quoted in Chapter II (Extent and chronology) but to the corrections made there in respect of the descriptive interpretation of some examples.

1) *The intemporal class.*

## a) The New English period.

<i>bend (1753)</i>	112, 476	511-13	<i>commix (1519)</i>	115, 475	511-13
<i>bind (1838)</i>	113, 477	523	<i>concoct (1677)</i>	174, 476	511-13
<i>calefy. (1658)</i>	132, 476	511-13	<i>corrode (1820, 1868)</i>	133, 476-7	511-13-23
<i>class (1816, 1865)</i>	164, 477-8	379, 519-25	<i>count II 1 c γ (1820,</i>		
<i>combine (1800, 1812)</i>	115, 476	511-13	1850)	192, 477	519-21

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>count II 2</i> (1833, 1889)	192, 477	519-21	<i>intermingle</i> (1626)	122, 476	523
<i>count II 1 b</i> (1892,			<i>interpret</i> (1614)	201, 477	516
Mod.)	191, 477	519-21	<i>knit</i> (Mod.)	143, 476	511-13
<i>deduce</i> (1889)	164, 478	377, 525	<i>let</i> (1855)	182, 477	521
<i>derive</i> (1794)	164, 477	377, 518	<i>load</i> (1832, 1893)	204, 477	521
(1804, 1866)	164, 478	377, 525	<i>make</i> (1893)	205, 476	511-13
<i>develop</i> (1861)	194, 477	523	<i>mend</i> (1712)	206, 476	511-13
<i>disentangle</i> (1742)	117, 476	511-13	<i>meng</i> (1614)	126, 476	511-13
<i>disfigure</i> (a 1618)	195, 476	511-13	<i>number</i> (1864)	170, 477	521
<i>dispel</i> (1840)	165, 476	511-13	<i>open II 4 y</i> (1870)	128, 476	511-13
<i>dissipate</i> (1640, 1878)	153, 476	511-13	<i>outlaw</i> (1895)	208, 477	523
<i>dissolve</i> (1592, 1638,			<i>overgrow</i> (a 1643)	208, 477	517
1873)	185, 475	511-13	<i>pervert</i> (1635)	210, 476	511-13
<i>draw II 1 a β</i> (1660)	176, 476	511-13	<i>preserve</i> (1585)	170, 475	511-13
<i>draw II 2 b</i> (1794)	177, 477	523	<i>purge</i> (1805)	170, 476	511-13
<i>dulcify</i> (1686)	196, 476	511-13	<i>realize</i> (1845)	212, 478	525-6
<i>entangle</i> (a 1673)	119, 476	511-13	<i>reckon</i> (1898)	184, 477	521
<i>evolve</i> (1881)	167, 476	511-13	<i>reproduce II 1</i> (1894, 1896)	212, 476	511-13
<i>exchange</i> (1848)	197, 478	525	<i>reproduce II 2</i> (1891)	212, 477	523
<i>exhaust</i> (1851)	155, 476	511-13	<i>retail</i> (1881, 1897)	185, 477	522
<i>filtrate</i> (1725)	155, 476	511-13	<i>ring up</i> (1905)	473, 477	522
<i>fix</i> (1748)	121, 476	511-13	<i>rive</i> (1772, 1831)	213, 477	517-8
<i>foil</i> (1639)	178, 476	511-13	<i>screw</i> (1881)	214, 478	525
<i>form</i> (1840)	165 (dispel), 476	511-13	<i>shear</i> (1587)	473, 477	515
<i>fracture</i> (18..)	198, 476	511-13	<i>sing</i> (1873)	473, 477	523
<i>freckle</i> (1842, 1889)	198, 476	511-13	<i>take</i> (1892)	215, 477	523
<i>hold</i> (a 1654, 1665)	181, 477	516	<i>tell</i> (1774)	473, 477	518
<i>identify</i> (1683)	169, 476	511-13	<i>wear II 2 b</i> (Shaks., 1834)	216, 475	511-3
<i>indurate</i> (1626)	201, 476	511-13	<i>wear II 2 c</i> (Shaks.)	216, 477	515-6
<i>instance</i> (a 1667)	181, 478	524			

## b) The Middle English period.

*breed* (c 1200) 163, 478 511

## c) The Old English period.

*ālgfan* 478 510

## 2) The modal class.

## A) The admit-class.

## a) The type without a modal auxiliary.

## α) The New English period.

<i>act</i> (1668)	187, 488	531	<i>assimilate</i> (1626)	188, 488	533
<i>alloy</i> (1775, 1839)	187, 489	533	<i>assort</i> (1800, 1837)	188, 489	531
<i>amalgam</i> (a 1619)	187, 488	533	<i>bake</i> (Mod.)	172, 490	533
<i>apply</i> (1790, 1851)	187, 490	531	<i>beat</i> (1873)	149, 490	531-2



	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>bleach</i> (c 1865)	131, 489	533	<i>manufacture</i> (1763)	205, 489	531
<i>blot</i> (1860)	189, 489	533	<i>measure</i> (1765)	206, 490	531
<i>button</i> (1839, 1875)	189, 490	531	<i>mesh</i> (1864)	206, 489	531
<i>cock</i> (1672)	189, 488	531	<i>mix</i> (1815, 1845)	127, 489	533
<i>compare</i> (Mod.)	190, 490	530	<i>mouth</i> (1762)	207, 489	531
<i>compound</i> (1897)	191, 490	533	<i>number</i> (1833)	170, 490	531
<i>cook</i> (Mod.)	174, 490	533	<i>oxidate</i> (1879)	208, 490	533
<i>cut</i> (1751, 1850, Wells)	193, 488	531	<i>pack up</i> (1867)	209, 489	531
(Mod.)	193, 491	531	<i>pack</i> (1846)	209, 490	531
<i>digest</i> (1574)	194, 488	533	<i>paint</i> (1860)	209, 489	531
<i>dovetail</i> (1837 s. v.			<i>peel</i> (1634, Mod.)	159, 488	531
assort)	188, 489	531	<i>play</i> (1912)	479, 490	531
<i>draw II 3</i> (1747)	177, 488	531	<i>polish</i> (1728)	183, 488	533
<i>draw II 1 b</i> (1892,			<i>preserve</i> (1748)	170, 488	533
1894)	177, 491	531	<i>pull</i> (1641)	210, 488	531
<i>draw II 2</i> (1856,			<i>read</i> (1668 s. v. act,		
1893)	177, 489	531-3	1731, 1789)	211, 488	531
<i>dress</i> (1763 s. v. ma-			(1805, 1866)	211, 490	531
nufacture, 1854,			<i>reduce</i> (1885)	145, 490	533
1858)	195, 489	531	<i>retract</i> (1862)	212, 490	531
<i>drive</i> (1703)	155, 490	531	<i>ride</i> (1598)	213, 488	530-1
<i>dye</i> (Mod.)	196, 490	531	(1692)	213, 490	530-1
<i>endue</i> (c 1575)	196, 488	533	<i>rub</i> (1683)	214, 488	531
<i>exchange</i> (1890)	197, 491	531	<i>saw</i> (1726)	214, 488	531
<i>fasten</i> (1730)	197, 488	533	<i>scan</i> (Mod., Mod.)	214, 490-1	531, 535
(1908)	197, 491	531	<i>scorch</i> (1827)	186, 489	533
<i>fold</i> (1793)	198, 491	535	<i>scour</i> (1691 s. v.		
<i>fry</i> (1583)	179, 490	533	lather)	203, 490	531
<i>fur</i> (Mod.)	139, 490	533	<i>screw</i> (1776, 1791,		
<i>graft</i> (1884)	199, 489	531	1821)	214, 490	531
<i>grind</i> (Mod.)	199, 491	531	<i>sell</i> (Russel)	186, 490	531
<i>group</i> (1820, 1871)	199, 489	531	(1616, 1656, 1711,		
<i>harrow</i> (1841)	200, 490	531	1851)	522	531
<i>heckle</i> (1733)	200, 490	531	<i>shut</i> (1893, s. v. draw)	177, 490	533
<i>humect</i> (1686)	201, 488	533	<i>sing</i> (1728, 1821, 1860)	215, 480, 488	531
<i>identify</i> (a 1834)	168, 489	533	<i>sketch</i> (1883)	480, 489	531
<i>inflamm</i> (1794)	142, 491	535	<i>smoke</i> (1883)	480, 490	531
<i>intermix</i> (1846)	122, 491	535	<i>split</i> (1846)	480, 489	531
<i>kill</i> (1857)	202, 489	531	<i>squeeze</i> (1771)	480, 489	531
<i>lather</i> (1691)	203, 490	531	<i>steer</i> (Mod.)	162, 490	533
<i>lead</i> (1867)	203, 489	531	<i>take</i> (1867)	215, 489	531
<i>lead<sup>2</sup></i> (1881)	203, 489	533	<i>tan</i> (Mod.)	215, 490	531
<i>leam</i> (1846)	203, 489	531	(1884)	215, 491	535
<i>make II 1</i> (1598, 1787)	204, 490	532	<i>tear</i> (Mod.)	215, 490	533
<i>make up II 3</i> (1892)	205, 490	531	<i>tell</i> (1584, 1782)	481, 488	531-2
<i>malt</i> (1766, 1870)	205, 489	533	<i>temper</i> (1881, 1884)	481, 491	535

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>thrash</i> (1760)	481, 489	531	<i>transplant</i> (1817,		
<i>toast</i> (Mod.)	481, 490	533	1846)	482, 489	531
<i>trace</i> (1866, 1907)	481, 490	531	(1846)	482, 491	535
<i>translate</i> (1827)	481, 489	531	<i>wash</i> (1859, Mod.)	216, 489	531
			<i>wear</i> (Grey)	216, 490	531

β) The Middle English period.

<i>atend</i> (1398)	188, 494	528	<i>fold</i> (1398)	198, 494	528
<i>bend</i> (1398 s. v. fold)	198, 494	528	<i>multiply</i> (1477)	207, 494	528
<i>break</i> (c 1175, 1398 s. v. fold) 151, (198), 494		528			

γ) The Old English period.

Cf. p. 497.

b) *The will-type.*

α) The New English period.

<i>apply</i> (1866)	187, 492	535	<i>hatch</i> (1888)	180, 492	536
<i>assimilate</i> (1658)	188, 493	536	<i>hook</i> (1777)	200, 493	535
<i>batter</i> (1677)	188, 492	535	<i>identify</i> (1790)	169, 492	536
<i>blunt</i> (1684)	189, 493	536	<i>incorporate</i> (1625)	122, 493	536
<i>button</i> (1777)	189, 493	535	<i>keep</i> (c 1600, 1626)		
<i>coin</i> (a 1700)	190, 493	536	(1825, 1847)	202, 491-2	536
<i>coke</i> (1884)	190, 493	536	<i>lace</i> (1792)	203, 493	535
<i>commix</i> (1675)	115, 491	536	<i>lap</i> (1680)	124, 491	535-6
<i>compare</i> (Mod.)	190, 492	535	<i>lead</i> (1607, 1887)	203, 491-2	535
<i>construe</i> (Mod.)	191, 492	535	<i>lift II 2</i> (1844)	157, 493	536
(1851, Mod.)	191, 493	535	<i>lock</i> (Mod.)	182, 493	536
<i>convert</i> (1554, 1826)	116, 493	536	<i>make</i> (1592)	204, 492	535-6
<i>cross</i> (1796)	192, 491	535	<i>make up</i> (1861)	205, 492	536
<i>cut</i> (1829)	193, 491	535	<i>manage</i> (1625)	205, 491	535
(1811)	193, 492	535	<i>mesh</i> (1801)	206, 493	536
<i>digest</i> (1854-6)	194, 493	536	<i>mill</i> (1863)	206, 493	536
<i>ding</i> (1786, Mod.)	194, 493	535	<i>mingle II 3</i> (1530)	126, 492	536
<i>disentangle</i> (Mod.)	117, 493	536	<i>mix</i> (1889)	127, 493	536
<i>display</i> (1572)	195, 492	536	<i>nitrify</i> (1884)	207, 492	536
<i>drain II 2</i> (1864)	154, 493	536	<i>nurse</i> (1897)	208, 493	536
<i>dramatize</i> (1819,			<i>open II 4 a</i> (Mod.)	128, 493	536
1836)	195, 492-3	535	<i>parse</i> (1880)	209, 493	536
<i>dress</i> (1802, 1806)	195, 491-2	535	<i>pick</i> (1794)	210, 492	535
<i>drive</i> (a 1774, 1793)	155, 492	536	<i>polish</i> (1626)	183, 492	536
<i>erase</i> (1837)	197, 492	536	<i>quilt</i> (1622)	211, 491	535
<i>extinguish</i> (1837)	167, 493	536	<i>realize</i> (1884)	212, 492	535-6
<i>fire</i> (1604, 1774)	138, 491	536	<i>reserve</i> (1632)	171, 492	536
<i>gild</i> (1666)	199, 493	536	<i>ride</i> (1632)	213, 492	535, 530
<i>glue</i> (1664)	199, 491	536	<i>rive</i> (1699, 1811)	213, 492-3	535-6
<i>groove</i> (1886)	199, 492	536	<i>rub</i> (1726, 1859, 1877)	214, 491-3	535



	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>saw</i> (1726)	214, 492	535	<i>translate</i> (1812)	481, 491	535
<i>scan</i> (1857)	214, 493	536	<i>transplant</i> (1796)	482, 493	535
<i>sell</i> (1607)	186, 493, 522	535	<i>tread</i> (1837)	482, 492	535
<i>set</i> (1697)	479, 491	535	<i>wash</i> (1798, 1857,		
<i>sing</i> (O'Curry)	215, 492	536	1879)	216, 491-3	535
<i>spin</i> (1780, 1842)	480, 492	535	<i>wear</i> (1766, 1853)	216, 491	535
<i>squeeze</i> (1683, 1844)	480, 492	535	<i>wear out</i> (1678, Mod.)	216, 493	536
<i>stain</i> (1590)	147, 492	536	<i>weave</i> (1842)	482, 492	535

β) The Middle English period.

<i>meek</i> (c 1400)	206, 495	528	<i>perfurnish</i> (1393)	209, 494	529
<i>overwhelm</i> (c 1400)	208, 495	528			

γ) The Old English period.

<i>myltan</i> (nelle)	495, 496	527
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c) *The can or may-type.*

α) The New English period.

<i>assimilate</i> (1864)	188, 494	539	<i>indurate</i> (1646)	201, 494	539
<i>compare</i> (1577, 1796)			<i>keep</i> (1705, 1889)	202, 494	539
1876)	190, 494	539	<i>knit</i> (1578, 1612)	143, 493-4	539
<i>conjoin</i> (1578)	116, 493	539	<i>lead</i> (1822)	203, 494	539
<i>count II 1 d</i> (1857)	192, 494	539	<i>lower</i> (1727)	204, 494	539
<i>count II 1 ca</i> (1874)	191, 494	539	<i>mash</i> (1877)	205, 494	539
<i>cram</i> (a 1763)	192, 494	539	<i>notch</i> (1693)	207, 494	539
<i>cut</i> (1839)	193, 494	539	<i>overthrow</i> (1546)	158, 494	539
<i>deduce</i> (1866)	164, 494	539	<i>pull</i> (1778)	210, 494	539
<i>disentangle</i> (1607)	117, 493	539	<i>stain</i> (Shaks.)	148, 494	539
<i>draw II 1 a a</i> (1703)	176, 494	539	<i>taint</i> (1606)	215, 493	539
<i>fix</i> (1760)	121, 494	539	<i>thwack</i> (1650)	481, 493	539
<i>incorporate</i> (1681)	122, 494	539	<i>trace</i> (1889)	481, 494	539

β) The Middle English period.

<i>compare</i> (c 1450)	190, 495	530	<i>ride</i> (1470)	213, 495	530
<i>even</i> (c 1230, a 1240)	197, 495	530			

γ) The Old English period.

<i>cunnian</i> (mæg)	495	528	<i>sēon</i> (mæg)	495	528
<i>gefēran</i> (meahte)	495	528	<i>stillan</i> (ne mōt)	495	527
<i>āheardian</i> (mihte)	495	527			

d) *Pseudo-admit-class sentences.*

	quots.	etym.		quots.	etym.
<i>disclose</i> (1494, 1627)	117, 420 (499)	540	<i>kithe</i> (a 1300, 1535,		
<i>evolve</i> (1800)	167, 420 (499)	540	1585, 1821)	202, 420 (499)	540
<i>exhibit</i> (1768)	120, 420 (499)	540	<i>open II 2</i> (1745,		
			a 1822, 1844)	128, 420 (499)	540

B. *The should or must-class.*

<i>boil</i> (1845)	172, 501	541	<i>found</i> (1837)	168, 501	542
<i>count II 2 b</i> (1861)	192, 501	541	<i>graft</i> (1894)	199, 501	541
<i>cure</i> (1791)	193, 501	542	<i>lace</i> (1888)	203, 501	541
<i>demise</i> (1823)	193, 500	541	<i>screw</i> (1881)	214, 500	541
<i>extirp</i> (1606)	167, 501	541			

3) *The resultative class.*

<i>clip</i> (1879)	189, 508	551	<i>print up</i> (1886)	210, 508	550
<i>count II 1 a</i> (1845)	191, 509	557	<i>pull II 1 β</i> (1804,		
<i>count II 1 c β</i> (1819)	192, 508	548	1829, Marr.)	210, 509	560
<i>cut II 1 β</i> (1854, 1858)	193, 508	551	<i>read II 2</i> (1828,		
<i>dress II 2</i> (1895)	195, 508	553	1863, 1878)	211, 509	556
<i>drink</i> (1607, 1697,			<i>realize</i> (1863, 1885)	212, 508	553
1758)	195, 507	544	<i>rear</i> (1894)	212, 509	558
<i>eat</i> (1601, 1607)	196, 507	544	<i>reckon II 2</i> (1877)	184, 508	548
(1766)	196, 509	555	<i>ride</i> (1806)	213, 509	555
(1683)	196, 509	558	(1714)	213, 509	559
<i>feel</i> (1581, 1665)	137, 507	543, 502	<i>row II 2</i> (1769, 1854)	214, 509	560
<i>handle</i> (1727, 1847,			<i>shear</i> (1854)	503, 508	551
1881)	200, 507	545	<i>smoke</i> (1910)	503, 508	546
<i>kill II 2</i> (1868)	202, 508	553	<i>tell</i> (c 1794, 1825)	504, 508	547
<i>make up</i> (1867)	205, 508	549	<i>touch 2</i> (1770, 1885)	504, 507	543
<i>mesh</i> (1827)	206, 509	561	<i>touch 3</i> (1618, 1701,		
<i>muster</i> (1837, 1907)	207, 508	548	1705)	504, 509	554
<i>number</i> (1842, 1867,			<i>tread</i> (1847, 1891,		
1883)	170, 508	548	1891)	504, 507	546
<i>open II 4 β</i> (1760					
1855)	128, 509	559			

## Chapter II. Etymological review of active predications of direct object in English.

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## Essay I.

### The predication categories in English.

It is a matter of general observation that the connexion between subject and predicate may from a semological<sup>1</sup> point of view be of different kinds. We are not then alluding to the particular and accidental relation brought about by the different tenses, moods, or tense-aspects of the predicate, but to the general qualification of the subject conditioned by the material import of the predicate itself. In other words, we are referring to the different manners in which the predicate qualifies the subject. It is this difference that should be the leading principle for a classification of the predicative connexions.

#### I. Introduction.

The general nature of a predication is not affected by such sense-modifications as those mentioned above. For what do tenses imply but an indication of the time when the qualifying element added to the subject by the predicate, is meant to be true? Whether we say 'I am reading', 'I have read', 'I shall read', etc., it is evident that this temporal distinction does not influence the general determination lent to the subject by the material import of the verb. In each case the subject is qualified as performing the same function, and in each case, therefore, we are concerned with the same predication category.

Conditions  
for predi-  
cational  
difference.

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<sup>1</sup> We shall make use of the terms *phonology*, *semology*, and *morphology* (and their adjectival correspondents) to denote the three principal parts into which grammar should aptly be divided, *i. e.* the study of the speech-sounds, the study of the meanings, and the study of the linguistic forms (morphemes). cf. A. NOREEN, *Vårt språk* I, i. 50 sq., K. F. SUNDÉN, *Quelques Remarques sur la Délimitation de la Syntaxe* (in 'Uppsatser i Romansk Filologi till-äggnade Professor P. A. Geijer', Upsala 1901).



Nor does the grammatical distinction termed 'mood' generally imply a difference in the general relation between subject and predicat, as is maintained by SWEET.<sup>1</sup> For 'mood' considers the attitude of the speaker towards the predicative connexion, *i. e.* towards the very qualification that the predicate imparts to the subject. Or, to quote OERTEL:<sup>2</sup> 'The attitude of the speaker toward the utterance, namely, its reality, its probability, its desirability, what Apollonios Dyskolos called the *ψυχικὴ διάθεσις*, may be and often is expressed by separate sound complexes (words), such as *forsan*, *nimirum*, *scilicet*, *ut opinor*, *sperere fore ut*, in Latin; 'may be', 'I guess, fancy, reckon', 'probably', 'hardly', etc., in English. But here again . . ., these attitudes may not be separately expressed, but indicated by a phonetic alteration of some other sentence element. In this case current grammatical terminology speaks of 'modes'.' Thus, from a predication point of view, it makes no difference whether we say 'I have read' or 'I may have read', 'I ought to have read', since the modal element regards the whole predication. And if it is true that also the negation of a sentence belongs to the category of mood<sup>3</sup> since it indicates the speaker's view that the subject should not be qualified by the predicate, then it is manifest that the nature of the qualification is left unaffected also by this semological distinction. Consequently we must regard sentences such as 'he read' and 'he did not read' as predicationally equivalent. Be it noticed that, apart from modal auxiliaries and negations, there are verbs whose chief function it may be to lend a modal modification to the sentence although, morphologically speaking, they constitute the principal part of the predicate. If so, they do not affect the nature of the predication. This is evidently the case with *fail* and *succeed* in connexions such as: SCOTT *Lady of the Lake III*, xi, Burst be the ear that fails to heed. WILDE *De Profundis* (Tauchn.) 111. A man whose desire is to become something separate from himself, invariably succeeds in being what he wants to be. This is in our opinion also the case with

<sup>1</sup> cf. SWEET *New English Grammar*, Oxford 1892, I, 105. 'By the moods of a verb we understand grammatical forms expressing different relations between subject and predicate'.

<sup>2</sup> cf. H. OERTEL *Lectures on the study of Language*, New York & London 1902, 287.

<sup>3</sup> A. NOREEN *Vårt Språk*, V, ii, 133.

H. OERTEL, *l. c.*

W. WUNDT *Logik*, Stuttgart 1893, 2nd ed., 212 sqq.

*seem* (and *appear*) in predications of the following type: SHAKS. *Tempest* I, ii, 205. The fire and cracks of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune seem to besiege.

Also the sense-modification of the predicate that refers to the duration and completion of the verbal action or occurrence, does not involve a difference in predication. These tense-aspects, defined by SWEET<sup>1</sup> as 'distinctions of time independent of any reference to past, present, or future', have in Teutonic languages, as a rule, not been converted into grammatical categories, *i. e.*, they are not manifested in a regular formative principle. Yet, in English, the imperfective (durative) tense-aspect has found a regular expression in forms of *verbum substantivum* ('to be') + *presens pple.* of the material verb, *e. g.* 'I am reading', 'I was reading', etc. It is apparent that here the tense-aspect does not influence the general relation between *I* and *read* any more than does the distinction of tenses or mood. But if this is the case, we must also admit that, when the tense-aspect is expressed by a particular verb constituting the predication element of the sentence, this does not influence the nature of the predication. We are therefore concerned with equivalent predications in cases such as 'I read', 'I began to read', 'I continued to read', 'I ceased reading'. The same is true in respect of predications where the only difference in semological elements is that in one case 'to become', in the other case 'to be' or their equivalents, represent the predication element of the sentence, *e. g.* 'he became desperate', 'he was desperate'.

We have made use of the expression 'predicative connexion', *Definition of predication* or for short 'predication'. This term, on the whole corresponding to what Wundt calls 'geschlossene Wortgruppe', and Sütterlin 'geschlossene gruppe', is employed by NOREEN.<sup>2</sup> With this he designates such a linguistic connexion as implies that a principal and an accessory element are being combined, in this case equivalent to a subject and a predicate. In contradistinction to predicative connexion he has instituted the term 'adjunctive (adjunct) connexion'.<sup>2</sup> This is meant to designate a notion essentially corresponding to the import of Wundt's expression 'offene Wortverbindung' and Sütterlin's 'offene gruppe'. For it is such

<sup>1</sup> SWEET, *op. cit.*, 101.

<sup>2</sup> A. NOREEN, *Vårt språk*, V, ii, 137, 167 sqq.



a connexion that implies a combination already made between a principal and an accessory member, in this case equivalent to a determinatum and a determinandum. In a word, it is the result of a predicative connexion we are here concerned with, *e. g.* 'the laughing child', which presupposes the predication 'the child is laughing'. Thus 'connexion' is meant to denote one of the two principal categories of combination of morphemes that occur in language, the other being called 'adnexion', in which the members combined are independent of each other, *e. g.* 'You *and* I'; 'he is reading, *but* she is writing'.

A distinction of the different kinds of predicative connexion as met with in Indo-European languages, has not yet been instituted by current grammar.<sup>1</sup> This neglect renders it difficult,

<sup>1</sup> The only attempt, to our knowledge, to distinguish the different predication categories in a language, is the one made by K. G. WESTMAN in point of Modern Swedish (cf. *Pedagogisk Tidskrift*, Falun 1900, 269—307: 'Om förhållandet mellan subject och predikat i nusvenskan'). That we have not adopted his classification is mainly due to the fact that it is destitute of every vestige of a systematic division. Be it understood, however, that our own division cannot claim logical strictness in every respect. Yet it is an attempt to hold forth points of view that in our opinion should be the leading ones in a distinction of predication categories, and the result is that our own classification materially deviates from the one given by Westman. NOREEN (*Vårt språk*, V, ii, 178 sq.) has instituted the term 'status' to designate the semological relation between members of an adjunct connexion. Westman has adopted the same term to indicate the semological relation between the principal members of a predication. This dualistic import of the expression is inadmissible from a terminological point of view. And yet, Westman's adoption of the term is essentially justified by the fact that the relation between the members of an adjunct and of a predicative connexion respectively, is in not a few cases exactly the same, the only difference being the way in which the accessory member is added to the principal one. Under such circumstances it seems to us preferable to discard the term 'status' altogether (at any rate it should be restricted to its adjunctive use) and to use, instead, the denominations 'adjunctio' and 'prædicatio' respectively as genus proximum, when we have to distinguish the various kinds of adjunct and predicative connexions. We may then without danger of confusion institute such correspondents as 'adjunctio identitatis' and 'prædicatio identitatis', *e. g.* 'the teacher of Alexander the Great', (viz.) Aristotle', 'the teacher of Alexander the Great was Aristotle', adjunctio subsumptionis and prædicatio subsumptionis, *e. g.* 'the town of Upsala', 'Upsala is a town', adjunctio actionis and prædicatio actionis, *e. g.* 'the rebellion of the soldiers'; 'the soldiers rebelled', etc.

There are several mistakes in the predication interpretation of individual examples given by Westman. Thus he determines as status identitatis (= prædic. identitatis) the sentence 'Men Bjälboätten är dock Bjälboätten' (*i. e.*

may impossible to deal properly with the predication changes of verbs without previously distinguishing the principal kinds of predication that are found in the English language and that, in the main at least, are also presented by the other branches of the great Indo-European language-tree. It is indispensable to make this classification if we want to view the verbal changes of meaning we are going to deal with, in the light of their predication functions.

291). The correct interpretation is in our opinion given by WUNDT (*Logik* 2nd ed. I, 194), where similar judgments are discussed. The sentence 'håsten skyggade' is denoted as a status attributionis (= præd. attributionis), but an element of activity is in this connexion always salient in the verb, and if so, we are concerned with a status functionis (= præd. actionis). The predication 'hans anlete förskönades av ett leende' is interpreted as a 'status attributionis'. It is a correct observation that, in Swedish, verbs of this type have in passive form often no true passive sense, but only an intransitive and inchoative sense, thus constituting predicates in predications of state or of attribution, *e. g.* 'hans ansikte förskönades med ären', 'hans uppsyn förmörkades'. But, in the example given, there is an agential element distinctly expressed, involving a truly passive sense of the predicate-verb. The connexion must, therefore, undoubtedly be interpreted as a status expositionis (= præd. objecti), *i. e.* 'hans ansikte gjordes (not 'blev') skönare av ett leende'. As a status instrumenti (= præd. instrumenti) is explained the sentence 'yxan slant' (*l. c.* 301), which presupposes the expression 'jag (han, etc.) slant med yxan' as the logical and original expression. But the logical relation between the two connexions is in our opinion rather the reverse, and if so, we are concerned with a status functionis (= præd. actionis). The predication type 'han bröt av sig benet' is conceived to represent a status substratus (essentially corresponding to our præd. status), and is included in the same category as connexions such as 'jag törstar', 'jag är sömnig'. It seems to us that the predication nature of the sentence oscillates according as the grammatical subject is conceived to be in some measure participant of the agency or cause of the verbal action, though involuntarily, or to be outside the sphere of the agency of the occurrence. In the former case, we are concerned with a status functionis (= præd. actionis), in the latter case, the grammatical subject presents logically an adjunct relation to the predicate, and we are consequently face to face with a non-logical predication and especially with that type we will call præd. incommodi. The latter sense is entirely predominant in the synonymous expression 'han fick sitt ben avbrutet' ('he had his leg broken'). The predication affinity between the sentence in question and an expression of the type 'jag klipper mig oftast i Stockholm' (*loc. cit.* 299) seems to have escaped the notice of Westman, since the latter sentence is determined as a status expositionis (= præd. objecti), *i. e.* as a non-logical predication. But also here there is an oscillation in predication nature. For the grammatical subject may be conceived as an agent of the occurrence in as much as it is the originator of it,



Gram.,  
psychol. and  
log. subject.

We have maintained that a distinction in various predication-al categories should be made on the principle of the different ways in which the predicate qualifies the subject. It is therefore necessary to state the import of these grammatical terms. They have been borrowed both from logic and psychology and they offer therefore three separate imports that should be distinctly kept apart. By grammatical subject and predicate we mean with NOREEN<sup>1</sup> the principal and the accessory member of a predicative connexion, *i. e.* the element that becomes determined and the element that adds a determination, provided this different function is linguistically distinguishable. The logical and the psychological imports of the terms generally differ from each other, but sometimes coincide. As the normal psychological acceptance may be considered the definitions given by STOUT and PAUL. The former says<sup>2</sup>, 'The subject is that product of previous thinking which forms the immediate basis and starting-point of further development. The further development is the predicate'. The latter maintains<sup>3</sup>, 'Das psychologische Subjekt ist die zuerst

though not the actual performer of the action implied in the material import of the verb. It may also be considered as being outside the sphere of the logical subject altogether and, in this case, it presents logically an adjunct relation to the grammatical predicate. In the former case, the connexion is a status functionis, the sense being 'jag läser klippa mig etc.' In the latter case, we are in the presence of a non-logical connexion of the objective type (= status expositionis), the import being 'jag klipper etc.' If we turn to the sentence 'han lider av en tärande sjukdom', this is denoted as a status expositionis, while the sentence 'min mor har ondt i hufvudet' is classed as a status substratus (*l. c.* 299, 302). But in both cases the grammatical subject is determined as being in a certain physical state and in both cases, therefore, we have to do with the same kind of predicative connexion. This category, then, is, to use Westman's terminology, status substratus.

It is unnecessary to increase the number of our critical gleanings. They have not been made in a carping spirit, since we fully appreciate the difficulty of the predication problem. They have been made in order to show how precarious it is always to determine satisfactorily the predication nature of even complete sentences. But our object has also been to vindicate the likelihood that our own predication interpretation of English instances cannot always claim correctness.

<sup>1</sup> A. NOREEN, *Vårt språk*, V, ii, 153 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Mind*, XVI (1891) 191 sq.

<sup>3</sup> PAUL, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle 1909, (4th ed.) 124.

in dem Bewusstsein des Sprechenden, Denkenden vorhandene Vorstellungsmasse, an die sich eine zweite, das psychologische Prädikat anschliesst'<sup>1</sup>.

These definitions may, on the whole, be considered as equivalent. Yet Stout lends a wider import to the term psychological subject than is consistent with its utility as an instrument in linguistic analysis. For he pretends that the psychological subject is ultimately the 'universe of discourse', *i. e.* what in ordinary language is called a 'subject' or 'topic' of a discourse. We should however confine a predication analysis from a psychological point of view to regard only the unit of thought, the signification that is represented by a grammatical sentence. The definitions given by Stout and Paul would have been more to the point, if they had made salient the difference between a predication analysis from a psychological point of view and an analysis from grammatical and logical points of view. This difference is in our opinion that, in the former case, the subject and the predicate are determined irrespective of the morphology of the predication, but in accordance with its real sense. In the latter case, they are determined, either according to the actual grammatical form of the predication, or else according to the form that, with the elements given, is considered as the normal and therefore as the logical one.

As typical definitions of subject and predicate from a logical point of view, we may quote the statements of SIGWART and WUNDT.

'Das Wort *Subject*', says Sigwart<sup>2</sup>, 'wird in engerem und weiterem Sinne gebraucht. In *engerem Sinne* bezeichnet das Wort das Ding, das eine Eigenschaft hat oder eine Thätigkeit ausübt; in *weiterem Sinne* jeden Gegenstand einer Aussage'. It is obvious that Sigwart's definition of subject in a restricted sense is made from a logical point of view. His definition of subject in a wider sense applies to the grammatical and the psychological subject as well. The same logical definition of subject is implied in Wundt's words about the elements of a judgment:<sup>3</sup> 'Der Gegenstand ist

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent definitions are, broadly speaking, those given by von der GABELENTZ (*Zs. für Völkerpsychologie* VI, 378), by WEGENER (*Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen des Sprachlebens* p. 20, 30), and by LIPPS (*Grundzüge der Logik* p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> SIGWART, *Die Impersonalien*, Freiburg I. B. 1888, 75.

<sup>3</sup> WUNDT, *Logik*, Stuttgart 1893, I, 161 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).



das *Subject*; die Eigenschaft oder der Zustand bilden das *Prädicat*.<sup>1</sup> Thus both denote the subject as the substantial, and the predicate as the accidental element of a judgment. When the predication implies a combination of two substances, it is the degree of substantiality that is taken as criterion for deciding which member is the subject, and which the predicate from a logical point of view. In the following pages the value of this criterion will be tested.

BENNO ERDMANN<sup>1</sup>, who rejects the distinction of a psychological subject, defines logical subject as 'derjenige Urteilsbestandteil, von dem nach der logischen Immanenz des Prädikats im Subjekte ausgesagt wird'. The vagueness of this definition becomes apparent if we try to use it as a criterion for deciding when the logical subject coincides with the grammatical subject, and when not. In the following examples such a coincidence is considered not to exist, *viz.* 'Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt', 'Dem Narren gefällt seine Weise wol', 'Falsch ist nicht in mir', 'Mich reut die Tat'. The interpretation given by Erdmann, is no doubt in harmony with the general view held by logicians about the occurrence of the logical subject. But is this view really justified? This is a question we will try to answer in another connexion.

*Subject in  
complete  
sentences.*

Let us first consider some typical examples of complete sentences and examine in what measure a grammatical subject is here distinguishable. At the same time we shall test the criteria of a logical subject as given by Wundt, and subsequently state the predication result of a psychological analysis when deviating from the grammatical one.

We may safely proclaim the opinion that, in complete sentences, a grammatical subject and predicate are generally distinguishable. True, the English language is destitute of a particular case for the function of subject, but, instead, the function of predicate is generally denoted by a special inflectional type. This type, then, is the finite verb-form whose particular grammatical function it is to serve as a predicate-word, or as SWEET<sup>2</sup> also puts it, to be the predicative form of the verb. It is pointed out by NOREEN<sup>3</sup> that, when the finite verb-

<sup>1</sup> BENNO ERDMANN, *Logik*, Halle 1892, I, 236 sq.

<sup>2</sup> SWEET, *New English Grammar*, Oxford 1892, I, 37, 93.

<sup>3</sup> NOREEN, *Vårt språk*, V, ii, 162 sq.

form represents a part of the predicate, it is generally easy to ascertain the rest of it by means of morphological and semological criteria. The remaining morphem must then constitute the grammatical subject. In the sentence 'this book owns Charles', it is from semological reasons evident that 'this book' forms a part of the grammatical predicate, and, in the synonymous sentence 'this book belongs to Charles', it is both on semological and morphological grounds manifest that the element 'to Charles' is a constituent of the grammatical predicate. These two sentences are conversions of each other. Both have the same substantial elements, and these elements must be considered to have the same degree of substantiality. The import of the predicate is not such that it can determine the subject as an agent of an action or the bearer of a quality. Which substance then is the logical subject? We find no answer to this question in the definitions given above.

In English, the word-order may be a linguistic criterion for distinguishing the grammatical subject from the nominal part of the predicate. This fact is illustrated by Sweet by comparing such sentences as 'the man helped the boy' and 'the boy helped the man', where the initial morphems constitute the grammatical subjects. Also in this case the criteria given are not sufficient to enable us to determine the logical subject. For both substances are equally substantial and both are equally capable of performing the function implied in the predicate-verb.

Touching sentences where a substance and a quality are predicationally combined, it is from semological reasons evident that the substance is the grammatical subject, and, with the definitions given above, we can also state that it is the logical subject, *e. g.* 'this place is very nice'. Since in English the subject is destitute of a particular form, we should not for morphological reasons hesitate to assume a grammatical subject also in equivalent sentences, *e. g.* 'here is very nice'.<sup>1</sup> The same analysis is justified also from a logical point of view. We are in reality concerned with an equivalent case, when the quality is adjunctively combined with a substance implied, though not expressed, in the subject, *e. g.* JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xii. From Picnic Point to Old Windsor Lock is a delightful bit of river.

Let us consider predications where two substances are combined, of which one has originated by means of categorial trans-

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 165.



formation (Kategoriale Umwandlung, Wundt.). In modern English such connexions are by no means rare, *e. g.* MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. xix. 'you are all *kindness*, Signora', replied Jack. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxi, their hair is long and perfectly straight, their eyes large and black, their figures *perfection*. Mrs. GASKELL (*Cranford* (Tauchn.) 109 She was *patience* itself. CLARK RUSSELL *Wreck of the Grosvenor* ch. i, 2. Down in the east the heavens were a deep *blue*. B. M. CROKER *A Nine Days Wonder* ch. xxvii. 'I hear, you are tremendous *fun*', she drawled. Also in this case logical and grammatical considerations coincide so as to indicate the more substantial element as the grammatical and the logical subject, independently of the order of the morphems.

If we analyse predications such as 'the man was a drunkard', 'he is a criminal', etc., it is evident that the final morphems are less substantial than the initial ones and that they consequently are logical predicates, since an individual conception is more concrete than a generic one. Also here it appears that semological considerations coincide with logical reasons so that the more substantial element, in spite of word-order and expiratory accent, constitutes the grammatical subject and the logical subject as well. These connexions should be classed as predications of subsumption if we consider that the qualification of the subject is made for classificatory purposes; otherwise they are predications of attribution. Yet, also in other subsumptive predications where the connecting link is *verbum substantivum*, we should both logically and grammatically consider the more substantial element as the subject, *e. g.* 'the oak is a tree', 'a tree is the oak'. But let us convert the sentence so as to say 'the category of trees includes the oak', then consistency demands logicians to look upon the more substantial element (*i. e.* 'the oak') as the logical subject.

Now suppose that we are concerned with two members predicatively combined that seem to represent equally substantial notions, either concrete or abstract, *e. g.* 'Friedrich II. war der grösste Feldherr seiner Zeit', 'Die Tugend ist das höchste Gut'. NOREEN<sup>1</sup> maintains that here the members are of equal substantiality and that we consequently are concerned with a case where this factor is no guide for determining the logical subject. Again, WUNDT<sup>2</sup> advocates that, in both sentences, the initial morphem is 'der constanter gedachte Begriff', and consequently also the logical subject.

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 159 sq.

<sup>2</sup> WUNDT, *op. cit.*, I, 161.

whereas the final morphem constitutes 'eine veränderliche Vorstellung', and therefore the logical predicate. He says, 'Bin ich mir doch bewusst, dass ich von Friedrich II. noch viele andere Eigenschaften aussagen könnte, und dass ich die Tugend nur von einer bestimmten Seite aufgefasst habe, wenn ich sie das höchste Gute nenne'. This view involves that the sentences mentioned are predications of attribution. Whatever may be the opinion about the degree of substantiality of the members, certain it is that the import of the sentences is such as to denote the initial morphems as the determined members and consequently as psychological subjects. Since there is nothing in the morphological exterior of the connexions that prevents the initial morphems from being considered also as the grammatical subjects, they should be regarded as such. But since, in our opinion, the grammatical and the logical subject always coincide except in converted sentences, we are here in the presence of logical subjects as well. The sentences should be classed as predications of attribution and not as connexions of identity. SWEET<sup>1</sup> is certainly not justified in his opinion that, in sentences of this kind, it is 'almost a matter of indifference which idea is regarded as subject, and which as predicate'. And he continues, 'Thus it does not matter much whether we say 'the first day of the week is Sunday', or 'Sunday is the first day of the week''. But, to quote NOREEN,<sup>2</sup> the difference is that, in one case, 'the first day of the week', in the other, 'Sunday' is qualified. We may add that, in the former case, we are concerned with a predication of identity, in the latter, with a predication of attribution. If we invert the order of the members in the two sentences mentioned above, the predication result will also in this case be predications of identity, *c. g.* 'the supreme good is virtue'. Thus the initial morphems constitute also here the grammatical, logical, and psychological subjects. Now let us lay a particular stress on the initial morphem of any of these sentences, *c. g.* 'Sunday is the first day of the week', 'the first day of the week is Sunday'. It will then turn out that the stressed member becomes the psychological predicate and that the predication aspect is a connexion of identity. Thus the examples given mean, 'the day that has the quality of being the first day of the week is Sunday', 'the quality that Sunday has is that it is the first day

<sup>1</sup> SWEET, *op. cit.*, I, 18.

<sup>2</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 159 sq.



of the week'. Shall we consider that the initial morphem when accentuated and thus turned into the psychological predicate, still represents the grammatical and the logical subject? If we do, then we admit that, when such connexions have no particular stress on any of the morphems, a grammatical and a logical subject are to be distinguished, denoted by the word-order and identical with the psychological subject. If we do not, then this involves that in these sentences no grammatical and logical, but only a psychological subject is discernible, varying according to word-order and expiratory accent. We do not hesitate to accept the former alternative, and for reasons that will be stated later on.

Yet there are sentences where the order of the members is immaterial to the import of the connexion. Take, for instance, the sentence 'what I further want is five shillings'. The final morphem represents here the psychological predicate, and the connexion is a predication of identity. Now reverse the order of the members so as to say 'five shillings is what I further want'. Also here the morphem 'five shillings' represents the psychological predicate and the predication aspect of the sentence is the same. Thus the inversion of the members has not here conveyed any semological difference. If Sweet had adduced examples of this kind, he would have correctly substantiated his opinion that the word-order does not always determine the import of a sentence. We may consider that, in the example given, the morphem representing the psychological subject also constitutes the grammatical and the logical subject. For the import of the sentence indicates which member is the determined one, and the morphology is not at variance with this import, *i. e.* the word-order is in this case no criterion of the grammatical (and the logical) subject.

There is however a type of complete sentences where no grammatical subject ist to be distinguished. Take the German sentence 'es reut mich dieser Sache', where the impersonal 'es' is no grammatical subject since it is destitute of any meaning, but only a formal subject of analogical origin. It must be admitted that 'mich' is the logical subject since it represents the performer of an action. But it cannot be denoted also as the grammatical subject since in German, this claims the nominative case. The English crystallized sentences *methinks*, *messems* and expressions such as '*it seems to me that...*' should be interpreted in the same way. For, from a descriptive point of

view, we are here concerned with verbs of state, and though the English language is generally destitute of a particular form of subject, yet this is not so in the case of the personal pronouns. It would carry us too far to examine different types of impersonal sentences that may be regarded as morphologically complete, and state in what measure a grammatical subject is here distinguishable. Suffice it to say that as basis of the predication analysis must be taken the import of the sentence, irrespective of its grammatical form.

There is a particular type of sentence in which words or sets of words are placed side by side without any verb as a connecting link, and yet it must be looked upon as morphologically complete. Sentences of this kind have often been called elliptical since they are not cast in the mould of the ordinary predication model. But they do not admit of any morphological supplementation and hence they are by many truly considered as survivals of a prehistoric form of predication. This type is especially met with in sentences of a proverbial nature or in other stereotyped connexions, *e. g.* 'much cry little wool', 'like master like man', 'borrow sorrow', 'first come first served', 'one man one vote'. The members of the sentences are often of equal substantiality, and when so, no logical subject and predicate can be distinguished with the criteria given above. But we are no doubt justified in assuming the existence of a grammatical subject and predicate, indicated by the word-order. The brachylogical form of these and similar sentences renders it difficult to fix their exact import and consequently also to determine their predication nature. Yet, in all the examples mentioned, we are no doubt in the presence of predications of relation, *i. e.* connexions implying a comparison between two substances as to their extension or dependency. This comparison may be regardless of the logical relation between the substances compared. Thus 'man' and 'vote' are logically dependent notions, but the predication 'one man one vote' wants to hold forth that, in respect to polling, these members should be counted as identical notions (= *prædictio identitatis*). The words 'cry' and 'wool' are logically disparate notions, but the proverb 'much cry little wool' seems to advocate the opinion that, from the point of view that has given rise to this sentence, 'much cry' and 'little wool' constitute equivalent notions (= *prædictio identitatis*). Again 'master' and 'man' are, logically speaking, correlative notions. Yet the proverb



'like master like man' appears to imply that, in the matter of qualities, the man is dependent on his master, scarcely that both are dependent on each other (= *prædictio dependentiæ*). In the sentence 'borrow sorrow'; the relation between the members is evidently the one of cause and effect (= *prædictio causalitatis*, a kind of *prædictio dependentiæ*). The same interpretation is perhaps true in the case of the connexion 'first come first served', or else it is meant to indicate that, from the server's point of view, the two members should constitute equivalent notions (= *prædictio identitatis*).

We have marshalled past us some types of complete sentences and we have found that in them a grammatical subject is generally distinguishable by means of morphological and semological criteria. We have stated that there are impersonal sentences that, though complete in form, yet do not admit of a grammatical analysis, but only of a logical and, we may add, also of a psychological interpretation. As to the logical subject, we have shown that, with the criteria given, it is often impossible to distinguish it in complete sentences. But this proves in our opinion that the definitions of this notion mentioned above, are not satisfactory.

Concerning the psychological subject in complete sentences, we want to state that it is generally identical with the grammatical one. Yet we very frequently meet with deviations and, in this case, it is the psychological analysis that indicates the true predication aspect of the sentence. The deviations may be divided into two principal categories. One of these includes the cases where the predication discrepancy has been linguistically marked. This mark is a particular stress laid on that morphem which is meant to design the psychological predicate, whereas the rest of the morphems constitute the psychological subject. The stress involves a correction of a former or supposed statement; it gives prominence to one idea as distinguished from another. The predication consequence seems to be that, irrespective of the kind of connexion they grammatically represent, such sentences constitute either a predication of identity or else a predication of validity. Take, for instance, the sentence 'the boy helped the man' and lay particular stress on the grammatical subject. The import is then: 'the person who helped the man was *the boy* (and nobody else)'. Let us emphasize the grammatical object, *i. e.* the boy helped *the man*, and

the sense becomes 'the person the boy helped was *the man* (and nobody else)'. Here the expiratory accent has in both cases transformed a predication of action into a predication of identity. This new predication aspect, *i. e.* this new signification is at variance with the predication category, *i. e.* the signification normally represented by the linguistic form in question. The subject and the predicate involved in the novel sense are therefore designated as psychological. If the grammatical form were adequate to the sense, then the subject and the predicate would also be described as logical and grammatical. Thus morphology is the factor that conditions the difference in grammatical, logical, and psychological analysis. Now, lay stress on the predicate-verb in the same sentence, and the import may also in this case be a predication of identity meaning, 'the action the boy performed in respect to the man was the action of helping'. But the emphasis of the predicate-verb may also imply, 'that the boy helped the man is true'. In the latter case we have to do with a predication of validity. This interpretation is the only one possible if the predication element emphasized is *verbum substantivum*, *e. g.* 'Sunday is the first day of the week'.

The constant predication result of a psychological analysis whose deviation from the grammatical one is accentually marked, is a criterion for deciding if the first member of sentences such as 'Sunday is the first day of the week', or 'the first day of the week is Sunday', always constitutes the grammatical subject. If we here stress the initial morphemes, the result will be predications of identity. But we may here consider the initial morphem, though stressed, as the grammatical subject, equally as we consider as such the emphasized member of the sentence '*the boy* helped the man'.

The other category of discrepancies between the grammatical and the psychological analyses includes such cases where the deviation is not linguistically marked. As a criterion cannot here be taken only initial position of the psychological subject or predicate. Take for instance the sentence 'qualified as candidates are such and such classes of people', NOREEN<sup>1</sup> is no doubt right when, in an equivalent sentence, he indicates the grammatical predicate as the psychological subject. For the actual import of the sentence is certainly not the one conveyed by a grammatical

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 166.



analysis, *i. e.* 'such and such classes of people are so qualified that they may be candidates (= præd. attrib.)'. The object of the sentence is, instead, to indicate which classes of people are qualified as candidates (= præd. identitatis). Let us reverse the order of the members, and the real import of the sentence is still a predication of identity. But this implies that here initial position is no criterion of either the psychological subject or the psychological predicate. The only criterion is the import of the sentence. If we predicationally analyse sentences such as 'all the blame is mine', 'the horse is his', 'the fault is yours', we shall find that they are predications of identity, the import being 'the one to be blamed is I', etc. If the order of the members is reversed we are still in the presence of this kind of predication. Be it noticed, however, that here the pronouns, *i. e.* the psychological predicates generally seem to be stressed, and if so, these connexions belong to our first category of deviations from the grammatical analysis. If we reverse the order of the members in predications of subsumption so as to say 'a tree is the oak', then the initial position of the grammatical predicate involves that we are here face to face with a predication of identity. But, also in this case, the initial morphem seems always to have a particular stress.

When the import of a sentence oscillates, it generally follows that also the predicational interpretation oscillates. Yet, in most cases the import is obvious in spite of the deviating grammatical form. Take, for instance, the German sentence 'Auf je 16 Mädchen werden 17 Knaben geboren'. BENNO ERDMANN<sup>1</sup> is no doubt justified in saying that the psychological subject (or, as he terms it, the logical subject) 'besteht in dem Verhältnis der Mädchen- zu den Knabengeburten, das als 16:17 bestimmt wird'. This implies that the connexion is a predication of identity. NOREEN<sup>2</sup> maintains that a sentence such as 'five shillings more is needed' should be predicationally analysed in the following way: further need (*i. e.* psych. subj.) = five shillings (*i. e.* psych. pred.), which involves a predication of identity. We admit the correctness of this interpretation; only it should be observed that we may predicationally examine the sentence also from a grammatical and a logical point of view. Take another sentence, *e. g.* 'she may read

<sup>1</sup> BENNO ERDMANN *Logik*, 236.

<sup>2</sup> NOREEN *Vårt Språk*, V, ii, 167.

the book'. The import of this connexion may be that the contents of the book are such that she may read it without being shocked, or the like. If so, the book represents the psychological subject, and we have to do with a predication of attribution. In the sentence 'for breakfast there will be fish', the psychological subject is represented by 'breakfast', and the psychological predicate by the food that constitutes the breakfast. Thus we are also here in the presence of a predication of attribution.

If we turn to compound sentences, it may seem as if here the psychological analysis particularly often deviates from the grammatical one. Yet, the frequency of the deviation is dependent on the principle we adopt in predicationally interpreting such morphems. In our opinion their predicationally aspect should be determined by the nature of the principal clause as long as the predicate of the latter presents a piece of information equally important as that contained in the subordinate clause. Take, for instance, the sentences 'he wore a cloak lest he should catch cold', 'the boy cried because he had lost his way'. It would not be a fair predicationally interpretation to say that these connexions necessarily imply, 'his wearing a cloak had as purpose to prevent him from catching cold', 'the boy's crying was due to the fact that he had lost his way'. Both these interpretations resulting in connexions of dependency, presuppose that the predicates of the principal clauses are already known to the hearer (reader) and that the subordinate clauses alone constitute the psychological predicates. Such may sometimes be the case, but the notion represented by the predicate of the principal clause, is generally not known to the hearer, and if so, the predicationally nature of the whole sentence should be determined according to the nature of the principal clause. Be it noticed that, also in simple sentences, the same way of reasoning should be adopted. If we say 'he made the journey for the sake of his health', and if the undertaking of the journey is a factor already known, then it constitutes the psychological subject, and the cause of the journey represents the psychological predicate. If so, we are in the presence of a predication of dependency.

There is one point to be particularly noticed in connexion with a predicationally interpretation. This is that the predicationally aspect of a sentence should not be determined according to any of the synonyms of its import. Take the sentences 'jealousy invaded him',



'terror seized him', which may be conceived as conversions of the expressions 'he became jealous', 'he became frightened'. The latter sentences are synonyms of the former, but these must not be interpreted according to this semological relationship. If we stick to the metaphor of the expressions, they should be denoted as predications of action. If we do not, we should class them as predications of existence, the meaning being then 'jealousy, terror sprang up in him'. Also the latter interpretation presents coincidence between the grammatical and the psychological analyses. The sentence 'he opines that such is the case' is synonymous with the sentence 'his opinion is that such is the case'. The latter is a predication of identity, but the former should not be classed as such, or else almost every sentence turns out psychologically to be a *prædicatio identitatis*. Thus sentences of the type 'I believe, wish, fear that such is the case' would be predicationally equivalent to the expressions 'what I believe, wish, fear is that such is the case', *i. e.* predications of identity. The expression 'this is a tree', involving a predication of subsumption, would on that principle be explained as 'the (botanical) category this represents is the category of trees', which involves a predication of identity. The sentence 'he made the journey for the sake of his health' would be explained as 'the cause why he made his journey was care of his health'. Moreover, the connexion 'for breakfast there will be fish' would be interpreted as 'the food for breakfast will be fish. It is evident that we must not adopt this method of analysis. In our predicational interpretation we should as much as possible stick to the sense as revealed in the form.

We have already advocated that, when, in complete sentences, there is a discrepancy between form and sense, it is the latter factor that should be the basis of the predicational analysis. When the deviation is not marked by a particular stress, it is not seldom difficult to decide the exact nature of the discrepancy. Yet, it seems as if, also in this case, the predicational latitude was fairly limited, for it appears to embrace only three kinds of connexion, *viz.* predication of identity, of dependency, and of attribution.

*Subject in  
incomplete  
sentences.*

Let us turn to incomplete or one-membered sentences and briefly examine in what measure a grammatical, logical, or psychological analysis is here possible. The morphology of an in-

complete sentence may be such that a grammatical subject is distinguishable, while the predicate, though omitted, may be easily supplied from the context. This aspect is often presented by sentences curtailed by aposiopesis, *e. g.* 'Did you ever —?' 'No, I never —.' It is evident that we are here concerned with predications of perception, just as the Virgilian 'Quos ego . . .' represents a predication of action. It is also obvious that this analysis is not only logical and psychological, but also grammatical, since a grammatical subject is distinguishable. If we admit that, in a complete sentence of the type 'it is surprising that he is such a coward', the subordinate clause represents not only the logical and the psychological subjects, but the grammatical subject as well, then we must also admit that the corresponding one-membered sentence 'That he is such a coward!' represents the subject in all its imports. For also here the morphology and the semology are such as to suggest a grammatical subject, and also here the missing link of the predication is easy to supplement so that we can determine with certainty the nature of the predication (*i. e.* predication of attribution). In both these cases PAUL<sup>1</sup> only speaks of a psychological subject and predicate, which, however, from a predication point of view is immaterial since here the psychological analysis coincides with the logical and the grammatical.

In dialogues we often meet with one-membered predications where the missing links may with exactitude be supplied from the preceding morphems, *e. g.* 1901 (COTSFORD DICK, *Society Snapshots* 103 D. That's not the sort of monkey I want! -- S. What sort then? -- D. Oh, quite a different kind. In this scrap of conversation the one-membered question and the one-membered answer may easily be transformed into grammatically complete sentences. But shall we here apply a grammatical analysis? In answering this question, let us start from the sentence 'what sort of monkey do you want?' If we stick to the morphology and the logic of the expression, we must consider 'you' as subject, and the verb + its complement as the predicate. If so, the sentence constitutes a predication of state. If we are justified in making this interpretation, then we must also admit that the one-membered answer 'oh, quite a different kind', represents a part of the logical and the grammatical predicate in a sentence reconstructed from the materials contained in the question. But let us not forget the statement made above

<sup>1</sup> PAUL, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle 1909, 323 sq.



that, when the psychological interpretation deviates from the grammatical one and this deviation is accentually indicated, the former always gives as result a predication of identity or else a predication of validity. Now it is in the nature of a quæsitve question<sup>1</sup> — and such is the one we are discussing here — to deviate psychologically from the grammatical and the logical analyses, since the notion that is asked for, is always the predominant element of the sentence, *i. e.* the psychological predicate. But since this element is not the predicate-verb, every quæsitve question is psychologically a predication of identity, in the present case meaning 'the sort of monkey you want is which sort?' The answer constitutes then the psychological predicate as is also truly maintained by PAUL.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the curtailed question 'what monkey then?' should be considered as a *prædicatio identitatis*, no matter whether we supplement it in harmony with this analysis as 'what sort of monkey is it you want?', or, on grammatical analogies, as 'what sort of monkey do you want?'. We may theoretically discuss the point whether the quæsitve question and the answer put together, should be regarded as only one sentence, as a sort of co-operative predication, or if we ought to assume the existence of two separate sentences, though of the same predication nature. But, practically speaking, this is a matter of hair-splitting. In either case we are in the presence of a predication where only a psychological analysis should be applied, and in either case this analysis gives the same predication result.

A question, however, may not only be of a quæsitve nature; it may also present a rogative aspect, requiring to know the hearer's attitude towards the validity of the phenomenon implied in the question, *e. g.* 'Do you come?' — 'yes (no, possibly, certainly, etc.)' Here again PAUL considers the answer as the psychological predicate, the question itself constituting its psychological subject. As far as we can see, no objection should be raised to this ana-

<sup>1</sup> The two principal kinds of question are by Noreen (*Språk och Stil* i, 2) termed 'quæsitve' and 'rogative' questions, corresponding to the German denominations 'Verdeutlichungsfrage' and 'Bestätigungsfrage' (Delbrück), or 'Bestimmungsfrage' and 'Bestätigungsfrage' (Imme), or 'Wortfrage' and 'Satzfrage' (Feussner), or 'Ergänzungsfrage' and 'Entscheidungsfrage'. In our opinion they should be denoted according to their predication nature, and therefore be termed 'questions of identity' and 'questions of validity'.

<sup>2</sup> PAUL, *op. cit.*, 129.

lysis. If the answer is considered as a sentence, though incomplete, then it is obviously a predication of validity. But should the question itself be classed as such? Here also it is more correct to apply a psychological interpretation than a logical or a grammatical one, since also in a rogative question the former *always* differs from the latter. Psychologically speaking, the question involves 'Your coming (that you come) is what in respect of certainty, possibility?'. This implies that we are here concerned with a predication of validity. Also here we may ask if question and answer should be considered as a co-operative predication or as two separate connexions belonging to the same predication category.

If it is true that all linguistic utterance consists in framing sentences, and if it is admitted that a sentence is a predication, then we must class as sentences and consequently also as predicative connexions such morphemes as 'fire!', 'it rains', 'what a nice house!', 'hey!', 'alas!' etc. The predication nature of these and similar sentences cannot be determined from a grammatical point of view. They are considered to admit only of a psychological analysis. But since they represent judgments, and since the relation between the principal parts of judgments may be logically determined, we cannot realize the necessity for operating with only a psychological subject and predicate, unless the logical analysis is applicable only to complete sentences. Yet, this is a question of little moment since here, in our opinion, the psychological and the logical analyses always coincide. And this coincidence is due to the deficiency in morphological completeness exhibited by the expression. Again, this morphological deficiency makes the import of these sentences vague, and, therefore, also their predication interpretation precarious.

Touching expressions of the type 'fire!', 'murder!' PAUL<sup>1</sup> holds the opinion that they are psychological predicates and that the subject is constituted by 'the situation'. As regards 'fire!', he makes the following analysis: 'Auf der einen Seite steht die Wahrnehmung einer konkreten Erscheinung, auf der andern die schon in der Seele ruhende Vorstellung von Brennen oder Feuer, unter welche sich die betreffende Wahrnehmung unterordnen lässt. Nur als unvollständiger Ausdruck für die Verbindung dieser beiden Elemente kann das Wort *Feuer* ein Satz sein'. This reasoning

<sup>1</sup> PAUL, *op. cit.*, 131.



involves that the speaker has in view to subsume an actual perception under the notion embodied in the word 'fire' or, in short, to produce a predication of subsumption. We do not deny the possibility of this interpretation, for it is the correct one if a person observes a phenomenon looking like a conflagration, and then (after some hesitation) exclaims 'fire!' Paul points out that, from the hearer's point of view, the notion itself becomes the psychological subject, and the phenomenon, the psychological predicate. Thus for the hearer the meaning is, 'what the speaker calls 'fire' is that phenomenon', which implies that he constructs a predication of identity out of the materials provided by the speaker's utterance and 'the situation'. This supposition is not unreasonable under certain conditions. However, the ordinary import of the exclamation 'fire!' is no doubt another, both from the speaker's and the hearer's point of view. The sentence is generally meant to impart the existence of a fire in the locality and at the moment implied in 'the situation', and it is also by the hearer conceived as a predication of existence. If we accept this interpretation, then we deny that the phenomenon perceived constitutes either the psychological subject or the psychological predicate. It is true, the perception of fire has first entered the consciousness of the speaker, but we mean that it should not be conceived as other than the perception of a phenomenon that has been expressed in a complete sentence, *e. g.* 'a bus ran over a man just now.' In the latter case nobody wants to consider the phenomenon perceived as the psychological subject and the complete sentence as its psychological predicate. We must keep in mind that the starting-point for a predication analysis must be the import of the sentence, *i. e.* in this case the thought expressed by a single word, and not the phenomenon that has furnished this thought with its elements. A predication conversion of a connexion of existence of this type, would signify, 'the locality and the moment given are characterized by the existence of a fire (= predication of attribution)'. But such an interpretation, though not in itself impossible, is scarcely in harmony with the ordinary way of thinking and may, therefore, be disregarded.

There is especially one category of one-membered sentences whose predication interpretation has long engaged the attention of logicians. This category is constituted by impersonal sentences and particularly those of the meteorological type, *e. g.* 'it rains', 'it

snows', 'it hails', 'it thunders', 'it flashes'. The impersonal pronoun has here no semological import, but only a formal function, its origin being induced by associative influence from complete sentences. It is therefore evident that these expressions are grammatically one-membered and that Sütterlin<sup>1</sup> is justified in maintaining, 'Es blitzt' ist also psychologisch nicht anders aufzufassen wie der Ausdruck: 'Ein Blitz'. The signification, *i. e.* the predication nature of such sentences has been differently determined by logicians. BRENTANO and MARTY class them as judgments of existence. But, in so doing, they regard them as logically one-membered judgments and consequently as no predications. These expressions are, as MIKLOSISCH puts it, not only grammatically, but also logically and psychologically, 'subjectslose Sätze' or 'Prädikatssätze'. Thus they refuse to conceive the idea of the meteorological phenomenon itself as one member, and the idea of its existence under the circumstances given, as the other element of the judgment. But, as Sigwart<sup>2</sup> truly says, 'Es gibt logisch betrachtet keine subjectslosen Urtheile, auch das Existentialurtheil verknüpft zwei Vorstellungen'. Or, to quote Wegener's<sup>3</sup> words about one-membered sentences: 'Die Eingliedrigkeit kann sich ja nur auf den sprachlichen Ausdruck beziehen; die vom Sprechenden gewollte und vom Hörenden gewonnene Vorstellung dagegen ist selbstverständlich stets mehrgliedrig'. However, SIGWART<sup>4</sup> considers the meteorological sentences as 'Benennungs-urtheile'; the psychological subject is the phenomenon perceived and its linguistic expression constitutes the psychological predicate. The interpretation is consequently the same as is given by Paul in the case of 'fire!', *i. e.* these sentences are predications of subsumption. Again, BENNO ERDMANN<sup>5</sup> is of opinion that we are here concerned with 'unbestimmte Kausalurteile'. 'In ihnen allen', he says, 'wird jedoch eine Ursache, sei sie noch so unbestimmt gehalten, mitvorgestellt, nicht lediglich die Wirksamkeit des Vorgangs behauptet; da ein Vorgang ohne Substrat, eine Tätigkeit ohne Subjekt für uns schlechthin unvorstellbar ist. Dadurch ist die Möglichkeit gegeben, sie in personale Aussagen überzuführen, indem das Subjekt genauer be-

<sup>1</sup> L. SÜTTERLIN, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde*, Heidelberg 1902, 147.

<sup>2</sup> SIGWART, *Die Impersonalien*, Freiburg i. B. 1888, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit. Centralblatt* 1902, 408.

<sup>4</sup> SIGWART, *Die Impersonalien*, 29.

<sup>5</sup> BENNO ERDMANN, *Logik*, Halle 1892, 307.



stimmt wird. So entstehen Ausdrücke wie: 'der Himmel, die Wolke regnet, *Ζεὺς ὕει, ἀστράπτει*', und nach ihrer Analogie Wendungen wie: 'Der Regen regnet'. An almost equivalent opinion is advanced by W. JERUSALEM<sup>1</sup>: 'Das Präsens der Wahrnehmungsurtheile und also auch das Präsens der meteorologischen Sätze enthält die deutliche Beziehung auf die räumliche Umgebung des Sprechenden, und *diese räumliche Umgebung ist Subject der Aussage*. Das, worin es regnet, ist der Luftraum, das Draussenbefindliche, *τὸ ἔξω*, und von diesem wird gesagt, dass es jetzt regnet, während es ein anderesmal schneit, blitzt, donnert oder schön ist'. Yet, there seems to be some difference in the predication interpretation given by Erdmann and Jerusalem. When the former denotes the meteorological sentences as 'judgments of causality', he evidently conceives the subject as only the cause of the phenomenon, and not as an agency. But the latter appears to assume also a certain activity or, at any rate, a state on the part of the subject since he says<sup>2</sup>, 'Ein Vorgang wird darin aufgefasst als Zustand der Umgebung des Sprechenden. Diese Umgebung wird zunächst auch anthropomorphisch als Ursache des Vorganges aufgefasst'. This is tantamount to interpreting the sentences as predications of action or of state.

In our opinion there is an element of truth in all these interpretations. As a rule the meteorological sentences are, no doubt, predications of existence, *i. e.* they signify that the meteorological phenomenon has reality at the time or in the place implied in 'the situation' or particularly expressed in the sentence<sup>3</sup>. Thus we do not restrict predications of existence to embrace only cases when a thing or a phenomenon is indicated as having existence, as occurring only in general, *i. e.* without reference to a particular time or locality. This latter delimitation is, however, adopted by JERUSALEM as a self-evident matter. He says<sup>4</sup>, 'In dem Präsens des Satzes: »Es regnet« liegt für den Hörer die Aufforderung, die Umgebung des Sprechenden vorzustellen. In Existentialsätzen aber liegt eine solche Aufforderung nicht. . . . Sowie man nun dem Satze: »Es regnet« die Form des Existentialsatzes gibt: »Regen

<sup>1</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *Die Urtheilsfunction*. Wien und Leipzig 1895, 126.

<sup>2</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *op. cit.*, 129.

<sup>3</sup> JOHN VENN, *The Principles of Empirical or Inductive Logic*, London 1907, 234.

<sup>4</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *op. cit.*, 124.

ist», so verschiebt sich sofort die Bedeutung des Präsens. Der Satz bedeutet nun nicht mehr: Hier in dieser Umgebung regnet es jetzt, sondern er bedeutet, dass es in der Welt so etwas wie Regen überhaupt gebe'. He evidently carries his delimitation ad absurdum when proclaiming<sup>1</sup>, 'Wenn der Dichter sagt: »Es gibt ein Glück, das ohne Reu'«, dann fühlen wir in dem impersonalen Ausdrucke deutlich die Beziehung auf die Welt, in der wir leben, und von dieser wird gesagt, sie sei so eingerichtet, dass ein Glück ohne Reu' darin möglich sei. Es wird also die Welt, in der wir leben, als Subject durch das angegebene Prädicat bestimmt'. But we are equally justified in saying that the world in which we live, is the subject also in cases recognized by Jerusalem as undoubted sentences of existence, *e. g.* 'es gibt einzellige Organismen', 'es gibt keine Gespenster'. With the narrow limits of existential judgments drawn by Jerusalem, he must preclude from this category the meteorological sentences, because they *always* refer to a particular time and space. But the same excuse is not true in the case of Benno Erdmann since he denotes as existential judgments expressions of the type 'es tagt, dämmt, dunkelt', 'es ist Sommer'. For also here, the existence of the phenomenon is limited to a special time and locality. However, it is, no doubt, a fair delimitation of an existential predication to say that it includes also sentences of the latter type. And if so, we cannot find any predication difference between 'it dawns', 'it is getting dusk' on the one hand, and the ordinary import of 'it rains', 'it hails', etc. on the other. A logical conversion of the elements in such a predication of existence gives also here as result a predication of attribution, as was the case in 'fire!' The signification is then: 'the locality and the moment given are characterized by the existence of the meteorological phenomenon in question'. Here also, we consider this interpretation not as impossible, but as artificial. It is evidently such conversions of existential predications that Jerusalem had in view when analysing the sentence 'es gibt ein Glück, das ohne Reu'', though such a conversion is here more out of place than in meteorological sentences. Also the latter would no doubt have been analysed in the same way if he had not considered the meteorological phenomenon as a state or a sort of activity on the part of the surrounding space.

<sup>1</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *op. cit.*, 129.

<sup>2</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *op. cit.*, 128.

<sup>3</sup> BENNO ERDMANN, *op. cit.*, 311 sq.



Yet there is one case in which it is preferable to consider such a conversion of a meteorological sentence as the real import of the predication. This is when the impersonal verb has intemporal sense, *e. g.* 'Es regnet häufig im Salzburgischen'. We must concur in the interpretation of this example given by Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>: 'Sagt man z. B.: »Es regnet häufig«, so drängt sich sofort die Frage auf: »wo?« Füge ich nun hinzu: »Im Salsburgischen«, dann ist in dem Urtheile, wie jeder sieht, das Salzburgerland Subject und wird prädicativ dadurch bestimmt, dass ihm die Eigenthümlichkeit, häufig Regenwetter zu haben, zugeschrieben wird.' We have maintained that the impersonal sentences considered here, generally represent predications of existence. We readily admit that, though only occasionally and under the circumstances indicated in the case of 'fire!', they also may constitute predications of subsumption implying then, 'the phenomenon I perceive now is rain, etc.' Thus far the meteorological sentences offer a predication parallel to expressions of the type 'fire'. Lastly, we do not deny the possibility of the interpretations given by Erdmann and Jerusalem, since we meet with sentences such as: *c.* 1290 *S. Eng. Leg.* 284 þat weder bi-gan to reinie faste. 1833 TENNYSON *Lady of Shalott* IV. i. Heavily the low sky raining Over tower'd Camelot. For these examples show that, in impersonal sentences of the meteorological type, an agency or a cause of the occurrence may be present to the speaker's (or the hearer's) mind. But we do deny that such a subject is always, or even generally, salient in every speaker's consciousness. Thus the mistake in the interpretations made by logicians, does not consist in the interpretations themselves, but in the fact that each considers his own opinion as the only one possible.

In the category of one-membered sentences SÜTTERLIN<sup>2</sup> includes exclamations of the type 'what a nice house!' He considers then the morphem expressed, as the psychological predicate, and the thing perceived, as the psychological subject. The resultant interpretation is consequently a predication of attribution. Again, the analysis made by WUNDT<sup>3</sup> is different. He looks upon such sentences as morphologically complete. He maintains that their constituent parts are a subject and an attribute, but no predicate. He considers them, therefore, as a particular type of connexions,

<sup>1</sup> W. JERUSALEM, *op. cit.*, 127.

<sup>2</sup> SÜTTERLIN, *op. cit.*, 149.

<sup>3</sup> WUNDT, *Völkerpsychologie* I, *Die Sprache*, ii (1st ed.), 264 sqq.

which he denotes as attributive in contradistinction to the predicative type. This seems to imply that he does not recognize them as predications; and yet he includes in the attributive category such obvious predications as 'this house is nice'. But his opinion is no doubt due to a confusion between a morphological and a semological classification. The signification of the two sentences is such that both represent predications of attribution. The form of the sentences is such that one represents an adjunct connexion, the other a predicative one. Now the very postulate is false on which Wundt has based his opinion. The expression 'what a nice house!' is *not* a complete sentence, since it contains no indication *which* house it is that is denoted as 'nice'. Thus the starting-point *i. e.* the subject of the predication is not expressed. The sentence is morphologically one-membered and the interpretation given by Sülterlin is no doubt the correct one.

The principal object of interjectional sentences, says NOREEN<sup>1</sup>, is to give vent to a psychical tension on the part of the speaker. If so, these expressions always imply that the speaker is perceptive of a sensation and to this extent they should all be classed as predications of perception from *the hearer's* point of view. This is particularly manifest in 'impulsive' sentences, which present the strongest emotional character and which are rudiments of the exclamative sentence, *e. g.* oh!, ah!, ha!, aha! (denoting surprise); 'hey!, hurrah!' (denoting joy); 'ah!, alas!, heigho!' (denoting grief); 'whew!, pshaw!, fie!' (denoting dislike, vexation etc.). But, from the speaker's point of view, the interjections have also a certain amount of communicative purpose. This function is more salient in the two other interjectional categories distinguished by Noreen, *i. e.* the 'repulsive' or 'echoic' category, and the 'compulsive' or 'exhortative' one. The echoic interjection is in that case a rudiment of a narrative sentence, which often is subjoined by way of explanation. According to Noreen the echoic interjection tries, by imitation of sounds, movements, etc., to characterize the external cause of the speaker's psychical state. This implies that it represents a predication of subsumption or of attribution. But the communicative import of echoic interjections may, in our opinion, also be to indicate the occasional existence of the phenomenon phonetically symbolized

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *Vart språk*, V. i. 92.



(= predication of existence). In short, they seem to offer a predication parallel to one-membered sentences of the type 'fire!', 'it rains'. To take a few examples: 1590 *Pasquil's Apol.* 1 Dij. b. Bounse, thers a gun gone off. 1610 SHAKS. *Temp.* I ii. Hark, hark! Bough, wough. 1844 DICKENS *Christm. Carol*, Clash, clang, hammer; ding, dong, bell. Bell, dong, ding. Longfellow (Mätzner, Eng. Gr. I, 478) Caw! caw! the rooks are calling. 1909 J. Cotter Morrison, *Macaulay* 59 (quot.) Bang, whang, whang goes the drum, And tootle-tee-tootle the fife. Let it be noticed, however, that interjections in general are often used as elements of sentence. Such is perhaps the case in the last quotation and most certainly in the following example: 1610 SHAKS. *Winter's Tale* IV, iii, 9. The lark that tirra-lyra chants.

The compulsive interjections have as secondary purpose to be exhortations, and are therefore rudiments of the 'hortative' sentence, with which they are often combined, *e. g.* 'hush!', 'lullaby!', 'halloa!', 'gee, gee!', 'whoa!' In this function therefore they claim the same predication analysis as imperatives and vocatives. Let us briefly discuss the principle of predication analysis that should be applied to the latter. Communicative sentences are divided by Noreen<sup>1</sup> into three categories according as their purpose is to give information about the emotional, the volitional, or the perceptive and conceptual life of the speaker. Thus it is a modal point of view on which he has based his division: exclamative, voluntative, and narrative sentences. Now a predication analysis of all these categories must disregard this modal, this subjective point of view, or else the analysis will always give as result a predication of identity. If we interpret the imperative 'go!' as 'my wish is that you go', then we must also analyse the narrative sentence 'you are a coward' as 'my opinion is that you are a coward', and the exclamative sentence 'how beautiful!' must be interpreted as 'my feeling in respect of this is the one that beauty inspires'. It is the different attitudes of the speaker in respect of the material import of the sentences that has found expression in the peculiarity of their form. We must disregard these attitudes and, instead, adopt the principle of basing the predication analysis on the material — the objective — import of the sentence. Now imperatives seem always to imply an exhortation to perform a specified action, *e. g.* 'don't move!', 'hurry up!', and also vocatives *e. g.* 'Charles!', 'ladies and gentlemen!' always involve very much the same in so far as they require the person spoken to, to pay

NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, i. 94.

attention to the speaker. They are consequently predications of action and as such we may therefore denote also compulsive interjections in as far as they are communicative.

We have been satisfied to consider predicationally only some typical examples of one-membered or incomplete sentences. We have found that here we must generally operate only with a psychological or, if we so will, also with a logical subject and predicate. We admit that it often is difficult to strictly determine their predication nature. We also admit that our own interpretation of the examples analysed may be wrong. We venture, however, to maintain that, if we are here concerned with predications, the kinds they represent do *not* differ from those met with in complete sentences. This being so, we need not pay any particular attention to them in arranging the predication categories.

In the foregoing pages we have seen that, in complete sentences, the psychological analysis often deviates from the grammatical one. We may here add that the logical analysis often disagrees both with the psychological and the grammatical interpretation. It is sufficient to illustrate this fact by a single example. Take a sentence where the predicate-verb has a passive sense, *e. g.* 'the book was read by him'. The result of the psychological analysis varies according to the different significations that may be lent to it by the speaker. Any of the independent morphemes may occasionally constitute the psychological predicate, the rest of the morphemes representing the psychological subject. Grammatically speaking, the initial morpheme is here the subject, but, from a logical point of view, the thing that performs the function implied in the predicate, constitutes the subject, and this thing is expressed by the agential element of the sentence. We repeat the assertion made before, that it is the morphology that conditions the difference in grammatical, logical, and psychological analysis. The morphology may be such that the predication analysis is uniform from any point of view. This is possible only in what we call logical predications. It may also be such that the analysis is different from any point of view. Such may be the case only in non-logical predications. The morphology may further be such that the grammatical and the logical analyses coincide, but differ from the psychological interpretation, which only occurs in logical connexions. It may also be of such a nature that the grammatical and the psychological analyses agree, but deviate



from the logical one, which is possible only in non-logical connexions. Lastly, there are complete sentences that do not admit of a grammatical analysis, but only of a psychological or a logical one. Such is the case with certain impersonal expressions. In view of all these predication discrepancies, we may ask, which analysis should be applied in instituting the predication categories and in interpreting the individual examples? It seems bewildering, if we must here pay attention to the three-fold analysis mentioned. And yet, it is our duty to do so. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it is, in our opinion, a self-evident matter that grammar cannot dispense with the notions of a psychological and a logical subject and predicate any more than with their grammatical counterparts. The distinction of a psychological subject is necessitated not only by the existence of one-membered sentences, but also by the oft-occurring discrepancy between form and sense in *the same* complete sentence. As will be shown in the sequel, the notion of logical subject has chiefly originated from a particular discrepancy in form and sense between *different* sentences. And this discrepancy is of such extreme linguistic importance that the distinction of a logical subject is indispensable to make this difference clear. But its distinction is also justified by the existence of complete sentences where no grammatical subject is distinguishable.

The intricacy of the predication problem thus conceived, is, however, more apparent than real. When the psychological analysis deviates from the grammatical one, and this deviation is accidentally indicated, we should remember, on the one hand, that the invariable result of the former is a predication of identity or a predication of validity, and, on the other hand, that the deviation may affect all the multifarious kinds of predication grammatically distinguishable. Again, when the deviation is not linguistically marked, the result of the psychological analysis seems regularly to be a predication of identity, of attribution, or of dependency. Lastly, the cases when the logical analysis deviates from the grammatical one, may be considered as a particular predication category. These facts no doubt simplify matters as regards predication interpretation.

## II. Division of predic- ations.

Which should be the chief differentiating principle for a classification of the predicative connexions? It seems to us that lan-



guage itself suggests the requisite answer. Though tenses, moods, and tense-aspects do not influence the general nature of a predication, that is, however, the case with the particular semological import of a verb that has been called its *voice*. The active, passive, and reflexive senses of verbs have, in English and in Indo-European languages in general, developed to be grammatical categories, since each has normally found its expression in a regular formative principle. And, as a matter of fact, this semological difference is of such paramount predication importance that it should be the leading principle for a division of the predicative connexions.

If we consider the predications whose normal expression of the predicate verb is the active form, we will find that the grammatical subject and predicate generally coincide with the logical subject and predicate. Again, an examination of the connexions where the predicate-verb has the passive form, will show that here a grammatical and a logical analysis generally disagree. We shall find that the grammatical subject has, from a logical point of view, an adjunct relation to the predicate-verb and that the logical subject forms a constituent of the grammatical predicate. Lastly, if we analyse sentences with a predicate-verb in the reflexive form, it will turn out that the grammatical subject is generally identical with the logical one, but at the same time presents an adjunct relation to the verbal element of the predicate, and this relation is expressed by the reflexive or the reciprocal pronouns. Thus the relation between the subject and the predicate is here intermediate between the one offered by an active predication and the one represented by a passive connexion, and this relation has, therefore, up till now been designated as 'middle'.

We have stated that the active, passive, and reflexive forms of the predicate-verb generally imply three different relations between the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate, *i. e.* they involve three different predication categories. On the authority afforded by the evidence of language itself, we deem the distinction of these categories of such importance that we shall institute them as the principal kinds of the predicative connexions. From a terminological point of view it is impossible to denote them as active, passive, or reflexive predications, since these terms should only regard their morphology. For, it will be remembered that, in many sentences, the predication element is an auxiliary desti-

tute of verbal voice, and yet they fall within the range of our division. It should also be noticed that very often the active, passive, or reflexive form of the predicate-verb is no true criterion of the predication aspect of the sentence. Thus in English a verb in the active form has often the same function as a verb in the passive form, *e. g.* Marryat *Peter Simple* ch. xi. The captain came on board, the anchor *weighed*. H. J. Byron *Married in Haste* III. Won't the picture *sell*? It may also correspond to a reflexive sense, *e. g.* 1774 Goldsm. *Nat. Hist.* VIII, 199. The recesses in which she ultimately *hides*. 1885 *Manch. Exam.* 12 Jan. 6/2. The ladies . . *dress* in blacks and drabs. On the other hand, a predicate-verb in the passive form may be equivalent to a verb in the active form, *e. g.* *mod.* Her bonnet and dress *were* all *crushed* (= to be in a crushed state, also = to become crushed). 1822 Lamb *Elia* Ser. 1. *Distant Correspondents*, If you do not make haste to return, there will *be* little *left* to greet you, of me, or mine. Moreover, a verb in the reflexive form may have the same function as a verb in the active form, *e. g.* c. 1489 Caxton, *Blanchardyn* xxi, 71 I have not *perceived me* of this that ye telle me. 1714 Ellwood *Autobiogr.* 3. He *betook himself* to London. It may also assume an essentially passive sense, though the original reflexive function is also salient, *e. g.* 1860 Tyndall, *Glac.* I. xxii. 159 He had . . *injured himself* in crossing the Gemmi. 1902 Barnes-Grundy *Thames Camp* III. I *nettled myself* badly. Under such circumstances it is an imperative necessity to keep distinctly apart active, passive, and reflexive form on the one hand, and the several senses they *normally* represent, on the other. We must choose other denominations for the different predication relations whose morphological characteristics these forms generally constitute. And we can scarcely find any terms that better make the difference of these relations conspicuous than the expressions logical, non-logical, and middle predications.

Wundt's  
classification of  
judgments.

We have instituted three principal kinds of predicative connexion. It remains to consider their subdivision.

In classifying logical predications we might expect to be materially aided by logic. This doctrine that recognizes the function of judgment as its chief study, should pay due attention to a classification of the judgments themselves also from the point of view of the relation existing between the subject and the predicate. But it is in vain that we look for an exhaustive or even systematic distinction of this kind. The best classification to our know-



ledge is the one submitted by WUNDT, although the predication point of view is not always adhered to. He distinguishes four principal categories of forms of judgment according to the different aspects they are considered to present. These are: the forms of the subject, the forms of the predicate, the forms of relation, and the forms of validity. From a predication point of view we are only concerned with the forms of the predicate and the forms of relation, since they alone refer to the manner in which the predicate qualifies the subject. Let us, therefore, examine these categories as determined by Wundt<sup>1</sup>.

The forms of the predicate of a judgment are divided by him into three categories, in which the form of the predicate represents the three general directions of 'the function of judgment'.

If the predicate is a notion of state (*Zustandbegriff*), the judgment is designated as narrative. This is the earliest and most primitive form of judgment. The predicate implies a statement about an occurrence, or a state and condition. The characteristic form of the predicate is a verb of material signification, and as an important criterion is instituted that the verb has temporal sense. The subject may have definite or indefinite, singular or plural sense. It was originally represented by concrete substances only, later also by abstract substances, though they cannot be made the subject of a narrative. As illustrative examples are given 'Cäsar ging über den Rubico und rückte gegen Rom vor', 'die Tugend beglückt', 'das Gute wird belohnt', 'das Verbrechen findet seine Strafe'. The last three sentences have the form of a narrative judgment, but the intemporal sense of the predicate-verbs and the abstract nature of the subjects bring them into contact with the explanatory judgment. They are, therefore, 'mixed' judgments and they may without a semological change often be turned into the form of an explanatory judgment, *e. g.* 'die Tugend ist ein beglückender Seelenzustand'. Also such a sentence as 'er (*i. e.* der Kalkspath) krySTALLISIRT in Rhomboëdern' is by WUNDT<sup>1</sup> denoted as a 'mixed' judgment, since it is narrative in form, but descriptive in sense. Now, let it form a part of a definition and this descriptive judgment assumes the nature of an explanatory judgment, which is the most adequate form of a definition, *e. g.* 'Der Kalkspath ist ein vorwiegend aus kohlensaurem Kalk bestehendes Mineral (explanatory in

<sup>1</sup> WUNDT, *Logik*, Stuttgart 1893 (2nd ed.), 183 sq.; 190 sq.

Sundén: Pred. categ. and pred. change in English.



form), er ist farblos oder weiss (descriptive in form), krystallisirt in Rhomboëdern und bricht das Licht doppelt (narrative in form).

If the predicate is a notion of quality (Eigenschaftsbegriff), the judgment is denoted as descriptive. Chronologically this class holds an intermediate place between the narrative and the explanatory judgments. Here the predicate determines the subject as having a certain quality immanent in the nature of the subject. The characteristic grammatical form of the predicate is an adjective, and the verbal element is mostly verbum substantivum (*i. e.* 'to be'). As an essential criterion is established that the verbal element has intemporal sense. The subject is always a definite substance. It is originally represented by concretes, but subsequently also by abstracts. As illustrative instances of purely descriptive judgments are adduced, 'der Himmel ist blau', 'diese Farbe ist roth', 'der Tisch ist lang'. Now, let us lend a temporal sense to the predicate-verb in these sentences so as to say, 'der Himmel war blau', 'diese Farbe war roth', 'der Tisch wird lang sein'. In this case we are concerned with 'mixed' judgments; they are at the same time descriptive and narrative. In judgments such as 'er ist müde', 'er ist bereit etwas zu thun' the predication element has temporal sense,<sup>1</sup> because the quality is conceived as temporary and consequently as a state ('Zustand'). Such judgments are, therefore, considered by WUNDT to be descriptive in form only; in reality they are narrative and the predicate may, therefore, always be couched in a verbal form, *e. g.* 'er ist ermüdet', 'er hat sich bereit erklärt'. Take further such examples as 'Strafen sind nützlich', 'aller Anfang ist schwer', 'Gründe sind wohlfeil'. The subjects are here constituted by abstract substances. But these are destitute of qualities by means of which they may be described. They can be made the subject neither of a narration nor of a description. They can be made the subject of an explanation only, *i. e.* they are put into relation to other substances. Thus the judgments quoted are descriptive in form, but explanatory in sense, and their adequate form is, therefore, a substantival predicate, *e. g.* 'Strafen sind nützliche Einrichtungen', 'aller Anfang ist ein schweres Unternehmen', 'Gründe sind wohlfeile Auskunftsmittel'. As to this addition of a notion of substance, WUNDT maintains (*op. cit.* p. 188): 'In Wahrheit den-

<sup>1</sup> The terms 'temporal' and 'intemporal' as applied to the sense of a verb are used by Noreen (*Vårt språk*, V, iii p. 273 sq.) and correspond to what Sweet (*A New Eng. Gram.* I, 403) denotes as 'definite' and 'indefinite' tenses.

ken wir uns bei jenen Urtheilen (*i. e.* 'Strafen sind nützlich', etc.) an und für sich schon in unbestimmterer Weise einen derartigen Begriff hinzu; wir denken sie nicht als beschreibende, sondern von vornherein als erklärende Urtheile'. Also truly descriptive judgments may easily be turned into the form of an explanatory judgment and they adopt then also an explanatory sense. This is the case if, instead of saying 'der Wasserstoff ist elektropositiv', 'der Diamant ist stark lichtbrechend', we use the form 'der Wasserstoff ist ein elektropositives Element', 'der Diamant ist ein stark lichtbrechender Krystall'. This is in WUNDT's opinion also the case if we repeat in the predicate the same notion of substance that constitutes the subject of the descriptive judgment. He says (*op. cit.* p. 190), 'Wenn ich statt des einfach beschreibenden Urtheils: »dieser Berg ist hoch und steil« sage: »dieser Berg ist ein hoher und steiler Berg«, so habe ich durch die Wiederholung des Gegenstandsbegriffes etwas hinzugefügt, was zwar die Richtigkeit des Urtheils nicht verändert, aber woran doch in der einfachen Beschreibung nicht gedacht war, denn diese beabsichtigte keineswegs den gegebenen Berg unter eine allgemeine Classe von Bergen zu subsumiren'. Thus the explanatory judgment represents the general form into which all judgments may, if necessary, be transformed.

Lastly, if the predicate is a notion of substance (Genstandsbegriff) the judgment is designated as explanatory ('Das erklärende Urtheil'). Here the substance contained in the predicate, is meant to explain the notion of substance represented by the subject, by being put into a comparative relation to it. The morphological characteristic of the predicate is the substantival form, and its predication element is mostly *verbum substantivum*, *i. e.* the copula, which here has its principal sphere of application. Also here it is a characteristic of the predicate-verb that it has intemporal sense. The category of explanatory judgments represents the latest and at the same time the highest form of judgment. As already mentioned, it is able to impress its form on the other kinds of judgments. Even a narrative judgment of the type 'Krösus war König von Lydien' may be expressed explanatorily: 'Krösus ist ein gewesener König von Lydien'. This catholicity of application is due to the fact 'dass der Standpunkt der Erklärung wirklich der allgemeinste ist, den unser Denken den Gegenständen gegenüber einnimmt' (*op. cit.* 191). And, in fact, it is this quality that has induced logicians to com-



mit the error of considering the explanatory judgment as 'die allgemeingültige Form, welche die Logik an Stelle aller andern Urtheilsformen zu setzen habe' (*op. cit.* p. 192). The logical importance of the explanatory judgment consists in the fact that it is the only form of judgment in which two substances may be compared in a direct manner and, therefore, examined as to their mutual relation. Consequently, it is this category that represents the forms of relation of the judgments. Again the relations which substances that are comparable, may logically present, are four in number, *viz.* relation of identity, of subsumption, of co-ordination, and of dependency. The explanatory judgment is, therefore, subdivided by WUNDT into four categories according to the nature of the relation existing between the notions compared.

Thus he institutes a judgment of identity. The identity may be *formal*, *e. g.* 'A ist A', 'die Aerzte sind Aerzte', 'die Advocaten sind Advocaten'. The first example presents also real identity since it is meant to corroborate emphatically the identity of a notion with itself. 'A = A' is therefore used as the symbol of the logical law of identity. In the two other examples the identity is merely formal, because the predicate is meant to hold forth a particular quality of the subject; or, as WUNDT<sup>1</sup> truly says, 'Bei Urtheilen wie »die Aerzte sind Aerzte«, »die Advocaten sind Advocaten« soll das Prädicat an irgend eine, meistens nicht rühmliche Eigenschaft dieser Berufsklassen erinnern'. The subject and the predicate are here used in different senses and we are, therefore, not concerned with predications of identity. These judgments are denoted by WUNDT as subsumptive (= predic. of subsumption), which is only consistent with his opinion that a descriptive judgment (comprised in our 'predication of attribution') always assumes an explanatory aspect, if to the notion of quality is added a notion of substance.

The identity may also be *real* and the members identified are then generally different in form, *e. g.* 'Aristoteles ist der Begründer der Logik', ' $a^2 = b^2 + c^2$ ', etc. To this category belongs every good scientific definition, *e. g.* 'der Wasserstoff ist das Element vom kleinsten Atomgewicht'. Yet, the identity between subject and predicate must not here be considered as absolute; for if so, they would also be formally identical as in the case 'A = A'. But the discrepancy in sense between the notions identified is disregarded and they are considered as identical only from a certain point of view.

<sup>1</sup> WUNDT, *op. cit.*, 194.



Next, a judgment of subsumption is instituted. This implies an indication of the generic category to which a notion belongs, and its object is consequently to classify our notions. The subordinate notion is generally represented by the subject, and the superordinate, by the predicate. Such is always the case when the copula alone indicates the subsumption. A real classification is involved in judgments such as 'dies ist ein Haus', 'der Wolf ist ein Raubthier', 'die Sonne ist ein Fixstern'. But the subsumptive judgment is extended also to cases that originally are not meant to be conceived as subsumptive and, according to WUNDT, this category has thus got such an enormous prevalence that it comprises the majority of our judgments. WUNDT is then referring to sentences of the type 'dieser Berg ist ein hoher und steiler Berg', 'er ist ein guter Mann', etc. He admits, however, that this extended use of the subsumptive judgment is not justified by the actual demands of our thinking, and that such formal subsumptions should be kept apart from real ones. And yet, he finds it preferable to range them under the subsumptive rather than under the descriptive category.

As a special case of the subsumptive judgment is instituted by WUNDT the partly subsumptive judgment or cross-judgment, which is a case of the 'particular' judgment, *e. g.* 'nur einige A sind B', 'es gibt Parallelogramme, welche rechtwinklige Figuren sind'.

Moreover, a judgment of co-ordination is distinguished. As such in a restricted sense is denoted the case when the co-ordination itself is the purpose of the judgment, *e. g.* 'A ist B coordinirt', 'A ist zu B disjunct, correlat, conträr, contingent'. But the domain of this judgment is extended by WUNDT to comprise also the case when the predicate contains co-ordinate members, each of which has the subject as a superordinate notion, *e. g.* 'die Grundfarben sind Roth, Grün und Violett', 'die blattlosen Kryptogamen sind Algen, Pilze und Flechten' (= conjunctive combination), 'diese blattlose Kryptogamische Pflanze ist entweder eine Alge, oder ein Pilz oder eine Flechte' (= disjunctive combination). It should be noticed, however, that this extension of the co-ordinate judgment is only made when the co-ordinate members of the predicate represent a *complete* division of the subject. If they do not, WUNDT evidently conceives the judgment as subsumptive. Again, when the co-ordinate members are represented by the subject, he considers the sentence as a judgment of subsumption or

of identity as the case may be. As examples of the former alternative are adduced, 'Roth und Grün sind Grundfarben', 'Schwarz und Weiss sind Lichtunterschiede', 'Roth, Grün und Violett sind Grundfarben'. In the last example the co-ordinate members imply a complete division of the notion represented by the predicate. They are not conceived as a whole, however, but each of them is put into relation to the notion contained in the predicate. But if such a comprehension of the members is made, we are concerned with a predication of identity, *e. g.* 'Roth, Grün und Violett sind *die* Grundfarben'.

As a particular form of the disjunctive judgment is considered the alternative judgment, where the members co-ordinated are only two in number. These members may be correlative notions or else disjunct ones, only two of the disjunct notions embraced by the subject receiving attention. The disjunctive judgment serves the purpose of division or of distinction, but the alternative judgment has mainly in view a distinction. As illustrations of alternative judgments are quoted, 'Dreiecke sind entweder (theils) gleichseitig oder (theils) ungleichseitig', 'die Kieselsäure ist entweder amorph oder krystallinisch', 'die Gebirge können entweder durch verticale Erhebung oder durch horizontale Faltung der Erdoberfläche entstehen', 'das Personalpronomen bezeichnet entweder eine einzelne Person oder eine Mehrheit', 'der Uranus reflectirt entweder bloss Sonnenlicht oder er ist zugleich in geringem Grade selbstleuchtend', 'die Hauptunterschiede der Erdoberfläche sind Land und Meer'.

Lastly, a judgment of dependency is included among the forms of relation. This is meant to express a relation of dependency between the notions compared. WUNDT maintains that logical dependency scarcely ever appears as a relation between two notions only, but that a notion has a relation of dependency to several others, which at the same time must be conceived as having certain mutual relations. At least one of the two principal parts of a judgment must, therefore, be composed of more notions than one, and besides it is generally desirable that the nature of the dependency should be expressly indicated. Thus 'motion' may be conceived as a notion dependent on space, only if, at the same time, the notion of time (*i. e.* the temporal change of an object) is taken into consideration. Otherwise it is only possible to form such general judgments as 'die Bewegung ist vom Raume ab-



hängig', where the nature of the dependency is not expressed. But if we want to determine this nature, it may be done by saying 'die Bewegung ist die Ortsveränderung eines Gegenstandes im Raum'. It would, however, serve the purpose of a definition better to say, 'wenn ein Gegenstand seinen Ort im Raume verändert, so *bewegt* er sich'. For, the conjunction 'wenn' indicates the nature of the dependency; it denotes that the change of place in space is the condition on which the conception of motion originates. WUNDT maintains, therefore, that the compound judgment is particularly apt to express dependency between notions, and further 'dass das ganze Abhängigkeitsurtheil in zwei oder mehrere mit einander verbundene Urtheile sich gliedert'. Thus the two members that present a relation of dependency are generally represented by secondary judgments and the nature of the dependency is expressed by the conjunction. This nature may be of local, temporal, or conditional aspect. Consequently the judgments of dependency consisting of two secondary judgments — and any others are not considered by WUNDT — may be divided into three main categories. These are: the judgment of local relation, *e. g.* 'wo die Alpenflora beginnt, da gedeihen keine Waldbäume mehr'; 'er eilte dahin, woher der Hülfruf kam'; the judgment of temporal relation, *e. g.* 'nachdem die Schlacht geschlagen war, zog sich das Heer zurück'; 'sobald der Frühling anfängt, kommen die Schwalben'; the judgment of conditional relation. The last category is subdivided into four minor classes. These are: the judgment of conditionality ('das Begründungsurtheil'), *e. g.* 'wenn Dreiecke gleiche Höhe und gleiche Grundlinie haben, so haben sie gleichen Flächeninhalt'; 'weil der Weltraum von einem materiellen Medium erfüllt ist, so kann sich das Licht fortpflanzen zwischen den Gestirnen'; (the former example contains the more general relation of logical condition, the latter the more particular relation of causality); the judgment of quality, *e. g.* 'wie der Herr, so der Diener'; 'es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die meisten chemischen Elemente zusammengesetzt sind'; the judgment of purpose, *e. g.* 'wozu wir bestimmt sind, ist uns unbekannt'; the judgment of instrumentality, *e. g.* er weiss nicht, womit er sich Anerkennung erwerben soll'.

We have given a detailed account of the division of judgments made by WUNDT from the point of view of the forms of the predicate. We have been anxious to do so because the

*Predicational value of Wundt's classification.*



distinctions made are chiefly of a predication nature and reveal the way in which the predication problem has been approached by logicians. Let us now consider in what measure WUNDT's classification is acceptable from a grammatical point of view.

For one thing, we must object to the very principle of taking the forms of the predicate as a basis of division of the judgments. True, these forms are evidently meant to represent different senses of the predicate, and such senses as imply a difference in the qualification of the subject. But since a predication classification of the judgments must be considered as the real purpose of WUNDT's division, this aim should have been distinctly indicated and the form should have played a secondary part. But, in his classification, the morphological aspect is considered as an equally important factor as the sense. Therefore, the oft-recurring conflict between form and sense has forced him to denote perhaps the majority of judgments as belonging to one category in form, but to another in sense, and to institute the notion of 'mixed' judgments. His formalistic tendency is especially apparent when he considers as a subsumptive judgment the sentence 'dieser Berg ist ein hoher und steiler Berg'. It is evident that the repetition of the same substance represented by the subject, cannot imply a material change of the sense of the predication 'dieser Berg ist hoch und steil'. This is the more conspicuous because to the speaker's consciousness the repetition appears as superfluous and unnatural. Both judgments are descriptive or, as we call it, predications of attribution. Moreover, judgments such as 'Aerzte sind Aerzte' are denoted as subsumptive judgments, merely because the principal part of the predicate is a substantive. But this substantive is only meant to involve a quality characteristic of the subject and we are, therefore, in fact concerned with descriptive judgments, *i. e.* predications of attribution. In both these cases WUNDT admits that such subsumptive judgments must be kept apart from true judgments of subsumption, *i. e.* such that imply an information about the extension of the subject. It is his formalistic view that prevents him from considering them as descriptive judgments. The sentences 'er ist müde', 'er ist bereit etwas zu thun' are denoted as descriptive in form, because of the adjectival part of the predicate, but as narrative in signification, because of the temporal sense of the predicate-verb. It is another proof of his formalistic tendency when he maintains that the narrative nature of

these connexions is confirmed by the fact that the predicate may be turned into verbal form, *e. g.* 'er ist ermüdet', 'er hat sich bereit erklärt'.

We admit that there is an element of truth in WUNDT's three-fold distinction of the judgments according as the form of the predicate is verbal, adjectival, or substantival. For these forms represent very often — but by no means always — three different ways in which the predicate qualifies the subject. But this predication truth has not been clearly conceived. On the contrary, it has been obscured by WUNDT, not only by disregarding the sense of the judgments in favour of their form, but also by instituting temporal or intemporal sense on the part of the predicate-verb as another leading characteristic of judgments meant to be classified as to the form of the predicates. Also this latter criterion as handled by WUNDT, results in classificatory difficulties. True, the difference between temporal and intemporal sense generally implies a difference in predication aspect. This is particularly the case when the predicate-verb denotes activity or state. If it has intemporal sense, then this involves that the activity or the state in question is conceived as a characteristic of the grammatical subject, even if the latter, logically speaking, is an object, *e. g.* 'he drinks a great deal', 'he is generally tired', 'these oranges peel easily'. In this case we are no doubt concerned with descriptive judgments, *i. e.* predications of attribution. This difference between a function as a temporal occurrence and as a characteristic quality, is sometimes implied in the material import of the verb, *e. g.* 'the boy *stammered* out a reply', 'the boy *stuttered*'. Now WUNDT's narrative category principally embraces judgments where the predicate-verb denotes an activity or a state. It is evidently for this reason that he has established temporal sense of the predicate-verb as a leading characteristic of this category, and designated it as 'narrative'. He has then been forced to stick to the consequences and to consider intemporal sense as characteristic of the descriptive and the explanatory judgments. From a predication point of view it is an absurdity to consider sentences such as 'der Himmel *ist* blau' and 'der Himmel *war* blau' as different types of judgments. The close affinity between them is recognized by WUNDT by designating the latter judgment as 'mixed'. The absurdity of his distinction becomes still more salient if we consider that the great majority of descriptive and explanatory judgments must be denoted as 'mixed'. Therefore, when the pre-



dicative-verb does not express an activity or a state, its temporal or intemporal sense should generally not be taken as a mark of predication difference; but there may be exceptions to this rule *e. g.* 'misgovernment causes dissatisfaction' (= *præd. attributionis*).

There is another point worthy of notice when we criticize WUNDT's predication classification of the judgments. This is that considerations perhaps logically justified are taken as predication criteria, though, linguistically speaking, they are of no predication importance. Of this nature is his opinion that abstracts cannot be made the subject of a narration or a description, but of an explanation only. For this reason he maintains that a judgment such as 'die Tugend beglückt' is narrative in form, but explanatory in sense, and that scarcely any semological difference arises, if it is turned into the explanatory form 'die Tugend ist ein beglückender Seelenzustand'. But there is, no doubt, a distinct semological difference between the two judgments. In spite of all logical considerations the former appears to the speaker's instinct as a purely descriptive judgment (= *pred. of attribution*), since the verb has intemporal sense and implies that virtue is of such a nature that it makes man happy. Again, the latter sentence is a judgment of relation or, more particularly determined, a judgment of subsumption, though with an admixture of description. Judgments of the type 'aller Anfang ist schwer' are by WUNDT considered to be descriptive in form, but explanatory in sense. He maintains that we here mentally add a notion of substance to the predicate. We deny this addition; but even if we really made it, we cannot find that the sentence 'aller Anfang ist ein schweres Unternehmen' is a judgment of relation. We are not here concerned with a subsumption of the abstract subject and, therefore, the addition of the substance does not change the predication nature of the judgment. It is also difficult to concur in WUNDT's opinion that, when a descriptive judgment forms part of a definition, it is immediately turned into an explanatory judgment (*cf. above, p. 33*).

To sum up our objections to WUNDT's main division of the judgments according to the form of the predicate. We object to the very basis of his division. For this division has no logical or semological importance, unless it is meant to be of predication nature. Therefore, the predication point of view should have been distinctly conceived and carried out in his classification. We also object to his adoption of temporal or intemporal sense



as a leading characteristic of his categories, since this distinction does not always imply a predication difference and besides brings about classificatory absurdities. Lastly, we must object to such logical considerations in his classification of the judgments as are at variance with the predication aspect they present to the speaker's consciousness.

We have already admitted that WUNDT's division of the judgments according to their predicate-forms contains a certain amount of predication truth. The forms of relation of the judgments constitute in fact a predication category of such importance that it should be instituted as a principal section of the logical predication. Its characteristic feature is that it implies a comparison between two substances as to their mutual relation in respect to extension or dependency. We will term this category predication of relation. Again, the narrative and the descriptive judgments have that in common that they imply such qualifications of the subject as do not refer to its extension or dependency. They may, therefore, be comprised in one category that, for want of a better name, we shall call predication of qualification.

If we examine the latter category, it stands out as a conspicuous feature that, in one class of predication, the subject is qualified as performing a function, in another class, as not. This difference is, no doubt, of such importance that it should be taken as a mark of predication discrepancy. The function may be of an active nature, *e. g.* 'he ran', 'he listened', 'he looked at it', 'he thought of it'. It may also be of a passive, *i. e.* perceptive nature, *e. g.* 'he felt cold', 'he heard it', 'he saw it', 'he realized it'. The former case may be denoted as predication of action, the latter case, as predication of perception.

The predicative connexions that imply inactivity on the part of the subject may be divided into a long series of subvarieties. It is, however, unnecessary, for our present purpose, to discuss their division in detail. Yet, there are three categories that seem to us especially worthy of notice. One is the case when the predicate qualifies the subject as being in (or coming into) a certain state or condition. If the subject is personal, then the predicate refers to the state of its emotional, volitional, conceptual, or physical life, *e. g.* 'he is angry', 'he wished it', 'he believes, knows it',

'he is sleepy, ill, mad'. If the subject is non-personal, then the predicate refers to the integrity of its constitutive condition or form of existence, *e. g.* 'the vapour condensed into water', 'the rock is crumbling', 'the apple is rotten'; 'the road is in good condition'. We will call this category predications of state. Another category to be noticed is the case when the predicate only refers to the speaker's attitude towards the reality, *i. e.* the validity of the subject, which then generally represents an occurrence, an attribution, or a relation, *e. g.* 'it is possible, certain, that he will do it', 'it is evident that this is true', 'it is a fact that the oak is a tree'. Here belongs also such a sentence as 'ein Gewitter ist möglich', which is justly interpreted by BENNO ERDMANN<sup>1</sup> as equivalent to: 'es ist möglich dass ein Gewitter eintritt'. But he is wrong when considering the sentence 'jene Maschine ist möglich' as having the import 'es ist möglich dass jene Maschine konstruiert wird'; for it can have no other meaning than: 'jene Maschine ist möglich zu konstruieren, ist konstruierbar'. But this implies that the predicate refers to the qualities of the subject and that we are, therefore, concerned with that kind of predication we have called *prædicatio objecti & attributionis*. Thus we may institute a predication of validity. It may also be called predication of modality, if we restrict the notion of modality to refer only to the speaker's degree of certainty as to the relation to reality presented by the subject.

This notion of modality should not be confused with the notion of existence. The former refers to a subjective state of the speaker, the latter regards the objective fact of reality. When the notion of reality constitutes the predicate, we are concerned with a predication of existence, *e. g.* 'God exists'; 'there are no ghosts'. The existential predications cannot escape being modally modified any more than every other sentence. Thus, the connexion 'God exists' is synonymous to the sentences 'God's existence is certain', 'it is a fact that God exists'. But the predicational difference is that the predicate is constituted, in one case, by the notion of existence, in the other case, by the notion of modality. In the category of existential predications should also be included sentences where an abstract substance is denoted to

<sup>1</sup> BENNO ERDMANN, *op. cit.*, 382.



have existence either in general, or with a specified restriction. A sentence such as 'there is truth in his words' appears to the speaker's consciousness as predicationally equivalent to the judgment 'there is a wolf in the wood'. In our opinion either sentence is just as logically formed as the other at least to the speaker's instinct. We cannot, therefore, admit that BENNO ERDMANN is justified in considering that in the German sentence 'Falsch ist nicht in mir', the pronoun constitutes the logical subject, *i. e.* that the logical analysis here deviates from the grammatical one. We have already maintained that tense-aspects have no influence on the predication nature of the sentences. We must, therefore, consider as existential predications also connexions of the type 'a storm originated' (*i. e.* came into existence), 'the storm ceased' (*i. e.* lost existence). Also the expressions 'happen', 'take place', etc. must be conceived as existential verbs in predications of the type 'an accident happened, took place'.

All the other predications that presuppose inactivity on the part of the subject we shall comprise under one single category that may be called predication of attribution. They represent a great variety of qualifications of the subject. Thus, for instance, the subject may be determined as to its impression on our senses and feelings, *e. g.* 'this is heavy, soft, red, hot'; 'this tastes, sounds, smells, looks nice', 'this is horrid, agreeable, surprising, joyful, etc.' It may also be determined as to accidents perceptible by our intelligence, *e. g.* 'he is brave, stupid, clever etc.' The subject may further be qualified in respect to weights and measures or to its material value, *e. g.* 'this weighs two pounds', 'the wall was ten feet in length', 'this costs 2 d'. The qualification may consist in adding an exterior attribute to the subject, implying a coexistence of two substances, *e. g.* 'the man had grey hairs', 'he wore a beard', 'the sky was cloudless', 'the axe had a handle'. It may also consist in indicating the position or the material of the subject, *e. g.* 'the house was situated on a hill'; 'the watch was of gold'. The subject may also be determined in the way that a function, or a state, or even a relation to another substance may be conceived as a characteristic quality of it, *e. g.* 'he quarrels often' (= is quarrelsome) 'he skates very well' (= is a good skater) 'he is always sleepy', 'misgovernment causes dissatisfaction'. In the predications of



attribution we ought to include also the case when the subject is denoted as possessing a thing or as being somebody's property, *e. g.* 'a peasant owns the horse', 'the horse belongs to a peasant' (= predication of possession). All these examples will suffice to illustrate the multiplicity of the kinds of qualification comprised in the term 'predication of attribution'.

We have already recognized the propriety of instituting predications of relation as a main category of logical connexions. WUNDT's subdivision of judgments of relation seems to be also linguistically adequate. We will, therefore, establish the four sub-categories predications of identity, of subsumption, of co-ordination, and of dependency. But in so doing, we shall not adopt in every respect his delimitation of the corresponding logical categories. The limits of predications of identity do not deviate from those of his judgments of identity. Again, the limits of predications of subsumption must not entirely coincide with those of judgments of subsumption as drawn by WUNDT. We have already raised objections to his view that we are concerned with a subsumption, *i. e.* a classification of the subject, in cases such as 'dieser Berg ist ein hoher und steiler Berg', 'Aerzte sind Aerzte', 'aller Anfang ist ein schweres Unternehmen'. We have denoted these judgments as predications of attribution, and we have adduced them as examples of the fact that WUNDT in his classification often pays too much attention to the form at the expense of the sense. When WUNDT designates as partly subsumptive judgments sentences of the type 'es gibt Parallelogramme, welche rechtwinklige Figuren sind', then he has abandoned the predication point of view and adopted a semological consideration in as much as the sentence is a synonym of the truly subsumptive judgment 'einige Figuren sind Parallelogramme'. But it is a self-evident matter that a predication classification of a sentence should not be determined by its synonyms. The judgment in question represents, no doubt, a predication of existence, though it has as a synonym a predication of subsumption.

The limits of judgments of co-ordination as drawn by WUNDT, cannot be accepted from a predication point of view. For this view requires that as predications of co-ordination should be considered only connexions where the predicate determines the subject as co-ordinate with another substance. This is the case only with his judgments of co-ordination in a restricted sense, *e. g.* 'A ist B

coordinirt'. But such a judgment as 'die Grundfarben sind Roth, Grün und Violett' must not be conceived as a predication of co-ordination merely because the members of the predicate are co-ordinate. The predicate determines here the subject as the super-ordinate notion of each of the members of the predicate, which, therefore, must be co-ordinate notions. If this distributive relation is salient, we have to do with a predication of subsumption, and *verbum substantivum* has then an import equivalent to the verb 'embrace'. But we believe that the sentence generally stands out as a predication of identity, since the members of the predicate represent a complete division of the sphere of the subject. In this case the co-ordinate notions are conceived as a whole that is identified with the notion represented by the subject. WUNDT maintains that the sentence 'Roth, Grün und Violett sind die Grundfarben' is a judgment of identity, and we concur in this interpretation. But he considers that the subject is here represented by the initial member (comprising the three colour-names). In our opinion this member constitutes the psychological predicate. If we reverse the order of the members, it has still this function and the connexion continues to be a predication of identity (cf. above, p. 12, 16). However, we should perhaps admit that the context may be such that in this case the sentence involves a predication of subsumption.

A still greater deviation from the predication point of view represent WUNDT's examples of 'the alternative judgment', which he denotes as a particular kind of the judgment of co-ordination. In fact, WUNDT himself proclaims that the alternative judgment mainly serves the purpose of distinction and not that of division. But this implies from a predication point of view that these judgments do not readily represent predications of relation. Thus the connexions 'Dreiecke sind entweder gleichseitig oder ungleichseitig', 'die Kieselsäure ist entweder amorph oder krystallinisch' are rather predications of attribution than connexions of subsumption. As predications of attribution must evidently be interpreted also the judgments 'das Personalpronomen bezeichnet entweder eine einzelne Person oder eine Mehrheit'; 'der Uranus reflectirt entweder bloss Sonnenlicht oder er ist zugleich in geringem Grade selbstleuchtend'; 'die Gebirge können entweder durch verticale Erhebung oder durch horizontale Faltung der Erdoberfläche entstehen'. Again, the judgment 'die Hauptunterschiede der Erdoberfläche sind Land



und Meer', is in our opinion a predication of identity. 'Thus it is evident that WUNDT has here entirely neglected the predication point of view. He has adopted semological considerations that have nothing to do with the forms of relation of the predications, if these forms are meant to refer to the extension or to the dependency of the subject as compared with the predicate. Only judgments of the type 'A ist B coordiniert' seem to represent true predications of co-ordination. Yet, in this category may be included examples of the following kind: W. BESANT, *Ivory Gate* ch. ix 132. Sadness is only a passing cloud: anxiety is only a touch of east-wind, evil and pain are only fleeting shadows. True, the ultimate import of these connexions is that the subject is determined by the predicate as having a certain quality, and from this point of view they may be denoted as predications of attribution. But the determination is here made in a roundabout way. For, the subject is formally denoted as co-ordinate with a notion contained in the predicate and it follows from this that the subject is distinguished by the quality that represents the point of view from which the co-ordination has been made. It is, therefore, preferable to denote sentences of this type as predications of co-ordination.

The linguistic delimitation of predications of dependency cannot coincide with the delimitation of judgments of dependency as given by WUNDT. He has here entirely discarded the predication point of view. He does not pay any attention to the question as to whether there is a relation of dependency between the subject and the predicate. He has only adduced one example of this kind, *i. e.* 'die Bewegung ist vom Raume abhängig', but he considers it to be of no interest from the point of view of dependent judgments. Now, there are dependent clauses and principal clauses. This fact has caught his attention so that he considers judgments of dependency to be represented by compound sentences only, because they contain two subjudgments. And, in fact, every compound sentence consisting of a principal clause and a subordinate clause (excluding a relative clause), is classed by WUNDT as a judgment of dependency, no matter whether the subordinate clause is of local, temporal, conditional, causal, final, or instrumental character. On the contrary, he considers all these different aspects on the part of the subordinate clause to represent as many different kinds of dependency. He makes no exception if the grammatical structure is such that the

subordinate clause represents the subject, and the principal clause, the predicate, and that these main parts of the judgment do not constitute comparable notions, *e. g.* 'es ist wahrscheinlich dass die meisten chemischen Elemente zusammengesetzt sind'. The existence of a subordinate clause — that is the chief point; the relation between subject and predicate is no longer of any importance.

From a predication point of view, a dependent clause should not be conceived as other than an element of sentence that has not the form of a clause. This is evidently also WUNDT's opinion when he says (*op. cit.* 169), 'Den Sätzen »wenn ein Körper sich bewegt, durchläuft er einen Raum«, »wenn der Luftdruck zunimmt, steigt das Barometer«, »als die Schlacht geschlagen war, zog sich das Heer zurück«, sind vollständig gleichwertig die andern: »ein sich bewegender Körper durchläuft einen Raum«, »das Barometer steigt bei zunehmendem Luftdruck«, »das Heer zog sich zurück nach geschlagener Schlacht«. Es ist darum auch nicht angemessen, bloss jene Urtheile, welche aus mehreren untergeordneten bestehen, als *zusammengesetzte* zu bezeichnen, da man hierdurch logisch völlig gleichwertige Denkacte von einander trennt'. Yet, WUNDT does not pay attention to the consequences of his opinion, since not the simple sentences themselves, but only their compound counterparts are described as judgments of dependency (*op. cit.* 208).

It is evident that compound sentences cannot, as a rule, be classed as predications of dependency. Thus the sentence 'wenn ein Körper sich bewegt, durchläuft er einen Raum', should be described as a predication of attribution, since the predicate-verb has intemporal sense and therefore the activity of the subject is conceived as a quality. The nearest synonymous relative of the sentence is scarcely a predication of dependency, *i. e.* the sentence scarcely means 'the passing of an object through a space is due to its motion'. It is rather a predication of identity, meaning 'the passing of an object through a space is motion'. Also the sentence 'wenn der Luftdruck zunimmt, steigt das Barometer' should be considered as a predication of attribution, the action of the subject being conceived as a quality. Its synonymous relative is, no doubt, a predication of dependency, *i. e.* 'the rising of the barometer is due to increasing atmospheric pressure'. Again, the sentence 'als die Schlacht geschlagen war, zog sich das Heer zurück' is obviously a predication of action and its synonymous equivalent is, in our opinion, a predication of attribution, *i. e.* 'the retiring of the army



took place after the fighting of the battle'. A predication of validity is represented by the judgment 'es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die meisten chemischen Elemente zusammengesetzt sind'. In the following example we have to do with a predication of state: 'er weiss nicht, womit er sich Anerkennung erwerben soll'. As a conversion of this type should be considered the sentence 'wozu wir bestimmt sind, ist uns unbekannt'. It is unnecessary to determine the predication nature of the other examples of judgments of dependency adduced by WUNDT. Suffice it to state that, also in them as in their synonymous relatives, there is no vestige of a predication dependency. Only in the case of judgments of conditionality (das Begründungsurtheil), do we admit that the *synonyms* of the examples given, but not, as a rule, these examples themselves, are predications of dependency. We have seen that such was the case with the sentence 'wenn der Luftdruck zunimmt, steigt das Barometer'. The same is also the case with the sentences 'wenn Dreiecke gleiche Höhe und gleiche Grundlinie haben, so haben sie gleichen Flächeninhalt', 'weil der Weltraum von einem materiellen Medium erfüllt ist, so kann sich das Licht fortpflanzen zwischen den Gestirnen'. In accordance with the principle we have adopted for predicationally interpreting compound sentences, these two connexions should generally, though not always, be classed as predications of attribution (cf. p. 17). We repeat our assertion made before, that a predication analysis must as much as possible keep to the sense of the sentence as revealed in its form, and *not* to its synonyms, or else we have no fixed basis for a predication analysis.

From what precedes it is evident that WUNDT's examples of judgments of dependency are not to the point. For this category should only include cases where the subject is determined as having a relation of dependency to a notion contained in the predicate, or *vice versâ*. But WUNDT has here evidently abandoned his principle that judgments of relation imply a comparison between substances represented by the subject and the predicate, and that this comparison refers to their mutual relation as to extension or dependency. He has not kept to the predication point of view, and has even neglected the basis of his division, *i. e.* the forms of the predicate of the judgments.

It remains to consider the question as to what relations should be designated as dependent. Whatever should be the answer from a logical point of view, for the present we will conceive as

relations of dependency the relation between antecedent and consequent, or between cause and effect, *e. g.* 'this led to the consequence that . . .', 'this resulted in his defeat', 'his illness was due to infection'. Moreover, we will conceive as dependent the relation between the thing or phenomenon originated and its source, or between an occurrence and its purpose, *e. g.* 'the inundation originated from heavy rains', 'his journey was undertaken in order to improve his health'. We may consequently establish four different kinds of predications of dependency, *viz.* predication of consequence, of causality, of origin, and of purpose. Thus we have here designated as dependent relations only those where an element of causality is distinguishable.

Before discussing the subdivision of non-logical predications, we must lay down the principle we have adopted in delimiting this category. We must state more in detail when the grammatical analysis does not coincide with the logical. This is equivalent to stating when a conversion of a sentence should be considered as a non-logical predication. *Delimitation of non-logical predications.*

There is one category of sentences that appear as converted, not to the speaker's instinct, but to his reflection, because the basis of comparison stands out as arbitrarily chosen. Such is often the case when the predicate-verb in the two sentences compared is *different*. Each appears as a conversion of the other. But, when so, neither of them should be considered as a non-logical predication.

If we want to convert the subsumptive predication 'the oak is a tree', then we cannot use the same morphological elements; for the expression 'a tree is the oak' does not involve that the superordinate notion has become the subject and is indicated as including the subordinate in its sphere. A conversion is, however, presented if we say, 'the category of trees includes the oak'. In our opinion either predication is just as logical as the other. It is impossible to realize why the notion of less extension, *i. e.* the more substantial element, should here have the privilege of being the logical subject, irrespective of the form of the sentence. And yet this is the ultimate consequence of the definition of logical subject previously adduced. Let us take the predication of causality 'this circumstance caused his downfall' and convert it into 'his downfall was due to this circumstance'. Which of the two



represents the logical, and which, the non-logical predication? This is impossible to decide, for each appears to the speaker's instinct as logically independent of the other, *i. e.* as equally entitled to be taken as basis of comparison. In both cases, therefore, the logical and the grammatical analyses must be considered to agree. Take a predication of attribution, *e. g.* 'you own the horse', and convert it into 'the horse belongs to you'. We believe that also here both sentences appear to the speaker's consciousness as logical, *i. e.* as non-converted constructions. This is not only due to the discrepancy in predicate-verbs which necessarily weakens the association between the expressions; it is also due to the narrow extent of the predication subcategory involved (= *prædicatio possessionis*). The contrast between converted and non-converted sentences is here revealed only in a few verbs and is therefore less conspicuous, unless it occurs in the same verb. Therefore we cannot concur in BENNO ERDMANN's opinion that, in the German sentence 'Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt', the logical subject does not coincide with the grammatical (cf. above, p. 8). This example shows clearly which principle it is that, perhaps unconsciously, operates when such predications are considered as non-logical. It is not the principle that the notion of less substantiality is the grammatical predicate. It is, we think, the idea that the predication type supposed to have the wider prevalence, is conceived as the normal and, therefore, as the logical type, whereas its corresponding conversion, because of minor frequency, easily appears as non-logical. This principle itself is not to be rejected; only it has no application in the present case, and for reasons just mentioned.

Take another predication of attribution, *e. g.* 'that rock contains iron'. As a conversion of it may be deemed the sentence 'there is iron in that rock'. In this case the converted sentence belongs to another category of logical predications than its basis of comparison. The frequency of both expressions is very much the same. At any rate, from the point of view of our linguistic consciousness, we are equally justified in considering the former sentence as a conversion of the latter. This is tantamount to saying that we are also here destitute of a fixed basis of comparison. But, if so, we cannot admit with Benno Erdmann that an expression of an equivalent type, *e. g.* 'Falsch ist nicht in dir' (= *præd. exist.*), is a non-logical predication, even though its counterpart 'du bist

nicht falsch' is of greater frequency. The verb *constitute* is in the sense 'to be the elements or material of which a thing consists', correlative to the verb *consist of* that means 'to have as its constituent substance or elements'. Therefore, if we say 'the party consisted of his friends' or 'his friends constituted the party', we are concerned with sentences that may be conceived as conversions of each other. But we cannot here establish a principle for fixing the basis of comparison and both sentences must therefore be designated as logical.

As a subcategory of predications of attribution we have considered the case when the subject is qualified as to its impression on our senses or feelings. Examples of sense-impressions are: 'this is heavy, soft, red, hot'; 'this tastes, smells, sounds, looks nice'. It is impossible to conceive these and similar sentences as conversions of predications of perception. The same is the case with sentences where the predicate indicates an impression on our feelings, *e. g.* 'his manners are hateful, pleasant'. Yet, if the object of this impression is indicated, the sentences assume another predication aspect, and it is not impossible to conceive them as conversions, *e. g.* 'his manners were pleasant, hateful to me'. The meaning is then 'his manners caused me pleasure, disgust'. The subject is here determined as the cause of the phenomenon implied in the predicate and we should therefore describe these sentences as predications of dependency. They may be conceived as conversions of the expressions 'I liked, I hated his manners', *i. e.* predications of state, or 'I found his manners pleasant, hateful', *i. e.* predications of perception. Certain it is, however, that, to the speaker's instinct, they do not appear as conversions of predications of state or of perception. Therefore, such a connexion as 'his manners pleased me' must be set down as a logical predication (= *præd. dependentiæ*). Hence we must also reject Benno Erdmann's opinion that in the German sentence 'Dem Narren gefällt seine Weise wohl', the logical and the grammatical subject are represented by different morphemes. The view on which he has based his interpretation must be either that he considers the corresponding predication of perception or of state as the normal mode of expression and, therefore, as the logical one, or else that he means that 'gefallen' has actually assumed the sense of a verb of perception or of state, *i. e.* 'to find pleasure in', 'to be pleased with'. But neither premiss is true. Yet, ex-



perience shows that verbs denoting impression on our feelings and requiring an object as complement, may easily assume the sense of a verb of perception or of state, which involves that, instead of being used in predications of dependency, they are employed in predications of perception or of state. Thus, in English, the verb *loathe* is now a verb of perception or of state, meaning 'to feel or to have aversion or dislike to', *e. g.* 'I loathe him'. But in OE. it only denoted impression on our feelings, implying 'to be hateful to somebody', *e. g.* c. 893 K. ÆLFRED, *Oros.* III xi § 3 þā Cassander þæt geāscode þæt hio ðæm folce lāðade, þā gegaderade hē fird. We believe that this sense-development was principally due to inflexional facts, *i. e.* the dative and the nominative case coincided often in form in ME. But we do not deny that as a secondary cause has operated the semological affinity between a predication of dependency indicating sensational impression, and the corresponding predication of perception or of state. But since the former kind of predication is just as common as the latter kind, we need not assume that a verb of perceptive impression has been changed into a verb of perception or of state, unless this change is morphologically revealed. Therefore, we need not, with Benno Erdmann, consider that, in the German example 'mich reut die Tat', the personal pronoun constitutes the logical subject, since the other substantial element of the sentence may be conceived as the grammatical subject and, therefore, the whole sentence has the character of a predication denoting effect on our feelings, *i. e.* 'this deed caused me repentance' (= præd. dependentiæ). Yet in this particular example also the interpretation advanced by Erdmann, may be justified, on account of associative influence from closely allied expressions. For, in such a sentence as 'mich reut dieser Tat', we must for morphological and semological reasons consider *mich* as the logical subject, since no grammatical subject is expressed, which implies that the verb has here the sense 'to feel repentance'.

Also German impersonal expressions as 'mich hungert', 'mich gelüstet', and their OE. counterparts 'mec hyngreþ', 'mec lysteþ', are examples of a sense-development resulting in predications of perception or of state. The original sense of the predications and the resultant sense of them, may be designated as synonymous and, strictly speaking, also as conversions of each other. But neither ever appeared to the speaker's instinct as a conversion, *i. e.* as a non-logical

predication. Let us examine OE. *lystan* and *hyngran*, both derivatives of the substantives *lust* and *hungor*, and both with seemingly impersonal constructions, e. g. *Walfish* 52, and þone æglæcan ætes lysteþ. *Metr. of Boeth.* xxvi, 71. ac hī for ðæm yrmðum eardes lyste. *Lindisf. Gosp. John* vi. 35 sēðe cymes to mē ne hyngreð hine. The import of desubstantival verbs is generally of such a nature that the substantival part has an adjunct relation to the indefinite verbal element involved, e. g. 'to pen (a letter)', i. e. to write with a pen, 'to dog (a man)', i. e. to follow like a dog. But, theoretically speaking, it is also possible to suppose that a desubstantival derivation may lead to the result that the substantive represents the subject of the verbal element amalgamated with it. We believe that such was originally the case with impersonal verbs of the type represented by OE. *lystan* and *hyngran*. In other words, we mean that they originally meant 'lust, hunger seizes, takes hold of, attacks, etc.' and that they, therefore, with their complements constituted predications of action, though with abstract subjects (cf. mod. Engl. 'horror seized him', 'jealousy invaded him'). But if this is true, then it is a prerequisite that in OE. or, at any rate, in the prehistoric period when such verbs were formed, it was customary to use a substantive denoting a physical or a mental state, as the grammatical subject and to include the bearer of that state in the grammatical predicate. And, in fact, in OE., we often meet with sentences of this type, e. g. *Bēow.* 232 hinc fyrwyrt bræc mōdgehygdum, hwæt þā men wæron. *Andreas* 286 ūsie lust hweteþ on þā lēodmearce, *Walfish* 51, þonne hine on holme hungor bysgað. *Wanderer* 39, ðonne sorg and slæp somod ætgædere earmne ānhagan oft gebindað. Perhaps the original sense of a predication of action was still alive in OE. in spite of the i-mutation of the verbs *lystan* and *hyngran*, which, no doubt, obscured their association with the corresponding substantives. If we claim that a grammatical subject should be morphologically independent, then we must admit that, in these predications, no grammatical subject is to be distinguished. If so, their nature of predications of action has been determined from a logical point of view. But this predication-al nature was soon obscured and the sentences assumed the aspect of predications of perception. In English the form has been accommodated to this sense-development, in German it has not.

We have passed in review some converted sentences. They all have this in common that the predicate-verbs are different as



compared with those of their bases of comparison. They are also of such a nature that they themselves may equally well be conceived as non-converted, and the latter as their converted correspondents. Even if such correlative sentences offer a decided difference in frequency, yet the type of minor frequency does not stand out to the speaker's instinct as a conversion. This is then due not only to the difference in predicate-verbs, which prevents a close association between the sentences compared; it is also due to the fact that the converted sentence may have a form and a sense that refer it to a category of logical predications whose representatives cannot be conceived as converted, *e. g.* 'Falsch ist nicht in dir', 'there is iron in this rock' (= præd. exist.), 'his manners pleased me' (= præd. depend.). It is further due to the circumstance that, in the case of predications of attribution or of relation, the great number of subcategories they comprise present true conversions comparatively rarely. These conversions do not then constitute categories sufficiently conspicuous to make semological equivalents, but with other predicates, appear to the speaker's instinct as converted. Therefore, in them the grammatical and the logical subject coincide. The examples of discrepancy between logical and grammatical analyses advanced by Benno Erdmann, represent in fact such conversions (cf. p. 8). We have therefore been forced to deny that they are to the point. In sentences that are complete, but destitute of a grammatical subject, the logical analysis results in predication types, which when their morphology admits of a grammatical analysis, always exhibit an agreement between the logical and the grammatical interpretation. Thus, for instance, the OE. sentence 'mec hyngreþ' constitutes either a predication of action or a predication of perception. But this shows that we are here concerned with logical predications.

There is another category of converted sentences than the one hitherto considered. This category appears also to the speaker's instinct as presenting true conversions, as exhibiting a real deviation from the logical structure of the sentences. The basis of comparison appears here as naturally and not as arbitrarily chosen. The characteristic feature of these conversions is that, in them, the predicate-verb or the principal part of the predicate is generally *the same* as in their bases of comparison. The consequence of this fact is that the association between the con-

verted sentence and its non-converted correspondent becomes equally intimate as the association between the two different senses that, in them, are presented by the same predicate-verb. One of these senses appears to the speaker's consciousness as normal and habitual, the other, as abnormal and occasional. Therefore, the predications where the former sense occurs, are naturally taken as bases of comparison, which implies that, with the elements given, they are conceived to represent the normal and, therefore, also the logical structure of the predications. Again, the connexion where the predicate-verb has the other sense, appears as having an abnormal and, therefore, a non-logical structure.

On the strength of this principle, the sentence 'the oak is included in the category of trees' appears to the speaker's consciousness as a non-logical predication, *i. e.* as a conversion of the sentence 'the category of trees includes the oak'. And yet the former is synonymous with the connexion 'the oak is a tree', which has the aspect of a non-converted or logical predication. The same converted aspect is presented by the connexion 'his downfall was caused by this circumstance', whereas the synonymous predication 'his downfall was due to this circumstance' must be conceived as non-converted. If we say, 'the horse was owned by him', this appears as a conversion of the corresponding active construction, but its synonymous equivalent 'the horse belonged to him'. does not stand out as a truly converted sentence. Take the predication 'that rock contains iron'. As a true conversion of it can be conceived only the sentence 'iron is contained in that rock'; but its synonym 'there is iron in that rock' appears as a conversion only to our reflection, not to our instinct. The two correlative sentences 'his friends constituted the party' and 'the party consisted of his friends' appear to our reflection as conversions of each other. The latter sentence is destitute of a corresponding true conversion, the former is not, *e. g.* 'the party was constituted by his friends'. In spite of the semological affinity with this expression, the connexion 'the party consisted of his friends' appears to the speaker's instinct as non-converted. We have classed the connexion 'his manners pleased me' as a non-converted predication. Consequently the expression 'I was pleased with his manners' must be considered as its non-logical counterpart. Such was at least originally the case, but the latter sentence has now the aspect of a predication of perception or of state. If we



turn to predications of state, of perception, and of action such as 'I know this', 'I heard this', 'I encouraged him', we shall find that their corresponding passive constructions appear as true conversions of them.

In all these examples of converted sentences, the grammatical subject represents in the corresponding non-converted sentences that adjunct relation to the predicate that is called 'object'. In all of them the passive form is an expression of the function of the verb in converted sentences, and is, therefore, generally a criterion of truly converted predications. But this function of the predicate is in English very often represented also by the active form, *e. g.* 'the anchor weighed' (= was weighed). The aspect of truly converted predication is also here due to the fact that the *same* verb presents the discrepancy between a non-converted and a corresponding converted sense.

Let us discuss a striking example of the different predication impression on the speaker's instinct, made by sentences in the active form that are semologically closely allied. The expression 'this apple *feels* soft', appears to our instinct as a conversion of the sentence 'I feel this apple (to be) soft'. This is due to the fact that the import 'to perceive by the feeling' is a predominant sense of the verb 'to feel' and that a conversion of the construction conditioned by this sense in the active form, gives as result expressions of the type 'this apple feels soft'. On the other hand, the expression may also be explained as a predication of attribution, implying then 'this apple is of such a nature that it makes an impression of softness on the touch'. This import of sense-impression is equally early as the converted function of the active form of the verb. Nay, it must theoretically be the earlier, for, in this particular case, the new sense of the verb is due to analogical influence from other verbs denoting impression on our senses. It will be remembered that, when, in English, there was no general verb denoting impression on the sense of feeling, there already existed verbs indicating impression on the other senses, *e. g.* 'this apple looks, tastes, smells nice', 'her voice sounds nice'. This linguistic deficiency became, therefore, particularly conspicuous. We may assume that especially the verb 'to smell' that signified both a verb of perception or of action and a verb of sense-impression, may have induced the origination of the import of sense-impression on the part of 'to feel', which already denoted a verb of

perception or of action. Or else, we may suppose that this sense was induced also by the verb 'to taste', which signified both action and sense-impression. This explanation is supported by the fact that the passive form of 'to feel' is not used in expressions of the type discussed. We have already explained why the signification of sense-impression on the part of 'to feel' also appeared as a sense denoted by NED. as 'quasi-passive'. We cannot, however, concur in the opinion advanced there, that 'to feel' is 'used (like *taste* and *smell*) in quasi-passive sense' (cf. NED. s. v. *feel* III 16). In other words, we cannot admit that the verbs *taste* and *smell* may be used quasi-passively. The former verb involves either a transitive sense of action, *e. g.* 'he tasted the apple', or else an intransitive signification of sense-impression, *e. g.* 'the apple tasted good'. But it has not the sense of a verb of perception, *i. e.* it does not also mean 'to perceive the taste of'. It is consequently destitute of the sense that, in the case of 'to feel', makes the signification of sense-impression appear as quasi-passive. Again the verb *to smell* has not only senses corresponding to those of *to taste*, but also the transitive sense 'to perceive the smell of', *e. g.* 'he smelled the rose' (= the scent of the rose). And yet its import of sense-impression does not here stand out to the speaker's consciousness as also quasi-passive, *e. g.* 'the rose smelled nice'. The cause of this fact is that this sense of the verb is just as predominant as its function of a verb of perception, both senses being frequently recorded ever since the earliest occurrence of the verb in the ME. period. Thus we have here a good illustration of the phenomenon that a verbal sense appears as passival only if the corresponding transitive sense, of which it may be conceived as a converted function, is more predominant. This involves that, if the perceptive sense of the verb *to feel* became less common, then the sentence 'this apple feels soft' would appear only as a predication of attribution.

We have hitherto considered such conversions only where the grammatical subject logically represents the object in the corresponding non-converted sentences. But as truly converted predications appear also connexions whose grammatical subjects, in the non-converted counterparts, represent other adjunct relations. Also here the passive form may indicate this converted function of the predicate-verb, but the active form is, at least in some of



the subcategories, the predominant expression. Also here we are concerned with the same predicate-verb in the converted sentence and its basis of comparison, and to this fact is due the close association between them that makes one of them stand out to the speaker's instinct as a conversion. As the basis of comparison, *i. e.* as the non-converted sentence, is considered the connexion where the grammatical subject belongs to the sphere of determination of the predicate-verb as conditioned by the material import of the latter, *e. g.* 'penguins swarmed in the island', 'I cannot walk so far as Prague on my crutches', 'he dubbed knights'. Again, as the converted sentence is conceived the connexion where the grammatical subject is represented by a morphem that does not fall within the predication sphere of the verb in the active form, but that constitutes an adjunct to the predicate in the non-converted correspondent, *e. g.* 'the island swarmed with penguins', 'my crutches cannot walk so far as Prague', 'knights were dubbed by him'. Thus it is also here the normal expression that is considered as non-converted, *i. e.* as logical, whereas the abnormal expression is conceived as a non-logical or converted construction.

In the category of true conversions we should also include the case when the grammatical subject represents only *a part* of the logical subject, whereas the other part constitutes an element of the grammatical predicate, *e. g.* 'I was difficult to instruct', 'I happened to know him', 'he is certain to come'. The logical correspondents of these sentences are: 'it was difficult to instruct me', 'it happened that I knew him', 'it is certain that he comes'. Thus the principal part of the predicate here qualifies a subject that does not belong to its sphere of determination. Therefore, at least in the beginning, these constructions appear as converted or non-logical also to the speaker's consciousness. But they easily tend to lose their appearance of conversions, because that part of the predicate which, morphologically speaking, is the principal one, tends semologically to constitute only an accessory element. Thus in the sentence 'he is certain to come', the principal element of the predicate (*i. e.* 'certain') lends only a modal modification to the whole sentence, and, from that point of view, it may be disregarded in determining the predication nature of the latter. In the expression 'he happened to know him', we may consider 'happened' as equivalent to an adverbial adjunct and, therefore, as not influencing the predication aspect. Again, in the connexion 'I

was difficult to instruct', the whole predicate may be conceived to involve a quality characteristic of the subject. If so, we are in the last example concerned with a predication of attribution. But since this quality refers to the facility of the subject for being the object of a specified action, we have at the same time to do with a predication of object (= præd. objecti & attributionis). Yet, if we consider the morphology of all these expressions, we must describe them as non-logical.

Concerning the delimitation of non-logical predications there is another point to be discussed. We have proclaimed that as converted sentences appear to the speaker's instinct only such expressions whose morphological elements are *the same* as in the corresponding non-converted sentences. We must, however, establish an exception to this principle. It should be noticed that predications of function constitute a category which includes the vast majority of the sentences that form the bases of comparison of all truly converted predications. Therefore, when we meet with such conversions of predications of function as present a morphological deviation from their non-converted correspondents, then they nevertheless appear as conversions also to the speaker's consciousness, and not only to his reflection. This is due to associative influence from the enormous number of predications that, with retention of the same morphological elements, are conversions of predications of function. Therefore, we have here a fixed basis of comparison. Again, in the case of predications of relation and of attribution, truly converted sentences are not able to make semological equivalents but with other predicates, stand out also to the speaker's instinct as converted sentences (cf. above, 'to be due to', 'to belong to', to constitute, etc.).

Let us consider some examples of such conversions of predications of function. An examination of verbs denoting 'to catch, to grasp, to seize, to take hold of' will show that, without a change of construction, they easily assume a sense that makes the subject logically stand out as a direct or indirect object of a function. This sense is the one presented by the verbs 'to receive', 'to get' when they have a function that may be considered as the passive of the verb *to give*. Thus the Anglo-Norman loan-word *to catch* (< ONF. *cachier* < Lat. *captiare* < *captus* taken captive), whose original and predominant sense is 'to capture, to seize, to keep hold of', has developed the sense 'to receive, to get' that in conjunction with its complements lends a converted aspect to the



sentence, *e. g.* c. 1400 *Destr. Troy* 2155 Myche comforth he caght of þaire kynd speche (= was comforted). Its native correspondent *to latch* (< OE. *læccēan*), now obsolete, meant in OE. only 'to take hold of, to grasp, to seize', but in ME. it assumed also the sense 'to receive (a gift, a blow, an injury)', *e. g.* c. 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron.* 94 þe kyng stode ouer nehi, þe stroke he lauht so smerte (= was beaten). The archaic verb *to hent* (< OE. *hentan*) denoted in OE. only 'to lay hold of, seize, grasp', but in ME. it also meant 'to get, to receive (*e. g.* harm, baptism)', *e. g.* c. 1450 *Mirour Salvatioun* 1472. Of some man . . the Baptisme of watere he hent (= was baptized). c. 1460 *Towneley Myst.* 122 So that I no harmes hent (= was harmed). The verb *to reach* (< OE. *(ge)rācan*) assumed in ME. also the sense 'to take, to lay hold of' and, somewhat later, the signification 'to receive, catch, suffer', *e. g.* c. 1450 *Mirour Saluatioun* 3554 Of the Jewes crewelle mykel persecucionne he raught (= was persecuted). The obsolete verb *to fang* (< OE. *fōn* < OTeut. *\*fanḡan*, = Goth. *fāhan*, OHG *fāhan*, mod. Ger. *fangen*, ON. *fá*, Swed. *få*) implied originally 'to lay hold of, to seize', but already in OE. we meet with the sense 'to receive', indicating the subject as 'patients', *e. g.* *Riddles* 57, 3 hēapoglemma fēng, dēopra dolga (= received wounds, was wounded). The habitual sense of *to receive* conditions a converted predication, *e. g.* 'he received a blow, an injury'. Its etymology shows that also here the original sense is 'to seize', the ultimate prototype being Lat. *recipere* < *re* + *capere*. If we turn to the synonymous verb *to get* of Scandinavian introduction, we shall find that it is traced back to the OAr. root *ghed-* (*ghod-*) 'to seize, take hold of'. Also the verbs *to suffer*, *to experience*, *to have* may have such complements as lend a converted aspect to the sentence, *e. g.* SHAKS. *Winter's Tale* IV, iv 536 if your settled project may suffer alteration. a 1300 *Cursor M.* 9574 þat he moght haue forgi(u)nes. 1786 T. JEFFERSON *Writ.* II, 24. The treaties . . have experienced greater delay than was expected. We have by no means exhausted the number of such expressions if we also adduce *to go* and *to meet*, *e. g.* 1879 M. J. GUEST *Lect. Hist. Eng.* xxx 299. Whatever money he got, it all went in books (= was spent in books). 1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.* IV 655 Thy great Misdeeds have met a due Reward. 1893 EARL DUNMORE *Pamire* II 311. This system of semi-official marauding met with the approval of the Czar.

Adjectives in *-able*, *-ible* may often lend a converted aspect to the sentence whose predicates they constitute. If we say 'his conduct is blameable', 'the fruit is eatable', 'the tree is discernible from afar', these sentences signify 'his conduct is of such a nature that it should be blamed', 'the fruit is such that it may be

eaten', 'the tree is of such height (or the like) that it may be seen from afar'. We are here concerned with derivatives of English verbs of function. But the same predication aspect may occur if the stem of the adjective either does not exist as a verb in English, or else is a verbal substantive, *e. g.* 'the letter is legible', 'the mountain is visible', 'the review is saleable'. In all these examples the predicate determines the subject as being of such a nature that it may (should) be the object of a specified function. These connexions are, therefore, at the same time predications of attribution and converted predications. But, if so, we must also describe as such, sentences of the type 'his conduct should be blamed', 'the fruit may be eaten'. And, if so, we seem to be concerned with a case where the modal modification of a sentence has influence on its predication nature. Be it noticed, however, that the modal expression indicates here that the predicate is a characteristic quality of the subject, but it does not exclusively involve an indication of the speaker's attitude towards the validity or desirability of this qualification, and consequently it does not imply an exception to our principle that this attitude is immaterial to the predication nature of the sentences. Again, if we say 'he was blameable for his conduct', this is equivalent to the expression 'he should be blamed for his conduct'. Here we must conceive both connexions as predications of object, and the modal element, as only considering the speaker's attitude towards the predications. Moreover, if we say 'the mountain became now visible', this may imply that it was actually seen and, if so, we are concerned with a predication of object. But if the sentence implies that the mountain was now at such a distance from the persons concerned that it *might* be seen by them, then we have to do with a *prædicatio objecti & attributionis*.

As a true conversion of a predication of state must be set down the German sentence 'wozu wir bestimmt sind, ist uns unbekannt', or the English expression 'our destiny is unknown to us'. For the corresponding predications of state belong to a category that represents the habitual and, therefore, the logical expression of such ideas as those implied in the sentences mentioned.

We have exemplified such predications as we want to describe as truly converted connexions, because they appear so, not only to the speaker's reflection, but also to his instinct or, at any rate, because we can determine a basis of comparison that does not



appear as arbitrarily chosen. It is only conversions of this kind that we want to establish as a particular predication category. True, the bases of comparison of truly converted sentences may in themselves be considered as conversions of the latter. But they generally appear to our consciousness as the normal and habitual way of construction, as compared with their converted correspondents, and, therefore, they naturally stand out as bases of comparison, *i. e.* as non-converted predications.

If we designate non-converted sentences as logical predications, then this implies on the whole that 'logical' is the sentence structure that is conceived as the habitual and normal one, *i. e.* as satisfying the claims of the material import of the predicate. But this involves that, here, the logical and the grammatical analyses coincide and that logical subject is the morphem required as subject by the material import of the predicate. It is therefore that, if the grammatical predicate denotes a function or a state, it is the performer of the function or the bearer of the state that constitutes the logical subject. It is, also, therefore that, if the predicate denotes a quality or an attribute, or a relation between substances, the logical subject is represented by the bearer of that quality or attribute or, in the case of connexions of relation, by the substance required as subject by the material import of the predicate-verb and of the substances compared. But the latter criterion is not applicable, at least in predications of identity or in predications of relation destitute of a particular expression of the nature of the relation. In these connexions the logical subject is determined by the import of the whole sentence and not by the import of its elements. It is a matter of course that sentences devoid of corresponding converted expressions, *e. g.* 'he is pleasant', must appear as non-converted or logical connexions. It is also evident that sentences, not admitting of a grammatical analysis, but only of a logical or a psychological one, must stand out as logical or non-converted predications.

If we describe non-converted sentences as logical connexions, then we must designate truly converted sentences as non-logical predications, *i. e.* as such where the logical and the grammatical analyses disagree. Thus, when used of predications, the terms 'logical' and 'non-logical' are equivalent to the terms 'non-converted' and 'converted'. The same morphem that constitutes the subject in a non-converted predication, presents an adjunct relation to the predicate in the corresponding converted connexion. It is

this functional discrepancy of the same morphem in synonymous connexions that has principally given rise to the notion of logical subject as distinguished from grammatical subject. Therefore, we generally speak of a logical subject in converted sentences only, because only in them the logical and the grammatical analyses disagree. But this notion is also used in such logical connexions as are morphologically complete, but destitute of a grammatical subject, *e. g.* G. *mich hungert*. Thus, the distinction of a logical subject is grammatically indispensable in order to make clear the discrepancy between converted sentences and their bases of comparison, but also between form and sense in certain logical connexions. From what precedes it is evident that it is not a fair definition of logical subject to say that it represents 'the agent of a function or the bearer of a quality' (Wundt, Sigwart). As basis of the definition then is taken the non-converted sentences, which in itself is justified. But the definition should then indicate all the principal ways in which the subject is qualified by the predicate in logical predications, but these ways are by no means exhausted by the definition given above. It is perhaps preferable to take the converted sentences as starting-point for the definition. We then give prominence to the factor which has principally given rise to the notion of logical subject and which justifies its grammatical use. In this case we may define logical subject as that member of a converted predication that, in the corresponding non-converted sentence, constitutes the grammatical subject or a part of it; but we must add that it also designates the principal member of such a non-converted predication as is morphologically complete, but destitute of a grammatical subject. This definition involves that we need not speak of a logical subject in other non-converted sentences, either because the logical subject is here identical with the grammatical, or, in the case of incomplete sentences, because it is equivalent to the psychological subject.

A subdivision of non-logical predications should be made on a principle other than the one applied to the logical connexions. True, predications of the former kind may very often find a place under the categories of the latter type, since the predication import of non-logical connexions is often oscillating, and, besides, the psychological analysis often deviates from the grammatical. But their characteristic feature is that the grammatical sub-

*Division of  
non-logical  
predications.*



ject logically represents an adjunct relation to the predicate, or else only a part of the logical subject. The natural principle for their subdivision should therefore be the different functions in the corresponding logical predications that are presented by their grammatical subjects. If we use the terminology of current grammar, these are the function of object and the function of adverbial adjunct. To these we have to add the function of representing only a part of the logical subject. Consequently non-logical predications may be divided into three main categories: predication of object, predication of adverbial adjunct, predication of a part of the logical subject.

The terms 'object' and 'adverbial adjunct' involve a number of different adjunct relations. The notion of object has not yet been duly fixed by linguists. KÖRTING<sup>1</sup> says with perfect truth: 'Es bedarf die Lehre vom Object sowohl überhaupt als auch in bezug auf die einzelnen Sprachen noch einer gründlichen Revision'. We are therefore forced to give the term object the same vague and indefinite import as is used by current grammar. Let us, however, throw a cursory glance on the adjunct relations generally designated as objects.

If we turn to the adjunct connexions distinguished by NOREEN in point of Modern Swedish, we shall find that he designates as *status objectivus*<sup>2</sup> the case when the determining member indicates the object of the action or the function denoted by the principal member, *e. g.* 'to light *the lanthorns*', 'to steal *cattle*', 'to publish *records*', 'to study *Latin*', 'to get sight of *the enemy*', 'to love *one's native country*', 'to long *for liberty*'. In these and the other examples adduced, we are concerned with the object of a verb of action or of state (to love, to long). The term object is also applied to the adjunct relation called by Noreen *status limitativus*. In this adjunct connexion the qualifying member indicates in what measure the action expressed by the determined member is true as *such*, *i. e.* the former member indicates the limitation made in respect to the semological import of the latter. Examples of this so called 'cognate object' are: 'to

<sup>1</sup> G. KÖRTING *Bemerkungen über den Begriff und die Teile des grammatischen Satzes*, Kiel 1905, 25.

<sup>2</sup> NOREEN, *Vårt språk*, V, ii, 234. As already pointed out (p. 4, footnote), Noreen employs the term 'status' to designate the semological relation between the members of an adjunct connexion.

(specified) *life*', 'to dream *a* (specified) *dream*'<sup>1</sup>, 'to kiss *a* (specified) *kiss*'<sup>2</sup>, 'to die *a* (specified) *death*', 'to grin *a* (specified) *grin*'<sup>3</sup>, 'to err *a* (specified) *error*' (*obs.*)<sup>4</sup>, to bite (a specified) *bit*' (*obs.*)<sup>5</sup>, 'to mean (one's) *moan*' (*obs.*)<sup>6</sup>.

This cognate object seems to occur as determining verbs of function only. However, as objects are often designated adjuncts to verbs of attribution or of relation, *i. e.* such verbs as constitute predicate-verbs in predications of attribution or of relation. To take a few examples: 'to contain *iron*', 'to possess a *horse*', to require *carefulness*', 'to consider a *thing* (= to have reference to a thing), 'to involve *difficulties*', 'to embrace, comprise *several notions*', 'to cause, occasion *emotion*'. If in such connexions the adjunct has the form of casus prepositionalis, then it is generally conceived as an adverbial adjunct, though, semologically speaking, it may be called an object equally as when it is dressed in the form of casus rectus, *e. g.* 'to refer *to a thing*' (= to have reference to), 'to consist *of certain elements*', 'to result *in defeat*'. Yet, there seems to be a constructive difference between them. For the verbs requiring casus rectus may occur in converted sentences and be dressed in the passive form, whereas this does not seem to be the case with verbs of attribution and of relation that require a prepositional adjunct. We shall, therefore, include only the former adjuncts under the term 'object', and they may be designated as objects of attribution and objects of relation in contradistinction to objects of function and of state. Let us comprise all these adjunct relations under the term direct object, which on the whole harmonizes with the import lent to this term by current grammar. The non-logical predication whose grammatical subject logically represents a direct object thus delimited, we shall call predication of direct object.

The term 'direct object' involves that grammar has distinguished also an indirect object. It is difficult to fix the exact import of this term as used by grammarians. Yet, it seems chiefly to denote an adjunct to whose advantage or disadvantage an occur-

<sup>1</sup> 1810 SCOTT *Lady of L.* II. xxxi, 'Who have . . . Dreamed calmly out their dangerous dream. <sup>2</sup> ? 1830 TENNYSON *Sea-Fairies* 74 We will kiss sweet kisses and speak sweet words. <sup>3</sup> 1884 SALA *Journ. due South* I. xxvi (1887) 356. The gaunt hobbledehoy . . . grinning a very unlovely grin. <sup>4</sup> 1674 HICKMAN *Quinquart. Hist.* (ed. 2) 194 They erre as had an errour as the Pelagians do. <sup>5</sup> c. 1320 *Cast. Love* 1343 A great bite he bot of helle. <sup>6</sup> a 1300 *Cursor M.* 4277 (Cott.) Oft sco meind til him hir mane.



rence takes place or a fact exists (*status commodi & incommodi*). The indirect object generally occurs in conjunction with a direct object<sup>1</sup>, *e. g.* 'they promised *me* this; you tell it *me* often enough; give *me* them again (or, give them again *to me*), perhaps I may be able to find *you* them in Ostia (or, 'to find them *for you*'), 'he wrote that *to me*', 'he avowed it *to me*'. Here belong also such examples as: 'he stole cattle *from his neighbour*'. In this instance the prepositional expression is described by Noreen as *status objectivus*, but certain it is that the adjunct relation offered by it, is different from the one presented by his examples of this status mentioned above. When the grammatical subject logically constitutes an indirect object, we will term the connexion predication of indirect object.

We admit that we cannot draw a hard and fast line between a direct and an indirect object, and in so far the distinction between the last two predication categories becomes somewhat vague. But it is the business of a special investigation as to the nature of the object to establish the line of demarcation.

There is another adjunct relation generally included under the term object. This adjunct indicates the result of the verbal action it qualifies, and is therefore by Noreen called '*status resultativus*'. The object of result may occur in conjunction with a direct object and is then by current grammar generally called 'predicative adjunct (of the objective type)', *e. g.* 'to elect a person *king*', 'to dub a person *a knight*', 'to breed a person *a scholar*', 'to pucker one's brow *into a frown*'. It will be remembered, however, that in this case the object of result can never be turned into the grammatical subject in a converted sentence. Such is only possible when no direct object has been expressed in the non-converted counterpart. It is in this case only that current grammar designates the adjunct in question as object. As examples<sup>2</sup> may be adduced: 'to elect *a king*', 'to dub *a knight*', 'to pucker *a frown*', 'to kindle *a fire*'; 'to grind *meal*' (to grind *corn* = *status objectivus*); 'to drink *a toast*' (to drink *wine* = *status limitativus*), 'to chip *an epitaph*' (to chip *a stone* = *status objectivus*), 'to beat *a signal*' (to beat *the drum* = *status objectivus*), 'to hew out *a canoe*'. When

<sup>1</sup> The examples are taken from H. POUTSMA *A Grammar of Late Mod. Engl.*, Groningen 1904, I, 154.

<sup>2</sup> The examples illustrating this and the following adjunct relations have been taken from our instances of corresponding converted sentences.

the grammatical subject logically represents a status resultativus, we are concerned with a predication of object of result.

The notion of adverbial adjunct has not been duly delimited from the notion of object. This term covers a considerable number of different adjunct relations, most of which, however, are never confused with the object. In so far as these adjuncts may, logically speaking, be represented by the grammatical subject, we should divide the predications of adverbial adjunct into as many subvarieties. The following statement of these subcategories does not pretend to be exhaustive, but only to include the most important of them.

The various adjunct relations that imply a local or a temporal determination, *i. e.* a qualification as to direction or situation in space or time, may be comprised under the headings 'status loci' and 'status temporis',<sup>1</sup> *e. g.* 'woods grow abundantly *in this island*', 'he traversed *over the ground*'; 'visitors crowded *the trains*'; 'they climbed up *the mountain*'; 'penguins swarmed *in the island*'; 'milk and honey flow *in this country*'; 'the Prince embarked *on the Osborn*'; — 'his reputation decayed *in his last five years*'; 'the blue-bells waved *on July's eve*'; 'people beheld them full of lusty life *last noon*'. When the grammatical subject logically represents these adjuncts, we may call the connexions predication of local adjunct and predication of temporal adjunct. As 'status spatii' (including 'status mensuræ' and 'status pretii') is by Noreen described the case when the adjunct involves a determination as to amount or quantity, *e. g.* 'to allow *one day* to the formation of a thing', 'to cover *two miles* in an hour', 'to spend *two hours* in discussing the question', 'to pay *five shillings* for it'. Again, when the adjunct indicates the material or the constituent parts of which a thing consists, we have to do with a 'status materiæ' (Noreen), *e. g.* 'to make an honest woman *of her*', 'to make a posie *out of these flowers*'; 'to compile a volume *out of these instances*'. Both these adjunct relations may, logically speaking, be represented by the grammatical subject and we have consequently to institute a predication of adjunct of amount or quantity and a predication of adjunct of material. By 'status causativus' Noreen<sup>2</sup> means the adjunct relation when

<sup>1</sup> These terms are not used by NOREEN, who, instead, has made another main division of these adjuncts. cf. NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 190 sq.

<sup>2</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 226, 231.



the determining member indicates the cause of an occurrence, or a state of things, *e. g.* 'his strength has decreased with *age*', 'his memory decays with *age*', 'man lost Heaven *for that dire event*', 'he paid forfeit *for the horse*'. As 'status instrumenti' is by Noreen designated the adjunct relation where the qualifying element indicates the instrument of the action or the phenomenon indicated by the determined member, *e. g.* 'to grind *one's teeth*', 'to gnash *one's teeth*', 'to grind corn *on the mill*', 'to open a door *with a key*'; 'to interlard one's conversation *with figures of speech*', 'to blow *a bugle*', 'to slay a person *with a falchion*', 'to greet the resolution *with shouts of assent*', 'to identify a person *by the voice*', 'to ride *a horse*' (the instrumental nature of the adjunct is here not very salient); 'to walk a distance *on one's crutches*'. We can further distinguish an adjunct relation where the determining member indicates the thing in return for which another thing is taken as an equivalent or substitute. This adjunctive type is by Noreen called 'status vicis',<sup>1</sup> *e. g.* 'to pay a person *for his work*', 'to pay toll *for a thing*', 'to recompense a person *for a thing* by something', 'to buy a thing *for money*'. Since a grammatical subject may logically represent also these three adjunct relations, we can establish three corresponding kinds of non-logical predications, *viz.* predication of causal adjunct, predication of instrumental adjunct, predication of adjunct of exchange.

The third main category of non-logical predications, *i. e.* predication of a part of the logical subject is of very small extent and cannot claim any subdivision.

*Delimita-  
tion and sub-  
division of  
middle pre-  
dications.*

It still remains to consider the delimitation and subdivision of middle predications. Their characteristic feature is that the grammatical subject represents not only the logical subject, but also an adjunct relation to the predicate. We have therefore set them down as a category intermediate between logical and non-logical predications. This dualistic nature seems to come into prominence only when the adjunct relation mentioned involves a direct or an indirect object. If we make this delimitation, we do not class as middle predications sentences of the type: 'he pulled the ladder up *after him*', 'he cast a quick glance *round him*', 'they climbed the ladder *after each other*', etc.

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 249.

The middle predications should be divided into two principal categories. In one of them the grammatical subject is either a singular or a plural (dual) notion. In the latter case each of the members contained in the subject represents an object whose corresponding subject is constituted by this member itself, *e. g.* 'they beat themselves'. Thus the relation between the different members of the subject involves here a co-ordination only. In the other kind of middle predications the grammatical subject is considered, though unjustly, to be represented only by a plural (dual) notion. Each of its members constitutes, then, an object whose corresponding subject is represented by the other member(s) of the plural subject, *e. g.* 'they beat each other'. Thus the relation between the different members of the subject here implies not only a co-ordination, but also the cross relation of subject and object. We shall call the former case predication of reflexivity and the latter case, predication of reciprocity. Both these categories may, if we so will, be subdivided according as the adjunct relation constitutes a direct or an indirect object.

In conclusion we shall take a general survey of the predication III. **General survey of the predication categories in English.** categories in English whose distinction we have previously discussed.

### 1. **Logical predications.**

We designate predications as logical or non-converted, when the grammatical and the logical analyses coincide, or when only a logical or a psychological analysis is possible. The grammatical forms of the predicate are of different types. If the predicate (or its principal part) is a verb with material import, it is normally dressed in the *active* form. This kind of connexion includes the vast majority of all predications. It may be divided into two main sections, each presenting a number of subvarieties.

#### A. **Predication of qualification** (Prædicatio qualificationis).

In this category we include all predications where the predicate determines the subject in respect to function, state, validity, existence, qualities, or other determinations that do not refer to the extension or dependency of the subject. If we so will, we



may here distinguish two main categories: predication of activity and predication of non-activity. A number of subvarieties may be set up, of which the following are particularly conspicuous.

1. *Predication of action* (Prædicatio actionis).

Here the subject is determined by the predicate as performing a function actively. The subject is generally a concrete, whether animate or inanimate. It may also be represented by things immaterial, which then are metaphorically conceived as performing an action. The function itself may be of physical or mental nature. It may even consist in passive motion or in effluvia, *e. g.* 'the ball passed through the body', 'the sun shone brightly'. The grammatical form of the predicate or its principal part is generally an independent verb, more rarely a nominal<sup>1</sup> expression. This predication type is of enormous frequency.<sup>2</sup>

Examples: SHAKS. *Rom. & Jul.* II. ii. She *speaks*, yet she *says* nothing: what of that? Her eye *discourses*; I will *answer* it. *Ibid.* V. iii. Stay not, *be gone*; live, — and hereafter *say*, A madman's mercy *bade* thee run away. MILTON *P. L.* II 271. Admiration *seized* All Heav'n, what this might mean. MILTON *Comus* 932 May thy billows *roll* ashore The beryl, and the golden ore. POPE *Ess. on Man* III 317. Thus God and nature *link'd* the gen'ral frame. . . BURKE *Sel. Wks* (Clar. Press 1898) 89. I thought ten thousand swords must *have leaped* from their scabbards. . . BYRON *Ch. Har.* II. xcvi. How selfish Sorrow *ponders* on the past, . . . *Ibid.* II. lv. The sun had *sunk* behind vast Tomerit, The Laos wide and fierce *came roaring by*. KEATS *Ode to Autumn* III Hedgecrickets *sing*; and now with treble soft The redbreast *whistles* from a garden croft; And gathering swallows *twitter* in the skies. SHELLEY *Julian and Maddalo* 53 Meanwhile the sun *paused* ere it should *alight*. . . SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* II. viii The Monk *gazed* long on the lovely moon, Then into the night he *looked* forth. *Ibid.* II. xi, The moon on the east oriel *shone*. . . MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. viii. 68. Young Crossjay *betrayed* anxiety about his false position. *Ibid.* ch. ix 75. He *left* them at the Hall-door for Miss Middleton, and *vanished* into the bushes. *Ibid.* ch. ix. 78. We English *beat* the world, because we *take* a licking well. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 7. . . the geese that occasionally *venture* into the gardens. . . *Ibid.* 273 So I thought I would *let* things take their course. . . RIDER HAGGARD *Cleopatra* I. iii. 16. Now the bright beams *kissed* the water that *smiled* an answer back. . . P. WHITE *Park Lane* I ch. xvi 174. Mrs. Gerald *laughed*, and her mirth was so infectious that I *ended in laughing* too. H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus*,

<sup>1</sup> Note our use of *nominal* as a common term for nouns and adjectives (cf. SWEET *A New Eng. Gram.* II (Preface). <sup>2</sup> All quotes. with a date prefixed are taken from NED. Cf. esp. examples of non-logical predications.

etc. (Tauchn.) 22 . . that he had scarcely *manifested* the slightest surprise . . *Ibid.* 130 The lieutenant *meditated* cheerfully for a moment. *Ibid.* 164 *I'd been dreaming* of Antananarivo . . *Ibid.* 178 I *stopped writing*, and *turned round* to listen. *Ibid.* 180 He suddenly *came staggering* towards me.

MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxiii. 251, and although we *had several falls* . . MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. xii. 73 . . Jack, who *was* just as *polite* to the youngster as he was to anybody else. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. iv. 30 Mrs. Mountstuart Jenkinson *was loud* on the subject. *Ibid.* ch. vii. 67 Sir Willoughby *was admirable with* the lad. *Ibid.* ch. xvi. 155 She *was more reserved* with me. *Ibid.* ch. xvii. 165 Crossjay spied Miss Middleton and *was off* to meet her at a bound. *Ibid.* ch. xxv. 261 For Crossjay *hadn't a swim* this morning! *Ibid.* 261, she *was never at rest*. H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus*, etc. (Tauchn.) 134. He *became silent* (= ceased speaking). *Ibid.* 159 After that I *had a drink of water* and *a few biscuits*, and *took a look* round. PINERO *His House in Order* II 79. I and the Decoration Committee *have been hard at it* since eight o'clock this morning.

## 2. *Predication of perception* (Prædicatio perceptionis).

The subject is qualified by the predicate as performing a function passively, *i. e.* perceptively. The subject must, therefore, be animate or at least metaphorically conceived as such. The thing perceived may be of any description. If it involves an internal state of the subject, examples of this category are often difficult to distinguish from predications of state. For then the only difference is that, in one case, the subject is conceived as perceptive of his state, whereas, in the other case, this is left undecided. Notice, for instance, the close semological affinity between the sentences 'he felt happy', 'he was happy'. Such verbs as 'to long for', 'love, hate', etc. are rather verbs of state<sup>1</sup> than verbs of perception, but the perceptive sense may sometimes also be salient. The grammatical form of the predicate or its main part is mostly an independent verb, sometimes a nominal expression. The extent of the category must naturally be fairly limited.

Examples: MILTON *Comus* 405 I *fear* the dread events that dog them both . . POPE *Essay on Man* I 65 Then shall man's pride and dullness *comprehend* His actions', passions', being's, use and end; *Ibid.* iv 388 Whose sons shall *blush* their fathers were their foes (= be ashamed) . . BYRON *Childe Harold* II. LXXXII. How do they *loathe* the laughter idly loud . . *Ibid.* I, LXXX, his heart *delights* In vengeance gloating on another's pain. SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* I. 1201 Then I *heard* strange

<sup>1</sup> In NED. verbs of this type are indicated as implying 'non-physical action'.



tongues, and *saw* strange flowers . . . SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* VI. xxii, And many a Runic column high Had *witness'd* grim idolatry. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xii. 118 She *discovered* a man more of a match with herself; H. J. BYRON *Married in Haste* III. When you do so I *feel* almost *disposed* to forgive my sponsorial enemies. WILDE *De Profundis* (Tauchn.) 62. I *don't regret* for a single moment having lived for pleasure H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 128 Then I *noticed* the face of the rock . . . *Ibid.* 162, before I *sighted* the reef . . . *Ibid.* 174 Good Lord! you can't imagine, how I *missed* that bird. *Ibid.* 174 I sat by his corpse and . . . *shivered* as I looked round the desolate, silent reef. (An element of activity may here be salient and then we have to do with a præd. act.) *Ibid.* 180 I *felt scared*. *Ibid.* 182 I don't *envy* you when Boyce arrives. *Ibid.* 190 I've since *found* it's the same with me.

MILTON *P. L.* III 168 O Son, in whom my soul *hath* chief *delight*. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 114. And I *am* rather *uncomfortable*, for I heard such a strange noise just as I was opening the door. PAYN *High Spirits* 107 He is *delighted* to find himself in communication with me. Mrs. B. M. CROKER *A Nine Days Wonder* ch. xxiv. 90. 'I hope you are rested?' 'Thank you, I'm *finely* to-day'. PINERO *His House in Order* iii 137. I *am* *ashamed* to acknowledge it. *Mod.* I *am* *hungry, thirsty; I am cold*.

### 3. *Predication of state* (Prædicatio status).

The predicate qualifies the subject in point of state or condition. The subject, generally a concrete, may be animate or inanimate. In the former case, the predicate refers to the state of the emotional, conceptual, or physical life of the subject. In the latter case, it refers to its integrity or constitutive condition or form, and the predication is then often difficult to distinguish from predications of attribution. The grammatical aspect of the predicate is an independent verb, but very often also a nominal expression. This predication type is of fairly wide occurrence.

Examples: MILTON *P. L.* III 686. And oft though wisdom *wake*, suspicion *sleeps* At wisdom's gate . . . BYRON *Childe Harold* II. xxiii. But Harold on such arts no more *relied*. *Ibid.* II. xxxiv. Not much he *kens*, I *ween*, of woman's breast, Who *thinks* that wanton thing is won by sighs. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* VI. xxi. These *hated* Henry's name as death . . . MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. vii. 64. I *prefer* the pebble to the mountain; . . . My love, I *detest* artifice. *Ibid.* ch. viii 69. I *like* brave boys . . . *Ibid.* ch. xvii 163 And have you *relented* about your horse Achmet? *Ibid.* ch. xxvi 265 As if anybody who *knows* me would *think* I wanted taking care of! *Ibid.* ch. xxiii 232 At last he *believed* in her reluctance. *Ibid.* ch. xxiv 247 Dr. Middleton *forgot* his alternative line. *Ibid.* ch. xxix 288 He *desired* to be deceived. *Ibid.* ch. xxix 293 Vernon *recovered* in time to accept . Mrs. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 27,

who *did* not *mind* being called Miss Matty . . . *Ibid.* 132 who *got* more *bewildered* every moment. *Ibid.* 140 A road, which *had known* what is was to be a street, ran right before the house. . . *Ibid.* 170, but it *seemed to me* then that there was every reason to believe that . . . H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 21 Well! I *suppose* I shall be the first. *Ibid.* 23 And I *wanted* to astonish him. *Ibid.* 133 But I *doubt* if you can be so brain-weary and footsore as I am. P. WHITE *Park Lane* ch. xvi 182. She *mistakes* her fury for righteous indignation. W. LE QUEUX *Behind the Throne* ch. iv. We English *hold* the foreigner *in* too great contempt.

MILTON *P. L.* III 648 Who in God's presence, nearest to this throne *Stand ready* at command. . . SHELLEY *Rosalind & Helen* 132 The snake *is* in its cave *asleep*. *Ibid.* 589, my poor brain *is wild*, And I *am weak* like a nursing child. . . MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. V 44, but he *was* not so *certain* of his possession of her soul. . . *Ibid.* ch. viii 69. I used to be as *fond* of birdsnesting as you are. *Ibid.* ch. viii 72 You *are devoted* to him. *Ibid.* ch. xvii 162 Remember, I'm *in love* with her. . . *Ibid.* ch. xxiv 237. that Clara *was in a state of fever*. . . *Ibid.* ch. xxiv 243 We *have no intention* to lay undue weight on our mission. . . Mrs. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 177 Lady Glenmire (who *had* evidently *taken* very *kindly* to Cranford). . . *Ibid.* 179, while we *were yet in the excitement* and *flutter* of the agitation caused by the first intelligence. *Ibid.* 292 In short, Miss Matty *was charmed* with the plan. . . H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 135. I *was sorry* even while I was speaking. *Ibid.* 167 I *was a bit anxious* about his feed. . . *Ibid.* 184 Boyce *was interested* at once. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xi 133. He *was in a morbidly nervous state* by this time. . . *Ibid.* xv 208 We *had enough sailing*. P. WHITE *Park Lane* ch. xvi 173 Poor Pauline *was dreadfully upset*. *Mod.* I *am all attention*; he *fell ill*; he *turned pale*; You *are familiar* with the subject; he *was surprised* to hear it.

SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* III. vi. The tough ash spear, so stout and true, *Into a thousand flinders flew*. *Ibid.* VI. xxvi. His blood *did freeze*, his brain *did burn*. . . CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 306 Dinner *will be ready* in about half an hour. . . (As to other examples of predications of state with a non-personal subject cf. Essay II.).

#### 4. *Predication of validity* (Prædicatio validitatis).

In this category the predicate refers to the speaker's attitude towards (*i. e.* his degree of certainty as to) the validity or reality of the subject. The latter implies, therefore, a subjudgment and is, in fact, mostly represented by a subordinate clause. The grammatical form of the predicate seems in English always to be a nominal expression. The extent of this category is very limited.

Examples: 1548 UDALL *Erasm. Par. Mark* xiii 29 It *is* *muchey certayner* that that day shall cum, then it *is certayne* that summer follo-weth after wynter. 1701 W. PENN in *Pa. Hist. Soc. Mem.* IX 79. The war



*is likely*, and goods bear a price. BURKE *Sel. Wks.* (Clar. Press 1898) 151 It *is* not universally *true*, that France is a fertile country. *Ibid.* 153 It *is impossible* that Mr. Necker should be mistaken in the amount of the bullion which has been coined in the mint. 1863 FR. A. KEMBLE *Resid. in Georgia* 16 It will *be more likely* that I should some things extenuate. WILDE *De Prof.* (Tauchn.) 107 That it was Christ's creed *admits of no doubt* (also = præd. obj. & attrib.)

##### 5. *Predication of existence* (Prædicatio existentiae).

This is the kind of predication where the predicate determines the subject as coming into, having, or losing existence, whether in general or with a particular limitation. The nature of the subject is not restricted to a particular kind. The grammatical form of the predicate is mostly an independent verb. It may also be verbum substantivum and, if so, the sentence often has impersonal form, the adverbial adjunct *there* tending to constitute a formal subject. The extent of this category is fairly great.

MILTON *P. L.* I 670 There *stood* a hill not far whose grisly top Belch'd fire and rolling smoke. *Ibid.* III 262 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud Of anger shall *remain*, but peace assur'd, And reconciliation; wrath shall *be* no more Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. MILTON *Comus* 246 Sure something holy *lodges* in that breast. . . *Ibid.* 824 There *is* a gentle nymph not far from hence, that . . . POPE *Essay on Man* I 294. One truth is clear, 'Whatever *is*, is right'. *Ibid.* IV 99 See Falkland *dies*, the virtuous and the just. BYRON *Childe Harold* II. xxx Her reign *is past*, her gentle glories *gone*. SHELLEY *Marenghi* X, And love and freedom *blossom* but to wither. SHELLEY *The Mask of Anar.*, xxxi As flowers beneath May's footstep *waken* . . (If we stick to the metaphor, the connexion is a præd. status). SHELLEY *Adonais* xxvi And in my heartless breast and burning brain That word, that kiss shall all thoughts else *survive* . . SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* 623, in every other First life then love *its course begins*. SHELLEY *Julian and Maddalo* 119 But the gay smile *had faded* in his eye. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* VI. xxviii. Nought of the bridal will I tell, Which after in short space *befell*. *Ibid.* VI. xxxi That day of wrath, that dreadful day, When heaven and earth shall *pass away*! MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 99 At last there *was* a terrible sad thing *happened*. *Ibid.* 161, but still a mouldy odour of aristocracy *lingered* about the place. . . *Ibid.* 175 Poor Carlo! his barking days *were nearly over*. *Ibid.* 179, for the event had only *occurred* the night before. WILDE *De Profundis* (Tauchn.) 54 For this reason there *is* no truth comparable to sorrow. *Ibid.* 91 'In all beauty', says Bacon, 'there *is* some strangeness of proportion'. RIDER HAGGARD *Cleopatra* I. v 23 The chanting *ceased* . . *Ibid.* II. i 37. I made no answer, for there *was* truth in his words. CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 286 Here and there on the long, smooth, olive-coloured slopes there *rose* small rounded barrows or tumuli. H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 102 It is quite impossible to say whether this thing

really *happened*. *Ibid.* 137 With that my suspicions *returned*. *Ibid.* 165 The storm *was over* before the morning. MAXWELL GRAY *The Reproach of Annesley*, I. i. Silence and solitude *reigned* all around. CLARK RUSSELL. *The Wreck of the Grosvenor* ch. xx. 284 A dead calm *had fallen*. . . *Ibid.* ch. xxxi. 405, two rows of lamps *went* the length of the saloon. W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. x 135, some disaster, great or small, is certainly *imminent*. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 20 Indeed, in some respects it exceeded that, for the element of wonder and romance *was wanting* in the latter case. *Ibid.* 69 *There was* nothing brilliant, nothing flashy, in the performance of my duties.

#### 6. *Predication of attribution* (Prædicatio attributionis).

In this category we will include all the connexions of qualification involving inactivity on the part of the subject and implying other determinations of the subject than those referring to its state, validity, or existence. These determinations are of many different kinds, and may, in fact, be instituted as particular subcategories of predications of inactivity, co-ordinate with predications of state, of validity, and of existence. Thus, for instance, we may establish a predication of possession, *e. g.* 'he owned the horse', a predication of material, *e. g.* 'the watch was of gold', a predication of measure, *e. g.* 'the wall was ten feet in length', etc., (cf. p. 45). The extent of this category is, therefore, exceedingly vast, and the nature of the subject and the form of the predicate may offer very different aspects. The latter may be represented by a verb of material import, which by no means is the predominant form. It may also be constituted by 'to be' + an adjective or a prepositional phrase, or by 'to be' + a substantive in casus rectus, or by 'to have' + a nominal expression.

MILTON *P. L.* I 718 Not Babylon, Nor great Alcairo such magnificence *Equal'd* in all their glories. . . *Ibid.* II. 106, and his look *denounc'd* Desperate revenge. . . MILTON *Comus* 467 The soul *grows clotted* by contagion, *Imbodies*, and *imbrutes* till she quite *lose* The divine property of her first being. POPE *Essay on Man* I 207. Far as creation's ample range *extends*, The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs *ascends*. *Ibid.* IV 69 But heav'n's just balance equal will *appear*, While those are plac'd in hope, and these in fear. BURKE *Sel. Wks.* (Clar. Pr. 1898) 152. France far *exceeds* England in the multitude of her people. BYRON *Ch. Har.* III. LV, That love was *pure*, and, *far above disguise*, Had *stood the test* of mortal enmities still undivided. . . *Ibid.* II. XLIX Amidst the grove that *crowns* yon tufted hill. . . *Ibid.* I. xciii Lands that *contain* the monuments of eld. . . SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* 528 But went with footsteps firm and fast Till I *came* to the brink of the ocean green. *Ibid.* 1275 So Rosalind and Helen *lived* together Thenceforth. . . SHELLEY



*Marenghi* iii, So Monarchy *succeeds* to freedom's foison. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* III. vi Still *sate* the warrior, saddle-fast . . . *Ibid.* III xvi. His bugle-horn *hung* by his side. *Ibid.* III. xviii This boy's fair face, and courage free, *Show* he is come of high degree. *Ibid.* III. xv And hark! and hark! the deep-mouth'd bark *Comes nigher* still, and nigher. *Ibid.* III. xvii. His kirtle, made forest green, *Reach'd* scantily to his knee WORDSWORTH *The White Doe of Rylstone* III 45 No loyal rest while England's Crown *Remains without* an Heir. . . MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxiii 252 'Peter, you *make* a very pretty girl', said O'Brien. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 11 For instance, the inhabitants of Cranford *kept early hours* . . . *Ibid.* 30 Everybody *lived* in the same house *Ibid.* 82 All through tea-time, her talk *ran upon* the days of her childhood and youth. *Ibid.* 85, a letter, which had evidently *accompanied* a whole box full of finery, *Ibid.* 195 I *used to make* very pretty balls in this day when I was a girl. *Ibid.* 62. Woodley *stood* among fields. *Ibid.* 291 But when I *arrived* in Cranford . . . JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. i 9. Lunch . . . *consisted of* four courses. *Ibid.* 127, their path *lay* by a deep wood . . . RIDER HAGGARD *Cleopatra* II. ch. xi We *stood* within a small arched chamber . . . MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xxv 259 A man. *looks* a fool cutting after a cricket-ball. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 105. to transcend even what has *preceeded* it. *Ibid.* 122, only the style of her attire *never altered*. *Ibid.* 191 The rain there *often comes down in sheets*, but generally in volumes. *Ibid.* 239 The carriage drive which *led up to* it . . . *wound* through a forest of pines . . . CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 1. His tastes *leaned toward* the marvellous and the monstrous. . . H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 9. Eyes *vary* so much. *Ibid.* 45 To the north *rises* the old crater . . . *Ibid.* 45, the slopes *plunge* steeply downward into the black mysteries of the tropical forest beneath. *Ibid.* 71. I've seen an ostrich that *cost* three hundred pounds . . . *Ibid.* 152. Like creosote it *smells*. *Ibid.* 164, the very day I landed the weather *changed*. W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. x 142 The dignity of age does not *allow of* jumping. THORNTON HALL *Romance of the Turf* ch. xi 77, while his winnings *amounted* to the sum of £ 9,000.

SHELLEY *Marenghi* x. The sweetest flowers are ever *frail* and *rare* . . . SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* IV. x. The Earl was *gentle*, and *mild* of mood The vassals were *warlike*, and *fierce*, and *rude*. *Ibid.* III. iv. *Few* were the words, and *stern* and *high* . . . BURKE Sel. Wks. (Clar. Pr. 1898) 152 but I apprehend that her comparative wealth is much *inferior* to ours. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xxv 252 We shall *be late* if we don't mind. W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. xxviii 343 The door *was shut*. But the opposite door *stood open*. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xix 243 The second day *was* exactly like the first. PINERO *His House in Order* II 84. The whole idea of open-air music . . . *is contrary* to what I conceive to be the English spirit. BYRON *Ch. Har.* III. xlvii But they who fought *are in a bloody shroud* . . . SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* III. v The prayer *was to* his patron saint, The sigh *was to* his ladye fair. *Ibid.* V. xvi His cloak



ribly tender. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxii 352. 'Yow're in luck'. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xv 151 Recollect that you are in a position of your own choosing. CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 322. His offices were in Yokohama. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 94 The floor was of polished oak.

MILTON *Comus* 946. And not many furlongs thence *Is* your father's residence. MARRYAT *Midsh. Easy* ch. xix 163. 'You are all kindness signora', replied Jack. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xx 197. Ladies are creation's glory. *Ibid.* ch. xxix 243. These athletes are terrible boasters. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 179. Well, miss Matty! Men will be men. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 53. His school is a model, . . his boys marvels. *Ibid.* 158. About one-half of our adolescent aristocracy are worshippers of the horse. *Ibid.* 237. Mr. Marmaduke Howard was everything he should be . . *Ibid.* 240. I should have suggested that a few gas-burners would have been a great improvement. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. vi 63. The balusters were a superb piece of workmanship. *Ibid.* ch. vi 67. Its nose is a delicate red, with black spots. *Ibid.* ch. xi 129, and our getting up at the time was an utter absurdity. *Ibid.* xvii 224. That trout was plaster-of-Paris. H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 185. The ship is almost hull down. CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 165. He was certainly a man of iron nerve. *Ibid.* 287. His figure was the framework of a giant. *Ibid.* 305. One was a large portly fellow with a greyish beard. *Ibid.* 321. The middle of the sixties was a stirring time out of Japan. *Ibid.* 322. But energy and resolution are two-edged things. CHESTERTON *The Man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) 275 the man's coat was the exact colour of the purple shadows. IRENE OSGOOD *To a Nun Confess'd*, 28, and remember very well what a dismal failure he was. MRS M. B. CROKER *Nine Days Wonder* ch. xxviii 109. The knowledge that she was a success restored her shattered self-confidence. PINERO *His House in Order* iv 206. I don't care a rap whether or not they are self-deceivers.

MILTON *Comus* 761. And Virtue has no tongue to check her pride. *Ibid.* 784. Thou hast nor ear, nor soul to apprehend The sublime notion, MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. vii 63 The world has faults; glaciers have crevasses. mountains have chasms . . *Ibid.* iv 31 She had a smile of very pleasant humour according to Vernon. *Ibid.* ch. xix 181. And she had the love of wild flowers. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 105 I had no time for crying. H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 109 If only a I had had some tobacco. . . *Ibid.* 193 They had lines of fire along the sides of them. PINERO *His House in Order* I 35, and simplicity has a beauty of its own undoubtedly.

## B. Predication of relation (Prædicatio relationis).

This category comprises all such predications as imply a comparison between two substances or notions (or groups of substances) as to their mutual relation with respect to extension or



dependency. One of the members compared is represented by the subject, the other is contained in the predicate. Sometimes both may be represented by the subject, *e. g.* 'A and B are identical, co-ordinate, disparate', 'A and B are dependent on each other'. It follows from the nature of this type of connexion that the grammatical form of the principal part of the predicate must generally be substantival. Especially in predications of dependency, however, this is by no means always the case. The domain of the category is more limited than that of predications of qualification. According to the relations that substances that are comparable may logically present, we may establish four subcategories, of which the first three refer to the extension of the members compared.

7. *Predication of identity* (Prædicatio identitatis).

In this kind of predication the notions compared are described as identical. The extent of the category is very great. It should be remembered that it comprises not only scientific definitions, but also a great number of predications employed in ordinary speech. Besides, the result of the psychological analysis deviating from the grammatical one, is, in the majority of cases, a predication of identity.

This type is often difficult to distinguish from a predication of attribution. If we say, 'his food was wild fry and strawberry', we may advocate that the subject is determined as to its ingredients, *i. e.* 'his food consisted of, had as ingredients wild fry and strawberry' (= pred. of attribution). But we may also interpret the sentence as a predication of identity, *i. e.* 'that which constituted his food was wild fry and strawberry'. In the expressions 'this is the gate of Heav'n', 'order is heav'n's first law', the meaning may be such as to imply predications of attribution, *i. e.* 'this has the quality of being the gate of Heaven', etc. But the context may also be such as to involve predications of identity, and if so, then here it is the final members that constitute the psychological subjects, unless they are particularly stressed.

Examples<sup>1</sup>: BACON *Art. of Learning* (Clar. Pr.) 194. Neither *hath* this active good *any identity with the good of society* . . . MILTON *P. L.* II 515 And waking cri'd, *This* is the gate of Heav'n. MILTON *Comus* 826. *Sabina* is her name, a virgin pure. *Ibid.* 353 Perhaps some cold *bank* is her bolster now. POPE *Essay on Man* II 2. The proper study of mankind

<sup>1</sup> The predicates are printed in *italics*.

*is man.* *Ibid.* III 159 Heav'n's attribute *was universal care*, And man's prerogative, *to rule, but spare.* *Ibid.* IV 49 Order is heav'n's first law. *Ibid.* IV 396 That true self-love and social *are the same.* BURKE Sel. Wks. (Clar. Pr. 1898) 31. The second claim of the Revolution Society is '*a right of cashiering their governors for misconduct.*' SHELLEY *Marenghi* xxiv. His food *was the wild fig and strawberry.* SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* 852. But our church *shall be the starry night*, Our altar *the grassy earth outspread*, And our priest *the muttering wind.* SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* IV xxvi. Our slogan is *their lyke-wake dirge*, Our moat, *the grave where they shall lie.* SCOTT *The Betrothed* ch. xxii 256. Her immediate female attendants . . . constituted almost her whole society. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xiv 133. I think *coolness* is the great characteristic of a gentleman. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xi 106 Willoughby is *not exactly identical with the Willoughby before the world.* *Ibid.* ch. xv 142 His themes in public *were those of an English gentleman*; horses, dogs, game, sport, intrigue, scandal, politics, wines, the manly themes. *Ibid.* ch. xxiii 232. To conceive her aversion *was to burn her and devour her.* *Ibid.* ch. xxi 210 What is wisest now is, in my opinion, for you *to resolve to stay.* *Ibid.* ch. xxii 215 The marvel to me is, *that none of the young couples do it.* W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. xxviii 236. After breakfast, Athelstan was informed that a commissionaire desired to speak with him. It *was his one-armed friend.* H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 177. When I say that *I* was the immediate witness of his seizure, I mean that *I* was the first on the scene. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xviii 229, but the best way *is to leave the river at Day's Lock, and take a walk across the fields.* WILDE *De Profundis* (Tauchn.) 54. Truth in art *is the unity of a thing with itself.* *Ibid.* 55 For the secret of life *is suffering.* It is what is hidden behind everything. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 105 My method *is to gain the permission of the authors.* . *Ibid.* 111 But what amazed me most *was that the steamers were still moving . .* *Ibid.* 148 My difficulty *was to find an excuse.* CHESTERTON *The Man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) 196, it only remains to him *to capture this field and all the fools in it* (= what he has still to do is, etc.). MRS. COULSON KERNAHAN *The Whisperer* (1908) ch. i. The time *was evening*, and the month *September.* WINSTON CHURCHILL *Savrola* ch. xxii 126. But the chronicler . . will remember the splendid sentence of Gibbon, that history *is 'little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.'* MAXWELL GRAY *The Reproach of Annesley*, I ch. vi 37. '*Sibyl is undoubtedly the attraction*', he thought.

#### 8. *Predication of subsumption* (Prædicatio subsumptionis).

By this kind of connexion we mean the case when one of the members compared is designated as subordinate to the other. The subject is mostly represented by the subordinate member, more rarely by the superordinate one.



The predications of this category are often difficult to distinguish from predications of attribution, if, in the latter category, the principal part of the predicate is a substantive. In other words, it is then difficult to decide if the qualification of the subject is made for classificatory purposes or not, *e. g.* 'he is a drunkard'. This sentence is synonymous with the expression 'he drinks a great deal', which, however, is an unmistakable predication of attribution. Yet, the former should, in our opinion, be described as a predication of subsumption. Within the same predication category should be classed an expression such as 'I am a Doctor of Divinity', whereas its semological equivalent 'I have the degree of Doctor of Divinity' represents a predication of attribution. As a subsumptive connexion may also be considered the case, when the superordinate notion contained in the predicate has a qualifying attribute, *e. g.* SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* l. xi Her father was a clark of fame, Of Bethune's line of Picardie. *Ibid.* III xvi, He was an English yeoman good. . If we range examples of this kind under the subsumptive category, it becomes very extensive. But it is, no doubt, a great exaggeration to say with WUNDT<sup>1</sup> that it comprises the majority of our judgments.

Examples: BURKE, *Sel. Wks.* (Clar. Pr. 1898) 91. Regicide, and parricide, and sacrilege, *are but fictions of superstition.* . *Ibid.* 91. The murder of a king, or a queen, or a bishop, or a father, *are only common homicide.* *Ibid.* 90 On this scheme of things, a king *is but a man*; a queen *is but a woman*; a woman *is but an animal*; and an animal not of the highest order. *Ibid.* 120 They two *were among the unhappy.* MEREDITH *Egoist* h. xv 147 Married people no longer lovers *are in the category of the unnameable.* *Ibid.* ch. xix 184 This park of Willoughby's *is one of the best things in England.* WILDE *De Profundis* (Tauchn.) 70 I had said of Christ that he *ranks with the poets.* W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. x 139. Every rich man *is a money-lender.* *Mod.* The oak *is a tree*; the category of trees *includes the oak.* This *is a house*; the sun *is a fixed star.*

#### 9. *Predication of co-ordination* (Prædicatio coordinationis).

We are here concerned with predications where the notions compared are indicated as co-ordinate either in general, which is rare, or from a particular point of view. The nature of the latter is involved in the nature of that member which constitutes the predicate, or else it is indicated by a qualifying attribute. The category should be kept apart from predications of attribution implying a comparison between two notions as to the *degree* in

<sup>1</sup> WUNDT *Logik*, Stuttgart 1893 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) I, 198.

which both present the same quality, *e. g.* 'he is as big as I', 'he is better than I. Again, in predications of co-ordination, notions are compared in order to indicate the quality under which both may be subsumed as species, which ultimately is an indirect way of adding a quality to the subject. In modern English, this predication type has become fairly common.

Examples<sup>1</sup>: SHAKS. *Wint. T.* I. ii 67. *We were as twinn'd lambs that did frisk i' the sun.* . BYRON *Childe Har.* III. xlii But *quiet* to quick bosoms is *a hell.* . W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. ix 132 *Sadness* is only *a passing cloud: anxiety* is only *a touch of east wind: evil and pain* are only *fleeting shadows.* *Ibid.* ch. ix 135 Beware of Checkley. *He's a Fox. He's a Worm. He's a creeping Centipede.* PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 215 *She's like port,* all the better for keeping., H. J. BYRON *Married in Haste* IV Ah, *money's like strawberries and cream,* you can never have enough. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. x 125. *We are as children whose small feet have strayed into some dim-lit temple of the god they have been taught to worship but know not.* WILDE *De Prof.* (Tauchn.) 110 Indeed, that is the charm about Christ, when all is said: *he is just like a work of art.* CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 339. It was like *a dream* to me *to think that* this tall, white woman was the lady of the house. . *Mod. Speech* is *silver, silence* is *gold* (but both sentences put together involve a predication of identity, *i. e.* speech: silence = silver: gold, *i. e.* the relation between speech and silence is identical with the relation between silver and gold).

#### 10. *Predication of dependency* (Prædicatio dependentiæ).

In this predication category the notions compared are indicated as having a relation of dependency, either one to the other or, more rarely, to each other. The nature of the dependency need not be particularly expressed. If it is indicated, we may divide the category into several subvarieties, according to the different kinds of dependency manifested. We will confine these kinds to regard only such cases as involve an element of causality. Thus we consider as dependent the following relations: the relation between antecedent and consequent (predication of consequence, prædicatio consecutionis), the relation between cause and effect (predication of causality, prædicatio causalitatis), the relation between the thing or phenomenon originated and its source (= predication of origin, prædicatio originis), the relation between an occurrence and its purpose (= predication of purpose, prædicatio finis). Since all these relations involve a causal element, they are not always easy to keep apart. This is

<sup>1</sup> The notions compared are printed in *italics*.



especially the case with the first two relations. They represent the vast majority of predications of dependency. Here belong the great category of causative verbs, if they do not involve an activity on the part of the subject, *e. g.* 'her conduct grieved me', 'this injured me'. In these examples one of the notions compared is contained in the predicate-verb + its complement (*i. e.* 'my grief', 'my injury'). The scope of the whole category is very extensive.

Examples in which the nature of the dependency is not indicated: BURKE *Sel. Wks* (Clar. Pr. 1898) 93 If, as I suspect, modern letters *owe* more than they are always willing to own *to* antient manners, so do . . . *Ibid.* 121. The people of England know how little *influence* the teachers of religion *are likely to have with* the wealthy and powerful of long standing. . . PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 234, one would have thought that the guinea stamp would *have no great influence with* her. *Ibid.* 281, but my arguments *made as little way with* her as reason usually *does with* women. CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 168 My own happiness, my daughter's future, the hopes of this man's regeneration, all *depend upon* your decision. WILDE *De Prof.* (Tauchn.) 90 The cry of Isaiah *had really no more to do with* his (*i. e.* Christ's) coming than the song of the nightingale *has to do with* the rising of the moon — no more, though perhaps no less.

Examples of predications of consequence and of causality: MILTON *P. L.* I. 1, and the fruit Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste *Brought* death into the World. *Ibid.* iv 48. Yet all his good prov'd ill in me, And *wrought* but malice. MILTON *Comus* 210. These thoughts may *startle* well, but not *astound* The virtuous mind. . . *Ibid.* 494 Thyrsis? Whose artful strains have oft *delay'd* The huddling brook to hear his madrigal. . . SHELLEY *Adonais* xxxix, fear and grief *Convulse* us . . . day by day. . . SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* 996 And the old man's sobs *did waken* me From my dream of unremaining gladness. *Ibid.* 1160, but soon his gestures *kindled* New power. . . BYRON *Ch. Harold* II. xiv. Where was thine ægis, Pallas, that *appalled* Stern Alaric and Havoc on their way? *Ibid.* III. i. When Albion's lessening shores could *grieve* or *glad* mine eye. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* V. xxviii. And hence his presence *scared* the clan. . . *Ibid.* VI. xxii. Of those dread Maids, whose hideous yell *Maddens* the battle's bloody swell. *Ibid.* VI. xxiv A secret horror *check'd* the feast, And *chill'd* the soul of every guest. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. VI 45 His opinion of the world *affected* her like a creature threatened with a deprivation of air. *Ibid.* ch. vii 64 The remark *threw a pause* across his thoughts. *Ibid.* ch. xvi 155. The thrill of the voice *caused* Lætitia to steal a look. *Ibid.* ch. xix 177. The glimpse of it *drove* her to her father. *Ibid.* ch. xxii 220 Experience *pushed* him farther than she could go in fancy. *Ibid.* ch. xxii 222 The pace had *nerred* Clara to speak to it sharply. *Ibid.* ch. xxii 223 Anxiety to recover lost ground *reduced* the dimensions of his ideas to a practical standard. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 102, they (*i. e.* wine and scent of



flowers) *turn* me sick and faint. . W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. ix 133 Even Death *will be* little sorrow, for the separation will be so short. WILDE *De Prof.* (Tauchn.) 62, remorse that *makes* one walk on thorns . . H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 77, because he said it would *injure* the sale of the other three . . *Ibid.* 131 Some business *had detained* me in Chancery Lane . . *Ibid.* 152 To think of it *brings* that odd tarry smell back even now. *Ibid.* 177 It *sets* one dreaming of the oddest possibilities of intercommunication in the future . . *Ibid.* 185 The voice of our Dean *sobered* him a little, but not very much. *Ibid.* 197 The glare of real daylight very soon *impressed* him so vividly as to blot out everything of his shadowy world. . *Ibid.* 205 The place *made* the visitor's head reel with the throb, throb, throbs of the engines. JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. x 125 They *awe* us, these strange stars, so cold, so clear. CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 127. On the other hand, the introduction of a paid medium *was hateful to all of us*. CHESTERTON *The Man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) 147. But wine and companionship *had* always the effect of inspiring him to a farcical ingenuity. . ZANGWILL *Ghetto Com.* (Tauchn.) II 101 Night and sleep *surrendered* him to grotesque combinations. MRS. B. M. CROKER *A Nine Days Wonder* ch. xxvii 102 And Rap *had* nearly been the death of Lady Mulgrave's little dog. .

Examples of predications of origin: MILTON *P. L.* III. 333 Mean while The World shall burn, and from her ashes *spring* New Heav'n and Earth. . POPE *Essay on Man* III 173. Learn from the birds what food the thickets *yield* (*i. e.* give rise to). *Ibid.* IV 193 Honour and shame from no condition *rise*. BYRON *Childe Harold* I. LXXXIV. It is that weariness which *springs* From all I meet, or hear, or see. SHELLEY *Rosalind and Helen* 225 The sources whence such blessings *flow* Were not to be approached by me! *Ibid.* 343 Which once *gave life* to my despair. . MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 136 Great events *spring out of* small causes [the intemporal sense of the predicate-verb indicates that the predication of dependency has been turned into a predication of attribution]. TENNYSON *In Mem.* liv. The wish, that of the living whole No life may fail beyond the grave; *derives* it not from what we have The likest God within the soul? MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xix 181 The prospect of an escape from it *inspired* thoughts of a loveable round of life where . . W. BESANT *Ivory Gate* ch. xxviii 336 This thrice blessed job *produced* yet more golden fruit. P. WHITE *Park Lane* (Tauchn.) I. xvi 183. Several of the biggest Temperance Institutions in the country *owe their existence to the* Oloptic business methods (*i. e.* have originated from).

Examples of predications of purpose: *Mod.* This *is to* certify that . . ; His journey was *was made in order to* improve his health (also = *præd. obj.*).



## II. Non-logical predications.

We designate predications as non-logical or converted, when the grammatical and the logical analyses disagree. This involves that the grammatical subject logically represents an adjunct relation to the predicate, or else not the whole of the subject logically required. Thus, the existence of non-logical predications presupposes the existence of corresponding logical connexions, of which they are conceived as conversions. The grammatical form of the predicate is generally a verb of material import. It is in non-logical predications that the *passive* form of the predicate-verb has its proper sphere of application. In fact it may be considered as the particular form for the function of verbs in converted sentences. Yet, the active form has a very extensive use, not only in predications of adverbial adjunct or of a part of the logical subject, where it is predominant, but also in predications of object. With respect to frequency non-logical predications are inferior to logical ones, but they present nevertheless a vast sphere of application. Their subdivision should be made according to the adjunct relation the grammatical subject represents in the corresponding logical connexion.

### 11. *Predication of object* (Prædicatio objecti).

In this kind of predication the grammatical subject represents an object in the corresponding logical connexion. The category has the greatest frequency of all the non-logical predications. Since the term 'object' is used to designate chiefly three different adjunct relations, *i. e.* direct object, indirect object, and object of result, we can here establish as many subcategories.

a) **Predication of direct object** (Prædicatio objecti [in a restricted sense]).

This predication type involves that the grammatical subject represents a direct object in the corresponding logical predication. The predominant form of the predicate-verb is the passive. Yet, the active form is of no rare occurrence. In this case the predicate-verb may be of such a nature as not to be able to appear in the corresponding logical predication, *e. g.* 'to receive', 'get', 'experience', etc. (cf. p. 62).

As a particular variety of predications of direct object we may consider the case when the grammatical subject is indicated

as having the quality of generally being, or of admitting of being the object of a specified action, or else of turning out in a particular way when being the object of a specified action. Such connexions hold a position intermediate between a predication of attribution and a predication of direct object, and the category may therefore be termed *prædicatio objecti & attributionis*. The grammatical form of the predicate may here be the passive form, then generally combined with a modal auxiliary. It may also be an adjective, usually one in *-able* and *-ible*. Lastly, it may also be the active form, with or without a modal auxiliary, a fairly frequent construction peculiar to the English language.

Examples with the predicate-verb in the passive form: SHAKS. *Much Ado*. V. i. He *is composed* and *framed* of treachery. MILTON *P. L.* II 768 Meanwhile war arose, And fields *were fought* in Heav'n. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* VI. xxvii No sound *was made*, no word *was spoke*, Till noble Angus silence broke . . . *Ibid.* VI. xxvii While vows *were ta'en*, and prayers *were pray'd*. *Ibid.* VI. xxx Then mass *was sung*, and prayers *were said*, And solemn requiem for the dead. MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. xxxii 285 The report of the accident . . . *had been spread* and fully *believed* throughout Palermo. *Ibid.* ch. xxxvi 308, and the rents, which *had not yet been paid up*. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 252-The door *was opened* to me by her little maid Lizzy. . . *Ibid.* 90 Some times the whole letter *was contained* on a mere scrap of paper. *Ibid.* 169 She *had been* deeply *impressed with* the idea of French spies. . . *Ibid.* 171 One afternoon. . . we *were startled by* a hasty knock at the door. 1864 *Athenæum* No. 1929, 505/3. The arches are *abuted by* outstanding structures.

<sup>1</sup> SHAKS. *Wint. T.* V. ii A sight, which was to be seen, cannot *be spoken of*. SHAKS. *Ant. & Cleop.* II. ii. I must *be laughed at* (originally *prædicatio causalitatis* of the non-logical type). MARLOW *Jew of M.* III. iv. 'Tis time that it *be seen into*. BUTLER *Hudibras* III. ii 175 True as the dial to the sun, Altho' it *be not shin'd upon*. FIELDING *Tom Jones* I 4. A consultation *was now entered into*. SHERIDAN *Critic* ii 2. They *were never taken notice of*. SCOTT *Tales of a Grandf.* 1. The Picts *were never heard of* in history after these great defeats.

Examples with the predicate-verb in the active or the reflexive form: POPE *Essay on Man* IV 87. Of vice or virtue, whether blest or curst, Which *meets* contempt, or which compassion first? SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* IV. xxvi *Knighthood* he *took* of Douglas' sword (also = *præd. commodi*). MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xxv 262. He very properly *received a wiggling* from Mr. Whitford. . . JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xviii 229, when it *suffered a long and bitter siege* from Fairfax. CLARK RUSSELL *Romance of a Midshipman* ch. ii 18. His trowsers were *the admiration and the talk* of the British residents. .

<sup>1</sup> The quotations of this section have been taken from MÄTZNER *Engl. Grammatik*, Berlin 1882, II 66.



THORNTON HALL *Romance of the Turf* (1908) ch. xvii 121, a horse which never *knew defeat*. ZANGWILL *Ghetto Comedies* (Tauchn.) II 101 'Why not to Paris that her theatric gifts might *receive training*? *Ibid.* 103 They talked of the woman through whom Lasalle had *met his death* (also = præd. exist.). MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 130 Mrs. Jamieson had the sedan chair, which had *squeezed itself* into Miss Barker's narrow lobby with some difficulty (= was squeezed; also = præd. refl.). *Ibid.* 158 . . the little rolls of tallow that *formed themselves* round candles, 'winding-sheets', (= were formed, also = præd. refl. or exist.).

MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xlii 473 I *pulled* on shore (the meaning is here that he was pulled on shore by the crew). As for other examples of præd. obj. with the predicate-verb in the *active* form, see Essay II.

Examples of præd. obj. & attrib.: SHAKS. *Cymbel.* III. iv 151 So nigh, at least, That, though his actions *were* not *visible*, yet, etc. . . (*i. e.* were not such as to admit of being seen). MARRYAT *Mids Easy* ch. xiii 86 The white latteen sails of the gun-boat in advance *were* now plainly *distinguishable* from the rest (*i. e.* the sails were at such a distance that they admitted of being distinguished, could be distinguished). MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 145 I question if the little filigree sugar-tongs . . *could have opened themselves* wide enough to take up an honest, vulgar, good-sized piece (*i. e.* sugar-tongs were of the quality that they admitted of being opened, could be opened; also = præd. refl.) 1802 MAR. EDGEWORTH *Moral T.* 216 Her son's conduct *admitted* . . of *no apology*. *Mod.* His conduct *cannot be excused*; this book *may be read* with pleasure; the book *is easily read* = this book *reads* with pleasure; the book *reads* easily. (As to examples with the predicate-verb in the *active* form, see Essay II).

Note. 1691 T. H[ALE] *Acc. New Invent.* 47 The Rudder-Irons being eaten by the Rust, *were forced* to be shifted. *Ibid.* 49 The Lead was *forced* to be cut away in many places. — In these converted connexions, now colloquial or vulgar, the grammatical subject is logically *not* the object of its own predicate-verb, but of a verb that represents an adjunct relation to this predicate-verb. The corresponding bases of comparison are either 'they forced them to shift the rudder-irons', or else the expression, in itself converted, 'they were forced to shift the rudder-irons'.

b) **Predication of indirect object** (Prædicatio commodi & incommodi).

This predication type implies that the grammatical subject, logically speaking, represents an indirect object, *i. e.* a status commodi & incommodi. The grammatical form of the predicate is generally the passive, but, not rarely, also the active form. In the latter case, the predicate-verb is generally of such a kind that it cannot be employed in the corresponding non-logical predication. Besides, we also meet with expressions that have the form of a predication of action, but that offer a sense oscillating between the one indicated by the form and the one involved in a predication of

indirect object, *c. g.* 'he broke his leg' (cf. p. 6 note). The extent of the category is narrower by far than that of predications of direct object.

Examples: *c.* 1205 LAY. 2896 þus *wes* þas kineriche of heora kinge *birceud*. SHAKS. *All's Well* IV. i. Thou *art granted* space. . 1612 W. PARKES *Curtaine-Dr.* 42. The Lawyer whilst he liues may . . *be capt and kneed to* like a Prince. 1615 DR. KING *Serm.* 57 (T.) Few Sundays come over our head, but decayed householders or shipwrackt merchants *are gathered for* (to gather = to collect money). 1694 tr. *Milton's Lett. State*, Sept. 1657, That so signal a prowess and fortitude may never . . *be deprived* the fruit and due applause of all your pious undertakings. 1762 GOLDSM. *Cit. World* xxxiii (1837) 131 I *was assigned* my place on a cushion on the floor. 1769 E. BANCROFT *Nat. Hist. Guiana* 136 [Monkeys] are frequently tamed . . but they can never *be divested* of a mischievous disposition. 1858 W. PORTER *Knts. Malta* II. xix 173 Any Maltese who desired to free himself from his allegiance to the Grandmaster *was given* a patent. BULWER *Money* V 5. You are *spared* this affliction. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 12, a neighbouring railroad, which *had been* vehemently petitioned against. . *Mod.* he *was promised* success, he *was paid* the sum.

*c.* 1205 LAY. 29159. þus *losede* Bruttes al þas kine-londes (= præd. incom., if the verb is interpreted as 'to be deprived of', or else = præd. possessionis, if it is conceived as equivalent to the sense 'to cease to possess'). *c.* 1200 ORMIN 10219 A<sub>33</sub> alls he mare & mare *gett* A<sub>33</sub> lisste himm affterr mare. *c.* 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron.* 24 He *resceyued* þe coroune, after his broþer dede. 1526 TINDALE *Matt.* v. 7. Blessed are the mercifull: for they shall *obteyne* mercy. 1607 HIERON *Wks* I 193 His children *had their heads cut off*. MILTON *P. L.* III 131. Man therefore, shall *find grace*. The other none. 1814 D. H. O'BRIEN *Captiv. & Escape* 119 Asked if I could *have* a bed? I could *get* no answer. 1814 SCOTT *Wav.* x Rose . . ran with the speed of a fairy, that she might *gain* leisure . . to put her own dress in order. 1853 KANE *Grinnell Exp.* iii (1856) 27. We ran into an iceberg . . and *carried away* our jib-boom (also = præd. act.). 1869 MRS. STOWE *Old-town Folks* xiv (1870) 132. She fell and *grazed* her arm sadly. 1888 MRS. H. WARD *R. Elsemere* ch. xxxvii. Elsemere *received* a characteristic letter from him. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xxiii 228 Ay, she *had* the kiss, and no mean one (also = præd. obj. *i. e.* she was kissed). H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 28, and on Saturday he *broke* his ankle. *Mod.* The new boy *had had* a lot of the spirit *knocked out of him* by a particularly long and tiresome journey. 1893 *Cycling* 15 Apr. 236/s It was agreed that whoever *punctured* stood drinks round. *Ibid.* 1 July 401 I'm *is punctured!* Have you got a repairing outfit? (The logically correct subject is the pneumatic tire or even the cycle; if the verb 'puncture' is predicated of any of these notions we have to do with a predication of direct object. But when the rider is predicated, we are concerned with a præd. incommodi).



(c) **Predication of object of result** (Prædicatio effectus).

In this predication category the grammatical subject represents logically an object of result, *i. e.* a status resultativus. The grammatical form of the predicate-verb is generally the passive. Only rarely is the active form met with. The representatives of the category are naturally not very numerous, since the adjunct relation represented by the subject is of limited frequency.

Examples: 13 . . *k. Alis.* 818 *Dubbed weore* an hundrud knightes (cf. 1085--1123 *OE. Chron.* (Laud. MS.) an. 1085 *Se cyng . . dubbade* his sunu Henric to ridere [pær). SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* V. v. Accepted Howard, than whom knight *Was* never dubb'd, more bold in fight. c 1369 CHAUCER *Dethe Blaunche* 324 With glas Were all the windowes well yglased . . and nat an hole ycrased (cf. *craze* trans. 'to break in pieces or asunder'). 1623 B. JONSON *On Shaks. Portrait* in 1st Folio. This Figure, that thou here seest put, It *was* for gentle Shakspeare cut. 1624 HEYWOOD *Gunaik.* V 255. There was meale that morning to be fetcht from the mill, which *was grinded* by that time. 1634 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.* 25. Their Canoes or Boats *are hued out* of one tree. 1653 HOLCROFT *Procopius* II. ix 49. but in time a way *was dig'd* through it. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxi 344, and the toast *was drunk* with rapture. 1851 D. JERROLD *St. Giles* xxi 214. As nice an epitaph as *was ever chipped* by stone-cutter. 1855 MACAULEY *Hist. Eng.* III 680. A parley *was beaten* (cf. to beat (on the drum) *an air, a tattoo, a signal*, and hence, *a charge, a parley, a retreat*, etc.; the former group represents status resultativus, the latter may be conceived in the same way, but is verging to 'status finis', indicating the purpose of the beating).

c. 1555 HARPSFIELD *Divorce Hen. VIII* (1878) 121 The which John Bacon *was whistled* and *clapped out* of Rome (cf. to whistle (clap) a person out of a place = to whistle (clap) with the result that the person leaves the place = status resultativus); MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. ix 50, and when the hammocks *were piped up*.

a 1300 *E. E. Psalter* lxxvii[i] 25 (21) Fire *kindeled* ful brinnand þare In Jacob. 1599 SHAKS. *Henr. V.* III. i 5. When the blast of Warre *blowes* in our eares. 1852 TENNYSON *Ode Wellington* iii Let the mournful martial music *blow* (cf. to blow (a blast, a note = status resultativus) *on* or *with* an instrument). 1816 C. JAMES *Mil. Dict.* 178. The Réveillé always *beats* at break of day 1848 THACKERAY *Van. Fair* II 55. Wake me about half an hour before the assembly *beats* (or = præd. finis of the non-logical type, cf. above). J. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 243, and that a frown *puckered* Miss Helen's brow (cf. 'to pucker one's brow into a frown').

12. **Predication of adverbial adjunct** (Prædicatio adverbialis).

In this predication category the grammatical subject represents logically an adverbial adjunct. The grammatical form of the predicate is often the passive, but in certain subcategories chiefly or exclusively the active form.

Predications of this type may generally be interpreted also as logical connexions. Thus, for instance, the following sentence may be classed as a predication of local adjunct, or else as a predication of perception if the connexion is conceived metaphorically: SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* I. vii. When *the streets* of high Dunedin *Saw* lauces gleam, and falchions redden, And *heard* the slogan's deadly yell.

According to the different adjunct relations which are comprised under the term adverbial adjunct and which may occur as grammatical subjects in non-logical predications, the category may be divided into as many subvarieties. The following subcategories, though certainly not exhaustive, are perhaps the most conspicuous of them. Some of these have a fairly wide range, others are of very small extent.

(a) **Predication of local adjunct** (Prædicatio loci).

The adjunct relation represented by the grammatical subject involves in this predication a local determination (= status loci). The active form of the predicate-verb is equally common as or perhaps more common than the passive. The category is one of the largest of the predications of adverbial adjunct.

Examples: 1542—3 *Act* 34 & 35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 9 § 1 The mouth & hole channell of the saide hauen *is so heaped* . . with stones. 1824 MACAULEY *Ivry* V. The field *is heaped* with bleeding steeds, and flags, and cloven mail. 1613 PURCHAS *Pilgrimage* 539 This lland *is throughly growne* with Woods. 1646 J. HALL *Poems* 98 All paths *are footed over*, but that one Which should be gone. MILTON *P. L.* I 761, all access *was throng'd*, the gates And porches wide, etc. 1748 *Anson's Voy.* II. iii 142. The country in the neighbourhood *was so grown up* with wood . . that . . . BYRON *Ch. Harold I*, LXXIV, but not before The ground, with cautious tread, *is traversed o'er*. 1883 *Daily News* 30 Oct. <sup>5</sup>/<sub>s</sub> The trains *were crowded* by Exhibition visitors. MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. viii 72 As much as Mont Blanc knows that he *is going to be climbed* by a party below.

13 . . *Coer de L.* 5712 Hys crouper *heeng* all full off belles. (1872 BLACK *Adv. Phaeton* xiii 181. Banks of sand . . *hanging with* every variety of wild flower.) 1362 LANGLAND *P. Pl.* A. ii 40. Bote þer nas halle ne hous þat miht *herborwe* þe peple. 1382 WYCLIF *Exod.* iii 8 A loond that *flowith* [1388 with] mylk and hony. 1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.* XIV ii (1495) 465. The erthe hyght Tellus, for we take fruyte therof, and hight ops, for he *hepyth wyth* fruyte. 1576 FLEMING *Punopl. Epist.* 204 All my skin *cralled with* lyce. 1631 MILTON *Epit. Marchioness Winchester* I. This rich marble *doth inter* The honoured wife of Winchester. 1774 GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.* (1776) VIII 127. The whole ground seemed alive, and *crawling with* unceasing destruction [ants].



1885 *Manch. Exam.* 25 Mar. 4/7. The Osborn will . . . *embark* the Prince. J. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 20, but he *gleamed* with diamonds and precious stones. . . *Ibid.* 136, and complained that the beach *twisted* their ankles (also = præd. causal. of the non-logical type). ZANGWILL *Ghetto Com.* (Tauchn.) II 174, a glorious young Jewess, of the radiant red-haired type which the Russian Pale occasionally *flowered* with. H. G. WELLS *Stol. Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 199. She was standing off an island that *swarmed* with penguins. .

Examples of præd. loci & attributionis: 17 . . *Jock o' the Side* xxvii, Honest man, *will* the water *ride*? 1864 M. J. HIGGINS *Ess.* (1875) 200 Its soil. . *rode* quite as clean and sound as the Nottinghamshire dukeries *ride*. [1889 CROMMELIN & BROWN *V. Vyvian* III. xii 207 Rain . . made the ground *ride* soft.] 1899 *Westm. Gaz.* 21 July 5 The turf . . *played* . . without the slightest trace of a desire to 'kick'. 1909 *The Standard*, May 1, 10/2. Owing to the rain that fell overnight the course *would ride* more dead than on Wednesday (course = the ground on which a course is run).

(b) **Predication of temporal adjunct** (Prædicatio temporis).

Here the grammatical subject represents logically the adjunct relation that implies a temporal determination (status temporis). The grammatical form of the predicate-verb seems always to be the active. The extent of the category is very limited.

Examples: 1665 MANLEY *Grotius' Low C. Warres* 299 His last five years *had* much *decayed* his Reputation. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* VI. xxxi. When summer smiled on sweet Bowhill, And July's eve, with balmy breath, *Waved* the blue-bells on Newark heath; BYRON *Childe Harold* III. xxviii Last noon *beheld* them full of lusty life, Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay . . CONAN DOYLE *Round the Fire Stories* (Tauchn.) 302 You have saved both my reason and my life, for another six months of this must *have seen* me either in a cell or in a coffin.

(c) **Predication of adjunct of amount or quantity** (Prædicatio spatii).

The grammatical subject here represents the adjunct relation that indicates amount and quantity (status spatii). The predicate-verb seems generally to be dressed in the passive form. The category has a close affinity with predications of direct object, since the addition of a numeral turns a direct object into a status mensuræ. The extent of the category is therefore not so limited.

Examples: 1696 WHISTON *Th. Earth* iv (1722) 320 In this Six Days' Creation one entire Day *is allow'd* to the Formation of the Air. 1869 E. A. PARKES *Pract. Hygiene* (ed. 3) 269. In the same Kaffir war . . 1000 miles *were covered* in seventy-one days. *Mod* Five shillings *were paid* for it. Two hours *were spent* in discussing the question.

(d) **Predication of adjunct of material** (Prædicatio materiæ).

Here the grammatical subject represents logically the adjunct relation that indicates the material or the constituent part of which a thing consists (status materiæ). Connexions of this type may always be interpreted also as logical predications, the import of the verb then being 'to constitute, to be the material or the constituent parts of'. It is only as long as the transitive sense 'to form out of a thing' is predominant or, at any rate, of considerable vitality, that these predications also stand out as non-logical. The predicate-verb appears in the active or in the passive form. The category is of very small dimensions.

Examples: 1766 GOLDSM. *Vic. W.* xxxi, She was now *made* an honest woman of. 1803 *Pic Nic* No. 4 (1806) I 140. They must be *made* an example of.

1645 MILTON *Tetrach.* (1851) 200 I omit many instances . . . which alone would *compile* a just volume (cf. 1634. SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.* 159. Osmun who compiled the Alkoran *out of* Mahomets loose paper.) 1665 R. BOYLE *Occas. Refl.* IV. xii 240 Now that the sun has . . . elevated this Water in the form of Vapours . . . we see it *Composes* a Cloud. 1667 MILTON *P. L.* I 483 Nor did Israel scape Th' infection when their borrow'd Gold *compos'd* The Calf in Oreb. (The trans. sense of action 'to make by putting together parts or elements' is recorded since the year 1481, but seems to have become obsolete (except in special uses), as the other sense came in; the two sentences do not nowadays stand out as non-logical). 1661 BOYLE *Style of Script.* (1675) 53 Where there's nothing but choice flowers, . . . they will *make* a good posie. 1607 SHAKS. *Timon* IV. ii 35 His pompe, and all what state *compounds*. 1663-4 MARVELL *Corr. Wks.* 1872-5 II 140 [The reasons] altogether will not *compound* one solid argument. (The basis of comparison of these obsolete predications is the construction 'to compose a thing (= status objectivus) of something (status materiæ)', e. g. c. 1374 CHAUCER *Boeth.* III. ix 87 Neuer to compoune werke of floteringe mater).

(e) **Predication of causal adjunct** (Prædicatio causæ).

In this kind of predication the grammatical subject represents logically the adjunct relation that indicates the cause of an occurrence or of a state of things (status causativus).

It is impossible to draw a distinct line of demarcation between this category and prædicatio causalitatis of the logical type. We are concerned with a non-logical predication as long as the construction appears as a conversion of the typical current use of the verb. But this is not so often the case with the constructions conditioned by verbs designated as causative. It is especially when



the causative verb requires a personal subject (or another subject capable of activity) that the sentence appears from the beginning as a logical predication. The logical subcategory then represented is a *prædicatio actionis*, scarcely a *prædicatio dependentiæ*, *i. e.* the grammatical subject is conceived not merely as a cause, but also as an agent. Such predications do not stand out as converted, because there are no correlative non-converted sentences in which the subjects of the former readily admit of constituting causal adjuncts. Such is often also the case when the subject is non-personal. As illustrative examples may be adduced: 1667 MILTON *P. L.* xii 487 The promise of the Father, who shall *dwell* His Spirit within them. 1762 STERNE *Tr. Shandy* VI, ii, When my father had *danced* his white bear backwards and forwards, etc. 1875 TENNYSON *Q. Mary* l. v, O Madam, You *fly* your thoughts like kites. c 1440 HYLTON *Scala Perf.* II. xii, Beholde me not that I am swart for the sonne hath *defaded* me. The predications of causal adjunct are, therefore, not so numerous as might be expected. It should be observed that in proportion as the causal construction increases in frequency, it loses its aspect of converted predication and assumes the appearance of a *prædicatio dependentiæ*. The grammatical form of the predicate-verb seems to be the active form only.

Examples: 1651 *Life Father Sarpi* 80 Yet the Father knew very well that age *decreaseth* strength a 1668 DENHAM, *Of Old Age* 217 'But Age' 'tis said, '*will* memory *decay*.' MILTON *P. L.* l 134 Too well I see and rue the dire event, That with sad overthrow and foul defeat *Hath* lost us Heav'n. . BURKE *Sel. Wks.* (Clar. Pr. 1898) 153. Some adequate cause must *have* originally *introduced* all the money coined at its mint into that kingdom. THORNTON HALL *The Romance of the Turf* (1908) xi 77 He [a horse] was never beaten and never *paid* forfeit.

(f) **Predication of instrumental adjunct** (*Prædicatio instrumenti*).

In this predication type the grammatical subject represents logically an adjunct of instrument (*status instrumenti*). The predicate-verb seems always to be dressed in the active form. The category is one of the largest among the predications of adverbial adjunct.

Examples: c 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 181 Teð hine *grinded*. Tunge hine *swolejed*. a 1225 *Ancr. R.* 384 Gif eax ne *kurue*, ne þe spade ne *dulue* . . 1596 SPENSER *F. Q. V.* iv 37. Her heart for rage did grate, her teeth *did grin*! (cf. the obsolete phrase 'to grin (with) the teeth'). 1611 SHAKS. *Cymb.* I. i 24 I do not thinke So faire an Outward, and such stufte within *Endowes* a man, but hec (also = *præd. exist.*; cf. 'to

endow a person with something'). 1613 ROWLANDS *Paire Spy-Knaves* 1 Their gold and siluer *gildeth* them so well, They are the best in Parish where they dwell (cf. to gild a person with gold or money). a 1632 G. HERBERT *Jacula Prudent.* 747 Gods Mill *grinds* slow but sure. 1846 LONGF. *Aphorisms fr. F. v. Logau*, Though the mills of God *grind* slowly, yet they *grind* exceedingly small ('the mill' represented originally a status loci, e. g. 950 *Lindisf. Gosp.* Matt. xxiv, 41 Tuu wif gegrundon *on* coernæ; c 1000 *ÆLFRIE Judg.* xvi 21 þā Philistei . . hēton hine grindan *æt* hira handcwyrne.). a 1633 G. HERBERT *Jacula Prudentum* The tongue is not steel, yet it *cuts*. 1646 CRASHAW *Sospetto d'Herode* viii His Teeth for Torment *gnash* (cf. 1530 *Palsgr.* <sup>569</sup>/1 I gnasshe with the teethe). 1646 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.* 352 A philtre, or plant that *conciliates* affection. MILTON *Lycidas* i 111. Two massy keys he bore of metals twain; The golden *opes*, the iron *shuts* amain. MILTON *P. L.* III 135 Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance *fill'd* All Heav'n. . 1695 CONGREVE *Love for L.* IV. xix Lying is a figure of speech that *interlards* the greatest part of my conversation. 1697 DRYDEN *Virgil* (J.) Fragrant oils the stiffen'd limbs *anoint*. 1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.* II 725 To drink in Bowls which glitt'ring Gems *enchase*. 1725 POPE *Odyss.* xxii 329 His batter'd front and brains *besmear* the stone. 1738 GLOVER *Leonidas* v. 657. The gory drops *besprinkle* all his shield. 1808 SCOTT *Marm.* 1. Introd. 44. Will spring return . . And blossoms *clothe* the hawthorn spray? SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* V. xiv. Their warning blasts the bugles *blew*. . *Ibid.* I. viii, Implored, in vain, the grace divine For chiefs, their own red falchions *slew*. 1842 TENNYSON *Locksley Hall* 62 Cursed be the gold that *gilds* the straitened forehead of the fool. a 1859 MACAULEY *Hist. Eng.* V 157 His eloquence *had gained* for him the ear of the legislature. 1870 E. PEACOCK *Ralf Shirl.* III 193 The old armour which *decorated* its walls. 1874 GREEN *Short Hist.* viii § 3, 487. Shouts of assent *greeted* the resolution. 1886 J. WARD in *Encycl. Brit.* XX <sup>62</sup>/2. The voice perceived *identifies* Jacob, at the same time the hands *identify* Esau. ZANGWILL *Ghetto Comedies* (Tauchn.) II 134. 'But how shall I travel to them? My crutches cannot *walk* so far as Prague.'

Examples of præd. instrumenti & attributionis: [1841 *Fraser's Mag.* XXIII 16 A first-flight Meltonian is not said to *ride well*, but to go well after hounds]. 1848 THACKERAY *Bk. Snobs* xxix. He *rides*. . when somebody mounts him.

(g) **Predication of adjunct of exchange** (Prædicatio vicis).

In this predication category the grammatical subject represents the adjunct that indicates a thing in return for which another thing is taken as an equivalent or substitute (= status vicis). The passive form of the predicate-verb seems here to be predominant. The category is of small dimensions.

Examples: c 1586 C'TESS PEMROKE *Ps.* LXii. v. Lord, . . each mans work *is paid* by thee. 1558 GOODMAN *How to Obey* 222. Whatsoever you lose in this world . . it *shall be* here recompenced with double.



1639 FULLER *Holy War* IV. iv. (1840) 181 The length of the journey *will be recompensed* by the goodness of the way. 1766 GOLDSM. *Vic. W.* iv, What the conversation wanted in wit *was made up* in laughter (= compensated for). a 1831 A. KNOX *Rem.* (1844) I 71. Which could never *be compensated for* by . . . attention.

1599 SHAKS. *Much Ado* I. i 183 Can the world *buie* such a jewell?  
1622 MALYNES *Anc. Law.-Merch.* 87 A London mingled colour cloth, *would haue bought* at Lisborne two chests of Sugar. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 14 These last, of course, can give you everything that money can *buy*. *Mod.* Health is a treasure that gold *cannot buy*. 1840 MARRYAT *Olla Podr.* 325 Everything must *pay toll*. MRS. B. M. CROKER *A Nine Days Wonder* ch. iii. 10, though they [young horses] are considered a risky investment, they *paid* her well.

*Note.* The construction 'to buy a thing *for* or *with* (the price)' indicates an oscillation between status vicis and status instrumenti. Therefore, the sentences quoted above (with *buy* as predicate-verb) may also be interpreted as predications of instrumental adjunct. — The connexion 'they [young horses] *paid* her well', may be conceived as a prædicatio vicis, i. e. people paid her well in return for them; but it may also be classed as a præd. origin., i. e. they yielded much money. The latter sense, which, no doubt, has originated from the former, is the only one salient in the following quot. 1848 THACKERAY *Gt. Hoggarty Diam.* xii. That in which poor Mr. Tidd invested his money did not *pay* 2 *d* in the pound.

### 13. *Predication of a part of the logical subject* (Prædicatio subjecti).

In this predication category the grammatical subject represents only a part of the logical subject, whereas the other part is contained in the grammatical predicate. The predicate-verb here is never dressed in the passive form. In consequence of the illogical construction, that part of the predicate which, morphologically speaking, is the principal one, tends semologically to become only an accessory member of the predicate. Predications of this kind, therefore, may also be interpreted as logical predications or as non-logical connexions of another type. Thus the sentence 'he is easy to instruct' may also be classed as a præd. obj. & attrib. The extent of the category is very limited.

c 1374 CHAUCER *Troylus* III 1221 (1270) þou me . . . Hast holpin þere I *likly* was to steruyn (= it was likely that . . .). *Mod.* He is likely to come (= it is likely that he will come). 1653 WALTON *Angler* ii 49 I'll be as *certain* to make him a good dish of meat, as I was to catch him. *Mod.* He is *certain* to come (= it is certain that he will come). 1830 TENNYSON *Talk. Oak* 204 A thousand thanks for what I learn And what *remains* to tell (cf. it remains to tell that). THACKERAY *Van. Fair* II ch. viii. He *chanced* to remark the agitation under which she laboured (cf. THACKERAY *Pend.* II ch. iii. One day *it chanced that* he and Arthur went thither together). THACKERAY *Pend.* II ch. iv. The cards of invitation *happened* to come from some very exalted personages (cf. DICKENS *Bleak House*

ch. ii. It *happens* that the fire is hot). JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. iv. 35 George suggested eggs and bacon, which *were easy* to cook (cf. it was easy to cook them). MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. xxv 248 That is *easy* to say (= it is easy to say that). *Ibid.* ch. ix 77 I certainly *was difficult* to instruct (= it was difficult to instruct me). *Ibid.* ch. ix 84 yet otherwise their *conduct is* often *hard* to account for (= it is hard to account for their conduct).

*Note.* As predications of a part of the logical subject should be designated also examples of the following type, where, as basis of comparison, may be taken either a logical or a non-logical predication: MEREDITH *Egoist* ch. x 87 Marriage *has been known* to have such an effect (= people have known marriage to have such an effect, or it has been known that marriage has had such an effect). MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. xx 172 My mother *was ordered* to be shut up in a convent (= they ordered my mother to be shut up in a convent, or it was ordered that my mother should be shut up in a convent). *Mod.* They *are said* to have retired to the fastness of the mountains (= people say that they have retired etc., or it is said that they have retired, etc.). In the following example the basis of comparison can only be a logical predication: BYRON *Ch. Harold* I, lxxxv, Some native blood *was seen* thy streets to dye.

### III. Middle predications.

We designate predications as middle when the logical and the grammatical analyses may be said both to agree and to disagree. Such is the case when the grammatical subject represents not only the logical subject, but also a direct or an indirect object to the predicate-verb. This predication type holds, therefore, a middle position between the logical and the non-logical category. The predicate-verb may be a verb of function, of mental state (*i. e.* to know, wish etc.), or, more rarely, a verb of relation. It is in this category that the reflexive (or reciprocal) form of the predicate-verb has its proper sphere of application. The extent of the category is far less than that of logical or non-logical predications. According to the different relations existing between the members of a plural (dual) subject, the category may be divided into two principal kinds: predications of reflexivity and predications of reciprocity.

#### 14. *Predications of reflexivity* (Prædicatio reflexivitatis).

The distinctive feature of this category is that the grammatical subject may be either a singular or a plural notion, and that, in the latter case, the several members of the subject have to each other only a relation of co-ordination, so that each member is the object of its own activity or state. The adjunct function of



the grammatical subject is generally expressed by a reflexive pronoun, but it is also very often left unexpressed. The category may, if we so will, be divided into two subvarieties, according as the adjunct relation is a direct or an indirect object.

It should be observed that we are not concerned with true predications of reflexivity in examples of the following type: 1662 R. MATHEW *Unl. Alch.* § 20 He could not *button himself*, nor put on his clothes. *Mod.* He *expressed himself* very well. BYRON *Ch. Harold* I. LXXXIII But Passion *raves itself* to rest. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 179 She had *talked herself* out of breath. In the first two examples the reflexive pronoun does not refer to the subject in general, but only to a particular notion connected with it (himself = his clothes, his opinions, thoughts). In the last two instances the reflexive pronoun is determined by an adjunct, with which it forms an abortive sentence.

Examples: SHELLEY *Adonais* xx The leprous corpse touched by this spirit tender, *Exhales itself* in flowers of gentle breath. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 139 the ladies of Cranford always *dressed* with chaste elegance and propriety. . *Ibid.* 152, or how Lady Glenmire could *reconcile herself* to the dulness of the long visit. . *Ibid.* 260 I don't know how Miss Matty would have *prevailed upon herself* to part with such things as her mother's wedding-ring. . CLARK RUSSELL *The Wreck of the Grosvenor* ch. vii. 99. Though these plain details *impressed themselves* upon my memory. .

JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xix. 241 After that, we *mixed ourselves* some toddy . . . PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 115 I could not *conceal from myself* that he . . . H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus*, etc. (Tauchn.) 116 The lieutenant *rolled himself* a cigarette.

#### 15. *Predications of reciprocity* (prædicatio reciprocitatis).

The leading characteristic of this category is that the grammatical subject is a plural (dual) notion. The several members of it have to each other, not only a relation of co-ordination in as much as each is the subject of the same predicate-verb, but also a cross relation, since each member is the object of the activity, the state, or the relation presented by the other member(s). The adjunct function of the subjects is generally expressed by a particular morphem such as *each other*, *one another*, *together* (now *obs.*), *inter-*. Sometimes it is left unexpressed, *e. g.* 'they quarrelled'. The compass of this category is narrower than that of predications of reflexivity. Here also we may, if we so will, distinguish two subvarieties, according as the adjunct relation is a direct or an indirect object.

It should be noticed that the common opinion that a reciprocal predication always presupposes a plural subject is scarcely tenable. If we say 'I quarrelled with him', 'I fought with him', we are undoubtedly concerned with an interaction, though this is less salient than in the case of a plural (dual) subject. In fact, the preposition *with* has here the function to give expression to the reciprocity and, if so, it is easy to understand why, for instance, a verb like *to meet* involving reciprocity, in ME. assumed the construction with this preposition (*i. e.* 'to meet *with* somebody'). — Lastly, it should be remembered that there are middle predications presenting the twofold aspect of a predication of reflexivity and a predication of reciprocity (cf. the last two examples).

Examples: c 1384 CHAUCER *Hous of Fame* 250 To telle the manere How they *aqueynteden in fere*. 1600 HOLLAND *Livy* I. xxv. 149. These brave brethren *affronted one another*. . SHAKS. *Cymb.* I. iv. 36 Sir, we *have knowne together* in Orleance. SCOTT *L. L. Minstrel* V. xxvi While he and Musgrave *bandied blows*. 1870 YEATS *Nat. Hist. Comm.* 120 South of the Tropic of Capricorn the products of the torrid and temperate zones *interfuse*. *Mod.* They *relied on each other*. These *are identical*.

*Mod.* They *gave each other* presents. They *deprived each other* of every advantage.

a 1673 HORTON in Spurgeon *Treas Dav.* Ps. xciv. 19 Boughs usually *catch*, and *intangle one in another*. MARRYAT *Mids. Easy* ch. xxi. 173 Neither of them were aware . . how much they *had wound themselves together*. *Mod.* They *reconciled themselves with each other*.

We have performed our task of drawing the outlines of a predication classification of English sentences. This division can only pretend to be of a preliminary nature. True, we firmly believe that our main distinctions are appropriate. But the question is how far the predication dissection should aptly be carried. Thus, for instance, we have included the majority of predications of non-activity under one single category (*i. e.* pred. of attribution). But the latter may be classified into subvarieties. Again, these may prove that another division of predications of non-activity is more suitable.

It is superfluous to justify the task of examining and classifying the predication nature of the sentences. The linguistic importance of such an investigation, though neglected by grammar,



is in our opinion self-evident. It would be impossible to realize why, out of all semological distinctions, the predication import should be the only one tabooed. In fact, there is scarcely any semological feature that, better than the predication aspect, indicates the way of thinking as revealed in language, and an historical examination of the predication categories and their representation in different epochs, involves an interesting chapter of historical semology. Moreover, the principal division of the verbal senses should be — and is partly — based on their predication nature, *i. e.* the kind of predication they condition, when used as predicate-verbs, *e. g.* verbs of action, of perception, of existence, of causality, etc. Therefore, also a descriptive division of the semological changes of the verbs should be based on the difference in predication aspect the changes involve. If the new sense implies a new predication aspect, then the verb has undergone a predication change. Thus, for instance, when an originally causative verb, such as *to loathe*, or a sentence-verb, such as *to list* (orig. = 'lust seizes, attacks'), has become verbs of perception, or of state, then we are concerned with a predication change of these verbs. The same is the case, if a verb in the active form has got the faculty of conditioning predications of direct object. But if it is true that the verbal changes of meaning should be considered also from a predication point of view, then it is necessary to have previously laid the classificatory and terminological basis of the predicative connexions.

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## Essay II.

### A category of predication change in English.

An examination of the semological structure of English verbs will show that they very often present a passive sense dressed in the active form, or, in other words, that in this form they may condition predications of direct object. This passive sense is almost always of secondary origin, and, since it is expressed by the active form, it involves a change in the predication aspect of the verb. It is this case of predication change as occurring in the English language that we shall make the subject of our investigation in the present essay. But in dealing with this problem, we shall make use of the predication classification and terminology laid down in our essay on 'the predication categories in English'.

Since we mean to examine primary transitive verbs that in the active form have adopted a secondary passival meaning, which thus gives rise to active predications of direct object, we have to pay attention only to the passive sense of the verbs when they function as grammatical predicates and consequently condition the predication nature of the sentence. We shall therefore disregard the passive sense of active infinitives and active pres. pples. (gerunds) when they do not constitute the principal part of the predicate. And we may do so the rather as this case of passive sense does not play an important part for the origination of a converted aspect of active predicate-verbs. As illustrative examples of this case of passive import may be adduced the following quotations:

(1) Infinitive: *Bēow.* 74 þā ic wīde gefrægn weorc *gebannan* manigre mægðe . . . *CYNEWULF Crīst* 73 þæs þe æfre sundbūend *secgan* hȳrdon. *Ibid.* 1621 þær hȳ leomu ræcað *to bindenne* and to



*bærnenne*. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* 897. *þā hēt Ælfred cyng timbran long scipu ongēn*, etc. c. 1250 *Gen & Exod.* 3154 *þe bi-leuen* [= that which is left, remains] *brennen* he bead. *Horn Childe* 58 When haþeolf it herd say, He busked boþe niȝt & day. CAXTON<sup>1</sup> *Blanchardyn* 152.4 He made the toun sawte ofte tymes ful sore (= to be assaulted). SHAKS.<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* II 59, VIII 467. That's the next to do (= to be done). 1813 *Dom. Cookery* viii 185 Set it [rice] to boil in milk. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxii, 359, and gave him to my coxswain to bathe. *Ibid.* ch. vii, 50 I heard say that, etc. H. G. WELLS *Invisible Man* (Tauchn.) 122 Never heard tell of Invisible Men before. 1897 *Allbutt's Syst. Med.* III 889. The cysts are apt to perforate and to burst. (2) pres. pple. (gerund): KING ÆLFRED tr. *Cura Pastor.* ch. xxi. 132. Ond ðēah sindon monige suīðe swīðe to ðrēageanne, ðonne hīe selfe nyllað ongietan hiera scylda, ðæt hī þonne gehīeren ðrēagende [= while being rebuked] of ðæs lārīowes mūðe hū micle byrðenne hīe habbað on hiera scyldum, etc. SHAKS. *Gent.* II. i. 26 to watch like one that fears robbing (= being robbed). SHAKS. *Henry VI*, B. II, i. 144 If you mean to save yourself from whipping (= being whipped). SHAKS. *Merry Wives* IV. Behold what honest clothes you send forth to bleaching (= to be bleached; cf. FRANZ Shaks.-gram. 1909, 559). a 1711 KEN. *Poet. Wks* IV. 29 They expire, Ingulfing in infernal Fire. 1841 CATLIN *N. Amer. Ind.* II. xlv. 95. A pretty little town, building up. MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxi. 336 those I left in the Minerve were not worth hanging. MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 83, and her spectacles often wanted wiping. CONAN DOYLE *Art. of Sh. Holmes* (Tauchn.) I. 156. I have a caseful of cigarettes here which need smoking. — <sup>3</sup> SHAKS. *Coriol.* II. i. 190. By deed-achieving honour newly named (= an honour the achieving or obtaining of which lies in deeds.) SHAKS. *Lucr.* 993 Let his unrecalling crime have time to wail the abusing of his time (= a crime for which there is no recalling, which cannot be made undone). SHAKS. *Ant.* III. xiii, 77. From his all-obeying breath I hear the doom of Egypt (= a voice attended by a general obeying or obedience). SHERIDAN,<sup>4</sup> when I may rescue her from undeserving persecution (= that is not deserved).

We have, however, made another restriction in the scope of our examination. We have disregarded also those cases of passive sense in the active form where the predicate-verb is represented by verbum substantivum combined either with to + an active infinitive or else with an active pres. pple. (gerund). The former construction involves not only a converted sense, but also a modal modification of the sentence; the latter expresses the imperfective

<sup>1</sup> L. KELLNER *Caxton's Syntax and Style* in Trans. Phil Soc. 1890, lvi, lxi.

<sup>2</sup> W. FRANZ *Shakspeare-Grammatik* 2. Aufl. Heidelberg 1909, 540.

<sup>3</sup> cf. ALEX. SCHMIDT *Shakspeare-Lexicon*, 1886, 1419. Other examples in W. FRANZ, *Shakspeare-Grammatik*, 2. Aufl. Heidelberg 1909, 559 and LEON KELLNER *Zur Syntax des Englischen Verbums*, Wien 1885, 92.

<sup>4</sup> LEON KELLNER *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, London 1892, p. 256.



(durative) tense-aspect of the passive sense, *e. g.* 1711 ADDISON *Spect.* No. 127, 2. *Were* they, like Spanish Jennets, *to impregnate* by the Wind, they could not have thought on a more proper Invention. *Mod.* This house *is to let*. They *are not to compare* with these. — 1727 SWIFT *Let. on Eng. Tongue*, Wks. 1755 II. i. 185 The French [language] for these last fifty years *hath been polishing* as much as it will bear. MARRYAT *Phantom Ship* ch. xi. 91 Amine felt that more dangers and difficulty *were preparing* for her husband. MRS GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 20. They [= The Pickwick Papers] *were then publishing* in parts. CLARK RUSSELL *Rom. of a Midshipm.* ch. xv, 110 Whilst this *was doing*, Mr. Cox said . . . In both these cases of passive sense, the infinitive or the pres. pple. (gerund) constitutes the principal part of the predicate, but in both cases we are concerned with constructions whose origin has already been explained.

The construction 'to be + prepositional infinitive' in a passive sense, is of OE. date. The infinitive is at that time inflected and reveals thus distinctly its origin from a dative case of a verbal substantive<sup>1</sup>, and, as PAUL<sup>2</sup> says, 'Dem Infinitiv ist ursprünglich so gut wie dem Nomen actionis der verbale Genusunterschied fremd', *e. g.* KING ÆLFRED tr. *Cura Past.* ch. xxi. 132 Ond ðēah sindon monige swīde swīde *to ðrēageanne*. *Ibid.* 6. hwīlum, ðēah hit mon cūðlice wite, hit *is tō forberanne*. c. 1000 *Sax.-Leechd.* II. 206 þonne *is sio bedianne* [= to bathe] mid hātan wætre. c. 1175 *Lamb. Hom.* 133. Hit *is to witene*. We meet with the same construction in OHG., *e. g.* *ze karawenne sint* (= *præparanda sunt*), *ze kessezanne ist* (= *restituenda est*). As in the German language, so in English this inflected infinitive, this so-called gerund lost its ending and became identical with the ordinary infinitive form, *e. g.* a 1300 *Cursor M.* 9037 Quilk *er to lack* (= to blame), . . ? c. 1340 *Cursor M.* (Fairf.) 12861 What *is to do?* c. 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron.* 335 Allas! it *was to mene*, his vertuz & his pruesse So fele in him were sene, þat perist for falsnesse. Only rarely do we meet with the *ing*-form instead of the infinitive, *e. g.* WYCLIF *Deut.* 21, 22 Whanne a man synneth that that *is to punysshynge* bi deeth (Vulgata: Quando peccaverit homo quod morte plectendum est. Purvey: which is worthi to be punishid bi deeth).<sup>3</sup> The strong passival sense of the construction to be + to + inf. brought about that already in ME. also the passive infinitive was used, though sparingly<sup>4</sup>, *e. g.* c. 1382 WYCLIF *Joh.*

<sup>1</sup> cf. J. JOLLY *Geschichte des Infinitivs*, München 1873, 57 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> cf. H. PAUL *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, 4. Aufl. Halle 1909, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> cf. R. BLUME *Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung des Gerundiums im Englischen*. Bremen 1880, 19.

<sup>4</sup> cf. E. MÄTZNER *Englische Grammatik* 3. Aufl. Berlin 1885, III 37.



21, 25. þe bookis þat *ben to be writen*.<sup>1</sup> c. 1449 *PECOCK Repressor* 227 the uce of thilk thing *is to be shoned, eschewid, and avoidid*. *Ibid.* 304 it is *to be undirstonde*. *Ibid.* 361, it is *not to be trowid*. In Mod. Eng., especially in colloquial speech, the passive form is predominant.<sup>2</sup>

The construction 'to be + pres. pple. (gerund),' in a passive sense, seems chiefly to be of early NE. date. Also in this case the origin of the passive sense is due to the fact that we are ultimately concerned with a verbal substantive. The starting-point for the development has been constructions with to be + a prepositional form of nomina actionis in *-ing* taken passively, i. e. the whole construction meant that the grammatical subject was in the course of being subjected to the action or process expressed by the verbal substantive, e. g. 1393 *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.) I. 185... be gyfen to the Prior of Huntynghon into the new Chapell of our Lady, that now *es in makynge*... [cf. the non-converted counterpart: 1509 *HAWES Past. Pleas.* (Percy Soc.) 79 Of many floures... A goodly chaplet she was in makynge.<sup>3</sup>] 1393 *LANGLAND P. Pl.* C. iv. 51, We haue a wyndow *a worchyng*. 1465 *MARG. PASTON in P. Lett.* No. 533 II 250 Whille the logge at Heylesdon *was in the betyng down*. 1489 *CAXTON Faytes of Armes* I. xiv, 37, Suche fortyfycacyons *are in dooyng*. 1535 *COVERDALE Ezra* v. 16, Sence that tyme *hath it bene in buyldinge*. *Ibid.* *John* ii. 20. Sixte and fourtye yeare *was this temple abuyldinge*. This prepositional construction is still used archaically or in dialectal and vulgar speech. The omission of the preposition (*in, on* > *a*) lent the aspect of a pres. pple. to the verbal subst., and since the passival import of the construction remained, this pres. pple. stood out as passival in sense. We have not been able to trace this development further back than the 16<sup>th</sup> c., e. g. 1602 *SHAKS. Haml.* III ii 84 If he steal aught the whilst this play *is playing* At any rate the non-prepositional construction had no great currency until the 17<sup>th</sup> or the 18<sup>th</sup> c. The discrepancy between form and sense gave also here rise to the use of the passive form, which in this case<sup>4</sup> seems to have originated in the latter part of the

<sup>1</sup> F. SCHMIDT *Studies in the Language of Peacock*. Upsala 1900, 74, 107.

<sup>2</sup> W. FRANZ *Shakspeare-Grammatik*, 2. Aufl. Heidelberg 1909, 499, 539.

<sup>3</sup> Be it noticed that 'the progressive form' (to be + pres. pple.) with a non-converted sense does by no means exclusively spring from constructions of this kind. It dates as far back as the OE. period. Yet in OE. this form did not always express a progressive action. cf. CONSTANCE PESSELS *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, Strassburg 1896 (Diss.), and A. PÜTTMANN *Die Syntax der sogenannten progressiven Form im alt- und frühme.* in *Anglia* xxxi, 407 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> In other cases the use of the passive form of the pres. pple. is considerably earlier, e. g. SPENSER *Faery Queen* B. III c. IV 58, for feare of

18<sup>th</sup> c. (cf. NED. s. v. *be* 15 c.). According to FRANZ,<sup>1</sup> this passive expression has nowadays become predominant in colloquial speech, and, in literary language, it is decidedly gaining ground, *e. g.* JEROME *Three Men in a Boat* ch. xi. 139 The great pavilion brought there yester eve *is being raised*. . . DION BOUCICAULT *London Assurance* V, i. Oho! the mystery *is being solved*. H. G. WELLS *War of the Worlds* (Tauchn.) I. i. 1 that human affairs *were being watched* keenly and closely by intelligencies . . . *Ibid.* I. viii. 20, children *were being put to bed* . . .<sup>2</sup>

In our essay on the predication categories we have stated that there are several verbs that, without a change in construction, easily assume a sense involving that their subjects logically stand out as direct or indirect objects of a function, though these verbs are destitute of a corresponding transitive sense, *e. g.* *catch*, *fang*, *hent*, *reach*, etc. (cf. p. 61). Also this case of passive sense will be disregarded in our examination, since it is incongruous with the case when a verb in the active form may present a converted aspect of its primary transitive meaning. Also instances where the secondary non-transitive sense is of foreign (chiefly French) origin have generally been omitted in our material (but not entirely in our etymological explanation), because here the semological change has not taken place on English soil. We have also disregarded such examples, though few in number, where a primary intransitive meaning may oscillate towards a passival aspect owing to the fact that the verb has adopted a secondary transitive sense of greater vitality than the intransitive one. For, apart from the difficulty of here stating the existence of a passive sense, our study is meant to deal with only such cases where a verb with a primary transitive meaning has adopted a correlative intransitive construction with a passival import.

In spite of the delimitations thus made, the scope of our study is by no means narrow. We shall find that the primary transitive predicate-verbs that in the active form may offer a passive sense, are very numerous and that the predications they condition may be of different nature both from a descriptive and an etymological point of view.

The material on which we have based our examination is almost exclusively drawn from the great Oxford Dictionary (= NED.) (Letters A—R and the beginning of S). It is only such an admir-

*being shent*. cf. R. BLUME *Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung des Gerundiums im Englischen*. Bremen 1880, 42. (Jena diss.).

<sup>1</sup> W. FRANZ *Shakspeare-Grammatik*. Halle 1900, 392.

<sup>2</sup> cf. also C. STOFFEL in *Taalstudie* iii 321 sqq.



able work as this, based as it is on historical principles and on a large collection of examples, that could render our investigation possible. The rest of the vocabulary (S—Z) has been very imperfectly considered. True, we have examined the Century Dictionary, but the absence of chronological indications and the oft-occurring want of illustrative examples would have rendered it a very laborious task to deal approximately exhaustively with the remaining verbs. In respect to this part of the vocabulary we have paid attention only to some more striking examples of converted predications (chiefly belonging to cats. E and F). Our examination of more than sixty volumes of Mod. English literature gave a very poor result in as much as the cases of passive sense in the active form we thus came across were almost always recorded in NED. as far as it goes.

Yet, also the material presented by the Oxford Dictionary cannot be said to have been exhaustively considered, except, we hope, in the case of the categories we have called pure predications of direct object and predications of object & attribution (= cats. E and F (except the intemporal class)). But this shortcoming is unavoidable in view of the nature of our subject. It should be noticed that predicate-verbs when in the active form presenting a passival aspect, at the same time mostly oscillate towards an intransitive and sometimes also towards a reflexive sense. Moreover it should be observed that, apart from context, the only criterion of their passive sense is the vitality of the primary transitive meaning as compared with the secondary intransitive construction. Thus it is evident that the passive meaning may be more or less salient and that in many cases it must be most precarious to decide upon the existence of a passive sense. This salience, if existing at all, must be very diminutive in all such cases where there is no or only a small chronological gap between the transitive sense and the correlative non-transitive meaning. For we may then generally assume that the frequency of the former sense does not essentially surpass that of the latter. Therefore we have mostly disregarded such instances. The Oxford Dictionary cannot be considered as a trustworthy guide in the case of the salience of the passive sense. For exceedingly often verbal senses are indicated as intransitive which are of the same predication nature as other senses described as passival. The investigator is ultimately thrown upon his own linguistic consciousness, whose

decision can be based only on the two factors indicated above, *i. e.* the context and the vitality of the primary transitive sense. Thus the very nature of our subject is such that completeness in material is unattainable. This is all the more evident as it may happen that a secondary intransitive sense may oscillate towards a passival aspect, though such is not the case with the examples adduced in NED. Therefore, our material should be looked upon as only presenting exemplifying instances rather than as exhausting the verbs given in NED. that offer the semological change we mean to examine. This is especially the case with cats. A and B. Lastly, we may add that completeness in material is impossible also for the reason that we deal with a semological phenomenon still going on in the English language.

Thus we must admit that from one point of view our material is not exhaustive. Yet, the material is sufficient to give a fairly approximate idea of the extent of the descriptive categories (except perhaps in the case of cats. A and B) into which predications of direct object may be divided. It is, undoubtedly, sufficient — and this is the chief point — to be laid as basis for an examination of the factors that have brought about active predications of direct object in English.

There is another point to be noticed. Since we have taken our material from the Oxford Dictionary and since in this work the OE. vocabulary has not been exhaustively considered, it follows that our material is defective with respect to that epoch. However, in dealing with the origin of active predications of direct object, we shall pay due attention to the OE. period. For that purpose we have gone through the OE. vocabulary as represented in 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary' by BOSWORTH and TOLLER (including 'Supplement'), 'The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon' by SWEET, and 'Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter' by C. W. M. GREIN. Besides we have to some extent examined the OE. literature. Lastly, it may be mentioned that, since Gothic has been the starting-point for our etymological examination, the collection of the Gothic material has been based on the exhaustive exemplification given in 'A Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language', 1887—89 by G. H. BALG.

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## CHAPTER I.

### **Descriptive review of active predications of direct object in English.**

Our descriptive review of active predications of direct object in English will be restricted to a statement of our material and to a previous indication of the descriptive points from which it ought to be arranged. A comprehensive descriptive discussion should be made in connexion with the etymological examination, and for reasons indicated in the sequel (p. 217).

If we examine predicate-verbs offering a passive sense dressed in the active form, then we shall find that, though they all condition predications of direct object, yet they may present semological differences of a predication nature. The fact is that the import of these predicate-verbs mostly oscillates. Different semological elements tend to become salient or predominant and to determine the import of the predicate-verb and ultimately the predication aspect of the sentence. These collateral non-converted senses may be of different kinds. The collateral sense may involve a predication of reflexivity. It may imply a predication of state or of attribution. It may condition a predication of action or of perception, and it may condition a predication of existence or of relation. A predication may oscillate between more than two predication aspects. This is almost always the case with cat. A. Moreover, we shall find that, in other cases, the converted or passive sense is so predominant that an alternative non-converted (= intr. or refl.) sense can scarcely be said to be distinctly salient and that therefore such sentences more or less stand out as pure predications of direct object. A descriptive division of active predications of direct object should be based on the alternative predication aspect they may represent. Consequently we shall arrange our material on this principle. We then mean of course

that also the alternative predication nature should be determined by the way in which the grammatical predicate, *i. e.* chiefly the predicate-verb, qualifies the grammatical subject. For we must disregard the aspect conditioned by the psychological subject and predicate, since we have in view to study verbs which, when used as grammatical predicates, may present a passive sense in the active form. Our investigation will also embrace the subvariety of predications of direct object we have termed '*prædicatio objecti & attributionis*'. Also this may present an oscillation in predication nature.

In view of this general scheme of arrangement it is evident that the distribution of our material must sometimes be open to criticism. We do not then refer to the fact that occasionally we have neglected to describe a sense otherwise belonging to any of cats. A, B, C, D, E as intemporal and therefore as conditioning predications of direct object & attribution. We refer instead to cats. A and E. The former represents a category of verbal senses oscillating between a passive and a reflexive meaning. The latter constitutes a class where the passive sense is predominant. But the salience of a collateral reflexive sense and the predominance of a passive meaning are phenomena which, though not entirely destitute of objective criteria, yet to a large extent must be founded on individual linguistic consciousness. Thus the nature of our subject is such that our classification must sometimes assume an arbitrary or rather a subjective appearance. Yet this circumstance should not be taken as an argument against our descriptive division of the material. For, though the limits of the categories are vague, there is no doubt about the actual existence of the semological discrepancy on which they are based. In fact, our classification has made conspicuous the important phenomenon that secondary non-transitive senses generally oscillate between different predication aspects. This implies at the same time that we have often been forced to make a more accurate semological dissection than the one presented by NED. Again this in its turn is of moment for the ultimate etymological interpretation of the intransitive constructions concerned. We venture to maintain that our division forms a very suitable basis for studying the factors that have brought about intransitive constructions with a passive sense.



It is evident that in our descriptive review we must state the predication nature of the primary transitive meaning of which the intransitive construction implies a converted aspect. This nature is generally a sense of action or a sense of causality. In a few cases it is a sense of origin (*i. e.* conditioning prædication originis), (*i. e.* *breed, engender, evolve, form, gender, ken, kindle, kittle, put forth* (buds), *redouble*, though they are not all so indicated in our material), or a sense of state (*i. e.* *assort, class, count, deduce, derive, identify, number, reckon*, all including the notion of 'consider'), rarely a sense of perception (*i. e.* *feel*) or of attribution (*i. e.* *contain, hold*). In the vast majority of cases the sense of action may also be conceived causatively, and this causative aspect may even be predominant. In our material we have generally tried to adopt the principle to state only the prevalent predication aspect. Yet in this respect we can by no means claim accuracy. But this is of little moment since in Chapter II the predication nature of the primary transitive senses has been closely examined.

In adducing our material, we have found it suitable to state the provenience of the verbs, since it often illustrates the original meaning and besides indicates to what extent native material and foreign material present the semological change in question. We have then generally, but not always, adopted the etymology given in NED. The chronology of the transitive sense as well as of its passival counterpart has been based on the records given in NED. Yet, in the case of the passive sense, we have considered only such examples where the verb constitutes the predicate or its principal part. Lastly, it may be mentioned that, when the examples have been quoted from NED., we have deemed it superfluous to indicate the part and the page of the works from which they have been taken.

## A. Predications of direct object or of reflexivity.

**Amalgamate** < *amalgamate*, ppl. a

I. Præd. act. Trans.: (1) To soften or dissolve (a metal) by combination with mercury; *hence*, to combine mercury with another metal, 1660—. (2) *fig.* To unite together (classes, races, societies, ideas, etc.) so as to form a homogeneous or harmonious whole, 1802—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*)

(1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (attrib.). In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring itself, to enter (come) into combination with mercury, or *fig.* into combination with other things.

1804 WOLLASTON in *Phil. Trans.*, On the surface of mercury a metallic film was precipitated, but did not appear to amalgamate.

1848 LYTTON *Harold*, These turbulent invaders had amalgamated amicably with the native race.

1862 MARSH *Eng. Lang.*, The Celtic words in English.. have never amalgamated with it.

(2) Pred. obj., or refl. & recipr., or act. & recipr. In reciprocal sense: cf. II 1.

1866 CRUMP *Banking*, Two banks of issue had amalgamated.

**Arm** < F. *armer* < L. *armāre* f. *arma*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To furnish with arms de-

fensive or offensive; *now*, to provide (a man, garrison, stronghold, ship, etc.) with weapons. 1205—  
*To arm out* (a ship): to fit out with arms. *Obs.* 1670.

II. Præd. obj. or refl. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be armed out, to provide oneself with arms. *Obs.*

1687 *Lond. Gaz.*, Three Gallies . . and several low Boats that arm out in the Summer.

**Arrange** < OF. *arangier*, *ar-engier* f. *rang*, *reng*, rank. A rare word until modern times; not in Bible 1611, Shakespeare, Milton's poetry, or Pope.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To draw up in ranks or in line of battle. 1375—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be arranged, to draw themselves up in ranks, to take up a position in the field.

1523 LD. BERNER'S *Froiss.*, The residewe (who were worste harneysed), arenged alonge on the hylle syde.

**Bend** < OE. *bendan*, prob. identical with ON. *benda* 'to join, strain, strive, bend'. OTeut. \**band-jan* f. *bandjô-* 'string, band', in OE. *bend*.

I. Præd. act. The original and trans. sense was: To fasten or



constrain with a 'bend' or bond; to confine, fetter. *spec.* To constrain a bow with the string. Hence arise two lines of development: (1) To bring into the shape or direction of a bent bow; to bow or curve, stoop, etc., c. 1300—; of persons: to bend the body, to stoop, to assume a bent or stooping posture, c. 1374— (2) To direct, aim (as a bow bent for shooting) 1530— *fig.* to direct (hostile action or words) *against*, *on*, (prayers) to heaven, etc., *obs.* 1577—1681; *fig.* also: to direct, apply, or bring to bear strenuously (one's mind, energies, etc.) *on*, *upon*, c. 1510—. cf. NED. s. v. *bend* II, III.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (1) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *bend* 8). To assume or receive a curved form, or an angular shape. Corresp. to sense I 1.

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De. P. R.*, For tendernes the lymmes of the chylde maye . . bowe and bende and take dyvers shapes.

1815 *Encycl. Brit.*, Their knees . . bend so, that they are apt to trip and stumble.

1816 J. WILSON *City of Plague* No knee This day . . hath bent before its altar.

(b) To curve over from the erect position. (Usually said of things that recover their position when the bending force is withdrawn.) Quot. 1753 = Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (to have the quality of being bent or of bending).

c. 1374 CHAUCER *Troilus*, Thogh she bende, yet she stont a-rote.

1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.*, The waving Harvest bends beneath his Blast.

1753 HERVEY *Medit.*, The knotty Oaks bend before the Blast.

(2) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *bend* 17 d). Predicated of wishes, etc.: To be directed *to*; to direct

itself *to*. *Obs.* Corresponding to sense I 2 above.

a. 1636 MILTON *Arcades*, This, this is she To whom our vows and wishes bend.

(3) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *bend* 18 c). To direct or apply oneself, to be directed. Corresp. to sense I 2 above.

1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.*, If to the Warlike Steed thy Studies bend, Or for the Prize in Chariots to contend.

**Berth** < *berth* sb., most probably a derivative of *bear*, v.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To moor or place (a ship) in a suitable position. The only quot. (in the passive form) adduced by NED. is from 1871. In the refl. form (predicated of a ship or sailors) recorded since 1667.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). Of a ship: To be berthed, to berth itself, to moor.

1868 MACGREGOR *Voyage Alone*, The Rob Roy glided past the pier and smoothly berthed upon a great mud bank.

**Bey**, *obs.* < OE. Anglian *bēgan*, WSax. *bīegan* = ON. *beygja* (Sw. *bōja*), OHG. *bougen*, Goth. *baugjan*, causal of *biugan*, *baug*, in OE. *būgan*, *bēah* to bow (*intr.*)

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To bend, cause to bow. c. 888— a. 1325.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) To be bent, to bend, to bow. Quot. 1230 = præd. obj. & attrib. (= to admit of being bent).

a. 1225 *St Marher* 22. Ant te bodi beide . . ant beh to þer eorðe.

c. 1230 *Hali Meid*. 15 Hwil þe scheld is hal þat is te wisdom of þi wit, þat hit ne breke ne beie, þah þi fleschliche wil fals beo þer under and walde as hire luste.

c 1300 *K. Alis.*, Theo spere was styf and nought no beyghed.

**Bind** < OE. *bindan* = OS. *bindan*, OHG. *bintan*, ON. *binda* (Sw. *binda*), Goth. *bindan*.

I. Præd. act. General trans. sense: To make fast with a band or bond. 971— Note the special trans. sense: To cement (particles) together, or cause them to cohere in a firm mass. a 1000— cf. NED. s. v. *bind* 10.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *bind* 10 b). To be brought, to bring itself, come (enter) into cohesion with. Quot. 1838 = pred. obj. & attrib. (to admit of being bound).

1674 GREW *Luctation*, Their Alkaly binds in with some preternatural Acid in the Stomach.

1677 Moxon *Mech. Exerc.*, The Mettal running close to the Spindle will bind on that place.

1838 N. PATERSON *Manse Gard.*, The coarse [gravel], it is true does not bind.

**Bisect**. Apparently of Eng. formation, from *bi-*, *bis-* two + *sect-* ppl. stem of *secāre* 'to cut'.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To cut or divide into two equal parts, (the earlier and usual sense), 1646—; to cut in two, divide into any two parts, 1789—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. *fig.* (NED. *intr.*) To divide in two; to fork.

1870 *Daily News* 5 Oct., On the *chaussée* just before it bisects, is a village named Belle-Croix.

**Blend**, *obs.* < ME. *blenden*, wk. vb., which appears c 1300, at first in northern writers. Evidently akin to *Bland* sb. mixture and the OE. str. vb. *blandan*, ON. *blanda* to mix. Ultimate origin uncertain.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To mix, mingle (things material and immaterial), a 1300 (*Cursor M.*) —; to mix (components) intimately or harmoniously so that their individuality is obscured in the product, 1601— cf. NED. s. v. *blend* 1, 4.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into mixture with something else.

c 1400 *Destr. of Troy*, The bloberond blode blend with the rayn.

*fig.* 1860 TYNDALL *Glac.*, The distant peaks gradually blended with the white atmosphere above them.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into mixture with each other. Also *fig.*

c 1325 *E. E. Allit P.*, Boþe his blod & his brayn blende on þe cloþes.

1792 WORDSW. *Descr. Sk.*, All motions, sounds, and voices . . Blend in a music of tranquillity.

1812 J. WILSON *Isle of Palms*, Oh! ne'er did sky and water blend In such a holy sleep.

**Cast**, præd. obj., or refl., or act; see cat. E. s. v. *cast* II 1.

**Cement** < *cement* sb. < OF. *ciment*, recorded in Eng. since c 1300. cf. F. *cimenter*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To unite (solid bodies) with cement, 1340—; also *transf.* to unite as with cement, to cause to cohere firmly, 1660—

II. Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). *Fig.* in reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into cohesion with each other.



1660 BONDE *Scut. Reg.*, So these knaves cemented together again, like a Snakes tail.

1761—2 HUME *Hist. Eng.*, The allies . . were not likely to cement soon in any new confederacy.

**Char(e)**, *obs.*, < OE. *cerran*, W.Sax. *cierran* < OTeut. *\*karrjan* or *\*karzjan* f. *\*karri*, *karzi* = OE. *cerre*, *chare sb.*

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To turn, *esp.* to turn aside or away; to lead aside, to drive away. c 1000—1674.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., (or act.). (NED. *intr.*) To turn; *esp.* to turn (oneself) away or aside, depart; to turn (oneself), (be turned) from one bodily state, belief, etc. to another.

*Gūdlāc* 880 *hwilum cyrdon eft minne mǣnsceaþan on mennisc hīw breahmta mǣste (= transformarunt se in homines).*

[a 1225 *Juliana*, Te þreo children þe chearre nalden from þe lahen.]

a 1225 *Leg. Kath.*, Chear anan-riht, þæt te oðre chearren þurh þe.

**Clean.** In 15<sup>th</sup> c. *clene* f. the adj.; it takes the place to a certain extent of the earlier vb. *cleanse*.

I. Præd. act. To make clean (in various senses). c. 1450—

II. Præd. obj. or refl. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be cleaned, to clean oneself.

1748 J. LIND *Lett. Navy*, Our fleets may winter there, clean and repair.

**Cleave** < OE. *clīofan*, *clēofan* = OS. *clioban*, OHG. *chlioban*, ON. *kljúfa* (Sw. *klyva*).

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To part or divide by a cutting blow; to hew asunder, to split. 937—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act., or stat. (cf. espec. quot. 1641)

(NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *cleave* 4). To be split, to split itself, to perform the action involved in cleaving (*intr.*), to come into the condition resulting from cleaving.

a 1225 *Leg. Kath.*, Hit bigon to claterin al & to cleouen.

[a 1300 *Cursor M.* þou sal see it cleue in tua.] *Ibid.* þe stanes claf.

1377 LANGL. *P. Pl. B.* But þe wal wagged and clef.

1611 BIBLE *Numb.*, The ground claued asunder.

a 1641 BP. MONTAGU *Acts & Mon.*, The vaile of the Temple shall cleave in twaine.

1841 LANE *Arab. Nts.*, He struck the earth with his feet, and it clove asunder, and swallowed him.

**Clench, clinch** < ME. *clenchen* < OE. *clenc(e)an* in *be-clenc(e)an* = OHG. *chlankhan*, *klenkan* < OTeut. *\*klankjan*, a causal deriv. of *\*klinkan* co-existing with *\*klingan*, OE. *clingan* 'to cling', stick fast; so that *\*klankjan* was 'to make to stick firmly together, to rivet'. From the 16<sup>th</sup> c. onward, *clench* was frequently made into *clinch*. In current use *clench* and *clinch* are used indifferently in some senses.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To set firmly together, close tightly (the fingers, fist, teeth). (Formerly also *clinch*); 1621 (to clinch her hand together) — see NED. s. v. *clench* 2, *clinch* 2, b.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *clench* 2 c, *clinch* 2 c). Of the hands, teeth: To be clenched, to perform the action involved in clenching.

1719 DE FOE *Crusoe*, When I spoke the Words, my Hands would clinch together . .

1843 E. JONES *Poems Sens. & Event*, Through Some dolphin's body nervously they [a shark's teeth] clench.

**Close** < OF. *clos-* stem (*close* pres. subj.) of *clore* < L. *claudĕre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To stop up (an opening or channel); to shut; to cover in. c 1205— cf. NED. s. v. *close* I (1).

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *close* 2). To be closed, to shut itself, to perform the action involved in closing.

c 1385 CHAUCER *L. G. W.*, Thanne closeth it [the flower] and draweth it to reste.

1593 SHAKS. 3 *Henr. VI.* These eyes shall never close.

*Mod.* The grave had closed over all he loved.

**Combine** < F. *combiner* < late L. *combināre* to join two by two, yoke together.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To couple or join two or more things together; material things in material union, *obs.* c 1446—1616; persons or material things in non-material or ideal union, 1503—; things immaterial, 1529—.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *combine* 4). (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into combination with something else. Owing to the intemporal sense of the predicate-verbs the quots. 1800, 1812 represent præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (to have the quality of (to admit of) being combined or of entering into combination with sth.)

1766 T. AMORY *J. Bunce*, The mercury revived, and the acid combined with it.

1800 tr. *Lagrange's Chem.*, The oxide of manganese . . combines with the oxygen.

1812 SIR H. DAVY *Chem. Philos.*, Silver combines with chlorine when . . heated in contact with the gas.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. To be brought, etc. into combination with each other. The quot. perhaps = præd. obj. & attrib. (= to admit of being combined).

1712 BLACKMORE *Creation*, The scattering bodies never would combine, Nor to compose a world by concourse join.

**Commix**, back-formation from the 15<sup>th</sup> c. pa. pple. *commixt* < L. *commixtus* pa. pple.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To mix or mingle together; to blend. Now *arch.* or *poet.* First recorded in pa. pple. c 1420—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *commix* 3.).

(1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into commixture with something else.

[1845 CLOUGH *Early Poems*, Oh, with mine commixing I thy breath of life shall feel.]

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into commixture with each other. Owing to the intemporal sense of the verb, quot. 1519 = præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. attrib. (= to have the quality of being mixed or mixing together). As to quot. 1675 the context may be such that the meaning is 'to admit of being commixed' (= præd. obj. & attrib.).

1519 *Four elements* in Hazl. *Dodsley*, These elements . . commix together daily.

1675 PENN *Eng. Pres. Interest Discov.*, They will commix as Iron and Clay.

**Concorporate** < L. *concorpor-* ppl. stem of *concorporāre* to unite in one body.



I. Præd. act. Trans.: To unite into one body or mass. 1552—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) (NED. *intr.*). In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, so come (enter) into combination with something else.

1695 H. DODWELL *Def. of Vind. Deprived Bps.*, It cannot be agreeable to the mind of God that it [the church] should so congregate with the State, as wholly to depend on the Authority of the Civil Magistrates.

**Conjoin** < F. *conjoign-* stem of *conjoindre* (pr. pple. *conjoignant*, pres. conj. *conjoigne*) < L. *conjungere*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To join together; to connect, unite. c 1374—

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or act. (attrib.) & recipr. (NED. *intr.*) In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to enter (come) into connexion with each other.

1611 SPEED *Theat. Gt. Brit.*, Many fresh springs . . meet and conjoine in the vallies.

a 1711 KES *Edmund*, As Male and Female Palms, whose Roots conjoin.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being joined together.

1578 BANISTER *Hist. Man*, A hurt . . vnto the Nerue before it enter into the Muscle . . can not by any meanes conioyne, or knitte together agayne.

**Convert** < OF. *convertir* < pop. L. *\*convertire*, for cl. L. *convertēre* to turn about, to turn in character or nature.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To cause to turn to and embrace a (specified) religious faith. a 1300— (2)

*Theol.* To turn to godliness. c 1340—cf. NED. *convert* 9, 10.

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *convert* 9 d). To be converted, to convert oneself (recorded c 1400—1430), to embrace a (specified) religious faith. *Obs.*

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, þe iuus sal convert, als it sais.

1560 BIBLE *Jonah*, That they which were of the heathen, should convert.

1649 *Alcoran*, Your Lord shall pardon you, if you convert.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *convert* 10 c). Corresponding to sense I 2: To be brought, to bring oneself, to turn to godliness. Quots. 1554, 1826 = præd. stat. [= to be willing to be converted, etc., a sense that easily is turned into: to admit of being converted (= præd. obj. & attrib.)]. *Obs.*

[1554 KNOX *Godly Lett.*, They haue hardened their faces harder then stones, they will not convert.]

1557 N. T. *Luke*, Likewyse ioye shal be in heauen ouer one sinner that conuerteth.

[1826 E. IRVING *Babylon*, The infatuated world! It will not convert! it must be destroyed.]

**Cut**, præd. obj. or refl.; see cat. F. s. v. *cut* II 2.

**Depart** < OF. *departir*, Rom. compound of *de-* or *dis-* (*des-*) + *partire*, for L. *dispertire* to divide.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To divide into parts, dispart. *obs.* 1297—1551. (2) To put asunder, sunder, separate, part, *obs.* 1297—1677; esp. to sever, break off, dissolve (a connexion or the like), *obs.* c 1386—1579. cf. NED. s. v. *depart* 1, 3, 4

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *depart* 1 b; 4 b.) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) To become divided, to divide. *Obs.*

1387 Trevisa *Higden*, þe Rede see streccheþ forþ, and departeþ in tweie mouthes and sees.

1548—77 VICARY *Anat.*, [The si-news] depart agayne into two, and eche goeth into one eye.

(2) Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Of a connexion, etc.: To be severed, dissolved, or broken off, to cease. *Obs.*

1375 BARBOUR *Bruce*, Thusgat maid thai thar aquentance That neur syne.. Departyt quhill thai lyffand war.

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.*, Than the bysshoppe sayd, Sirs, than our company shall depart.

**Disclose** < OF. *desclos-* pres. stem of *desclor(r)e* to uncloze, open, free < Romanic (and med. L.) *dis-claudēre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To open up (that which is closed or shut); to uncloze, unfold, unfasten. *Obs.* a 1400 — c 1600. (2) To open up to the knowledge of others; to make openly known, reveal, declare (secrets, purposes, beliefs, etc). 1393 — cf. NED. s. v. *disclose* 1, 5.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *disclose* 2, 5 b.) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. To uncloze or unfold itself by the falling asunder of parts; to open; to be disclosed. Of eggs: To be hatched.

[1591 GARRARD *Art Warre*, Which upon occasion disclosing again may let out the shot.]

[1626 T. H. Caussin's *Holy Crt.*, If the hen brood not her eggs, dhe hath no desire to make them sis close.]

1727—46 THOMSON *Summer*, Over head a sheet Of livid flame discloses wide, then shuts And opens wider.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or præd. obj. & attrib. To be brought, to come to light, to show itself, to become manifest = to admit of being seen. *Obs.*

1494 FABYAN *Chron.*, The displeasure atwene the Kynge & his barons began to appere and disclose.

1627—77 FELTHAM *Resolves*. Vices.. which I can see, when they do disclose in them.

**Disentangle** < *dis* + *entangle* v.

I. Præd. act. Trans. senses: To free (anything) from that in or with which it is entangled; to disengage, extricate. Also *fig.* 1598 —; to bring (anything) out of a tangled state; to unravel, untwist. *lit.* 1805—, *fig.* 1660—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. To be or become disentangled; to disentangle oneself.

1726 *Adv. Capt. R. Boyle*, My Foot disentangled, and I fell plum into the Sea.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. (a) To admit of being disentangled. Quot. 1607 also = præd. attrib. (= to be unable to disentangle itself, cannot become disentangled).

1607 *Ford's Madrigal*, 'Sinse first I saw your face'. My heart is fast, And cannot disentangle.

*Mod.* This skein won't disentangle.

(b) To have the quality of being or becoming disentangled (under certain conditions) = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.

1742 Young *Nt. Th.*, Thoughts disentangle passing o'er the lip.

**Dissever** < AF. *deseverer*, *deseverer*, OF. *des(s)evrer* (*disseverer*) < L. *dissēparāre*.



I. Præd. act. Trans.: To separate (a person or thing *from* another or *from* a body, etc.); to divide, disjoin, sever, part, disunite. c 1250—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) To be dissevered, to divide, to go asunder, to separate; of a way: to fork.

c 1430 *Pilgr. Lyf Manhode*, I sygh that my wey disseuerede and departed in twey weyes.

1820 SHELLEY *Ode Lib.*, As light may pierce the clouds when they dissever In the calm regions of the orient day!

**Distort** < L. *distort-* ppl. stem of *distorquere* to twist different ways, distort.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put out of shape or position by twisting or drawing awry, to render crooked, unshapely, or deformed. 1634—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be put out of shape, to assume a deformed shape. *Obs. rare.*

1680 OTWAY *C. Marius*. Old Ancharius . . was so violent . . That his beard bristled, and his face distorted.

**Divide** < L. *dividere* to force asunder, distribute, cleave, separate, remove.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To separate into parts, to split up, cleave, c 1374—; to separate into branches, to cause to ramify, c 1400— cf. NED. s. v. *divide* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *divide* 14). To be brought into separation into parts or from something else; to go asunder, to branch, ramify.

1526 *Pilgr. Perf.*, Whan we come to the yeres of discrecyon, than we deuyde in two partes, two compaynes & two wayes.

1593 SHAKS. *Lucr.*, Bubbling from her breast, it [the blood] doth divide In two slow rivers.

1855 TENNYSON *Brook*, Her hair In gloss and hue the chestnut, when the shell Divides threefold to show the fruit within.

1878 HUXLEY *Physiogr.*, [The river] divides and subdivides, till at last it is split up into a network of channels.

**Draw**, præd. obj., or refl., or act.; see cat. E. s. v. *draw* II 1 c.

**Drill**, known only from 17<sup>th</sup> c.; perh. f. Dutch *drillen*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To train or exercise in military evolutions and the use of arms. 1626—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* and *pass.*). To be drilled, etc., cf *exercise*.

[1848 W. E. FORSTER in T. W. REID *Life*, Large numbers of men are armed and drilling nightly.]

*Mod.* The regiment drills regularly every day.

**Embattle** < OF. *embataillier* to prepare for battle.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To set (an army) in battle array. 1393—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Predicated of the army: To be embattled; to embattle oneself; to take up a position in the field. *Obs.*

[1597 DANIEL *Civ. Wares*, And near Northampton both Embattelling. Made now the very Heart of England bleed.]

[1662(?) DK. ORMONDE *Laws & Ord. Army in Irel.*, Every . . Soul-

dier... shall keep silence when the Armie is . . . marching or imbattailing.]

1738 GLOVER *Leonidas*. An ample space Where myriads might im-battle.

### Empty < *empty* a.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To make empty, to pour out, 1555—; to unburden, discharge, 1526—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Now chiefly in U. S. Of a river, etc.: To be emptied, to empty itself, to discharge its waters.

a 1682 SIR T. BROWNE *Tracts*, The Rivers Arnon, Cedron, Zaeth, which empty into this valley.

1692 tr. *Sallust*, All these together empty'd into Rome as into the common sewer of all disorder.

1796 MORSE *Amer. Geog.*, Sheeps-cot river . . . empties into the ocean.

1864 G. P. MARSH *Man & Nature*, Until the year 1714 the Kan-der.. emptied into the river Aar.

**Engage** < F. *engager* f. *en-* + *gage* pledge. Earliest record in Eng. 1525.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To entangle, involve, commit, mix up (in an undertaking, quarrel, etc.). *Obs.* a 1586—1734. (2) To provide occupation for, employ (a person, his powers, thoughts, efforts, etc.). Now nearly always *passive*. 1648—; cf. NED. s. v. *engage* 13, 15.

II. Præd. obj., or. refl., (or act.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *engage* 13 b, 16.) (1) To be engaged, to entangle, involve, or mix oneself up, to make. *Obs.*

a 1667 COWLEY *Obscurity*, If we engage into a large Acquaintance . . . we set open our gates to the Invaders of most of our time.

1750 JOHNSON *Rambler*, Much earlier than we engage among the actions and passions of mankind.

1796 MORSE *Amer. Geog.*, The nation again engaged in debt.

(2) To enter upon or employ oneself in an action; to become engaged *in* (*on*).

1848 MACAULAY *Hist. Eng.*, The government engaged in war with the United Provinces.

1875 JOWETT *Plato*, If I had engaged in politics, I should have perished long ago.

**Entangle** < *en-* + *tangle*, sb. and vb. The primary reference may have been to boats or oars caught in 'tangle' or sea-weed, but the wider sense appears in the earliest quotes.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To involve in surroundings that impede movement, or from which extrication is difficult. 1555—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (NED. *intr* s. v. *entangle* 1 d.) To be brought, to bring oneself, to come into an entangled condition. *Obs. rare.* Quot. 1673 = præd. obj. & attrib. (= to have the quality of being entangled with each other) or præd. attrib. (= to have the quality of bringing themselves or coming into an entangled condition).

1628 COWLEY *Piramus & Thisbe*, A Bird.. By struggling more entangles in the Gin.

a 1673 HORTON in Spurgeon *Treas. Dav.*, Boughs usually catch, and intangle one in another.

**Erect** < L. *ērect-* ppl. stem of *ērigĕre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To raise to an upright position. 1573— cf. NED. *erect*. 3.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *erect* 3 c).



To be straightened, to straighten oneself, to assume an upright position. Owing to the intemp. sense of the verb, quot. 1526 = *præd attrib.*

1626 BACON *Sylva*, By Wet, Stalkes doe erect, and Leaues bow downe.

**Estrange** < OF. *estranger* < L. *extrāneūre*.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the trans. sense: To alienate in feeling or affection. Const. *from*, or *simply*. 1494—

II. *Præd. obj.*, or *refl.*, or *stat.* (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *estrangle* 3 b.) To be or become alienated in feeling, to estrange oneself (recorded 1494, 1606). *Obs. rare.*

1649 SELDEN *Laws Eng.*, Perswading the King, that Foreign Princes estranged from him . . . for some apprehensions they had of his departure from that way of Religion.

**Evacuate** < *ēvacuāt-* ppl. stem of *ēvacuāre* (Pliny) f. *ē* out + *vacuus* empty.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the trans. sense: To make empty, to remove the contents of. 1542—

II. *Præd. obj.*, or *refl.*, or *act.* (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *evacuate* 1 d.) Of a body of water, etc.: To be emptied, to empty, discharge itself, its waters. *Obs.*

1817 KEATINGE *Trav.*, Where the canal evacuates is placed a net to catch . . .

**Exercise** < *exercise* sb. < OF. *exercise* < L. *exercitium*. The vb. has taken the place of the obsolete *exerce* < OF. *exercer*.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the trans. sense: To train by practice, to drill soldiers, etc. 1388— cf. NED. *exercise* 3.

II. *Præd. obj.*, or *refl.*, or *act.* (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *exer-*

*cise* 6 c). To be practised, to p. oneself in sth., to go through exercises or evolutions; *esp.* of soldiers, 'to drill'.

1606 SHAKS. *Ant. & Cl.*, I' th' common shew place where they exercise.

1678 tr. *Gaya's Art of War*. Whilst the Pikes are exercising, the Musketeers are made to order, or rest upon their Arms.

1782 COWPER *Gilpin*. In which I hear my trusty sword When I do exercise.

**Exhibit** < L. *exhibere* ppl. stem of *exhibere* f. *ex-* out + *habere* to hold. Earliest quot. in Eng. 1490.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the trans. sense: To manifest to the senses, *esp.* to the sight; to present (a material object) to view. 1573—. cf. NED. s. v. *exhibit* 7.

II. *Præd. obj.*, or *refl.*, or *exist.*, or *præd. obj. & attrib.* (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *exhibit* 7 c) To be manifested to the senses, to show itself, to originate, to admit of being seen. *Obs.*

1656—81 BLOUNT *Glossogr.*, *Exhibite* . . . to show it self.

1768—74 TUCKER *Lt. Nat.*, It is in the nature of the mind to assent to whatever appearances that exhibit when all other evidence that might correct them is removed out of her reach.

**Fix**, ultimately f. L. *fīxus*, pa. pple. of *fīgēre* to fix, fasten. The proximate origin is uncertain.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the trans. senses: (1) To fasten, make firm or stable in position; to place, attach, or insert and secure against displacement. 14 . . . (2) To set (one's eyes, attention, affections, etc.) on (an object). c 1430— cf. NED. s. v. *fix* 1, 3.

II. *Præd. obj.*, or *refl.*, or *attrib.* (1), or *act.* (2). (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *fix* 1 f. 3 b). (1) To be, become firmly attached or

implanted, to fix itself. *Obs.* Owing to the intemporal sense of the predicate, the quot. 1748 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to have the quality of being fixed or fixing in a specified way).

1748 RICHARDSON *Clarissa*, Prejudices in disfavour of a person at his first appearance, fix deeper . . . than prejudices in favour.

(2) Said of the eyes, attention, etc.: To be fixed, fix itself on, to rivet.

[1663 GERBIER *Counsel*, You . . . could not suffer your Eyes to fix on slight objects.]

1760 JOHNSON *Idler*, He will find nothing [in these books] on which attention can fix.

**Fold**, præd. obj., or refl., or act.; see cat. F. s. v. *fold* II 2.

**Form**, præd. obj., or refl., or act.; see cat. D. s. v. *form* II 2.

**Frounce** < OF. *froncier*, *froncir* (Fr. *froncer*) f. *frounce* frounce, sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the . sense: To knit, purse (the brows, lips, forehead). *Obs.* 1300—1628.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of the face or forehead: To be wrinkled, to contract itself, to form wrinkles. *Obs.*

c 1450 HENRYSON *Test. Cress.*, His face frounced . . . His teth chattered.

[1583 STANYHURST *Æneis*, Grislye faces frouncing dyd I see].

**Hurt** < OF. *hurter* (now *heurter*) to bring into violent collision. Ultimate origin uncertain.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To knock, strike, dash (a thing against something else, or two things together). *Obs.* c 1200—1634. (2) To cause bodily injury to; to give bodily pain to. 1297— cf. NED. s. v. *hurt* 1, 3.

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *hurt*, 6); To be brought, to bring itself into violent contact with something; to strike (*on* or *against* something). *Obs.*

c 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron. Wace*, Schipes . . . þat on vn-to toþer hurte.

1483 CAXTON *Gold. Leg.*, The Shyppe where the kyng was in hurted and smote twyes ageynst the roche.

(2) Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *pass* s. v. *hurt* 8.) To suffer injury. *Obs.*

a 1300 E. E. *Psalter*, When rightwise falles, hortet na lime.

**Incorporate** < late L. *incorporāt-*, pa. pple. stem of *incorporāre* to embody, include.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To combine or unite into one body or uniform substance; to mix or blend thoroughly together (a number of different things or one thing *with* another); also *transf.* and *fig.*, 1544—; to put into or include in the body or substance of something else; to embody, include, 1398—. cf. NED. s. v. *incorporate* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *incorporate* 5, 6). (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into a kind of connexion with something else.

[1594 PLAT *Jewell-ho.*, *New sorts Soyle*, Salt . . . by solution being very apt to incorporate therewith, consumeth. . .]

a 1716 SOUTH *Serm.*, He must have mastered his Notions, till they even incorporate into his Mind.

1799 G. SMITH *Laboratory*, In three or four weeks time the bud will incorporate.

1831 BREWSTER *Nat. Magic*, The Water will gradually incorporate with the Syrup.



(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into a kind of connexion with each other.

1674 GREW *Disc., Nat. Mixture*, Take good Oyl of Vitriol and drop it upon Oyl of Aniseseeds; and they will forthwith incorporate together.

1797 DOWNING *Disord. Horned Cattle*, Beat them with a spoon until they incorporate and become a white paste.

(3) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To admit of being incorporated, to have the quality of entering into combination with each other.

1625 BACON *Ess., Unity Relig.*, Truth and Falshood.. are like the Iron and Clay..; They may Cleaue, but they will not Incorporate:

1681 FLAVEL *Meth. Grace*, Grace can no more incorporate with sin, than oyle with water.

**Inoculate** < L. *inoculāt-*, ppl. stem of *inoculāre* to engraft, implant, f. *in-in* + *oculus* eye, bud.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To set or insert (an 'eye', bud, or scion) in a plant for propagation, c 1420—; *transf.* to join or unite by insertion (as the scion is inserted into the stock so as to become one with it), *obs.* 1647—1668.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (attrib.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to enter (come) into union (with continuity of substance) with something else.

1646 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.*, Their Eggs in chaines or links together (which sometime conjoyne and inoculate into each other).

c 1720 W. GIBSON *Farrier's Guide*, The flfth pair inoculate with the sixth.

**Intermingle** < *inter-* + *mingle*, vb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To mingle (two or more things) together, so that each is mixed with the other; also, to introduce and mix (an element) *with* another or *among* other things. c 1470—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. (NED. *intr. s. v. intermingle* 3.) In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into mixture with each other. Quot. 1626 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To admit of being mingled together, to have the quality of mingling together.

1626 BACON *Sylva*, Visibles doe not intermingle, and confound one another.. but Sounds doe.

[1664 POWER *Exp. Philos.*, You shall see.. the Water and it confusedly to intermingle one with the other.]

[1784 COWPER *Task*, Shadow and sunshine intermingling quick.]

**Intermix**, back-formation f. *intermixt*, ppl. a. < L *intermixtus* pa. pple. of *intermiscēre* to mix among, intermingle.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To mix together, mix intimately, intermingle. 1562—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into mixture with something else.

1722 WOLLASTON *Relig. Nat.*, Here bodily wants and affections.. do intermix with human affairs.

1727 BRADLEY *Fam. Dict.*, It's conveyed.. into the Duodenum where it intermixes with the chyle.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr.

In reciprocal sense. To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into mixture with each other. Owing to intemporal sense, the quot. = præd. obj. & attrib. (= to admit of being intermixed).

1846 JOYCE *Sci. Dial.*, Do not the hot and cold water intermix?

**Invalid** < *invalid*, a. < L. *invalidus* not strong, infirm, weak, inadequate.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To enter on the sick-list; to report (a soldier or sailor) as unfit for active service; to discharge from active service on account of illness or injury. 1787—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., (or act.) (NED. *intr.*) Of a soldier or sailor: To be entered, to have oneself entered, to go on the sick-list; to leave the service on account of illness or injury.

1829 MARRYAT *F. Mildmay*, I have invalidated for them [fits] four times.

**I-wende**, *obs.*, < OE. *gewendan* < OTeut. \**yawandjan* = Goth. *ga-wandjan*, caus. of OE. *windan*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To turn, to change, to bring about. *Bēow.* — a 1225.

II. Præd. obj., or refl. (or act.), or attrib (quot. 1171) (NED. *intr.*) To change, to be changed, turned, to turn oneself, to turn,

*Sal. and Sat.*, 152 hwilum hie gewendað on wyrmes lic. (= are changed, change into the shape of a serpent.)

971 *Blickl. Hom.*, 193. Hie . . . sippan nāfre tō unrihtum ne gewendað.

1171 *Lamb. Hom.*, Hit iwended from ufele to gode.

**Join** < OF. *joign-* stem of *joindre* < L. *jungere* to join.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To put together, to unite one thing to another, in any kind of connexion physical or immaterial. 1297—. (2) *To join battle*: to come together, as opposing forces, and begin a battle; to enter upon a battle, or a contest of any kind. 1455— cf. NED. s. v. *join* I, 18.

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *join* 7, 11 e, g.) In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come (enter) into any kind of connexion physical or immaterial. — Quot. 1530 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. = to admit of being joined, to be able to enter into connexion with.

[1481 CAXTON *Myrr.*, Therefore behoueth us to loyne to the erthe.]

1530 PALSGR., The ryver of Tames begynneth where Tame and Yse ioyn together.

1828 D'ISRAELI *Chas. I.*, Parallel lines can no more join together in politics than in geometry.

*Mod. colloq.*, I tried to fit the pieces together, but they wouldn't join.

(2) Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *join* 18 b) Predicated of the battle: To be entered upon; to begin. *Obs.*

c 1650 *Earles of Chester*, Vpon the plaine before the towne, the battell loyned couragiouslye.

1667 MILTON *P. L.*, On the rough edge of battel ere it joyn'd.

1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.*, Legions in the Field their Front display.. Before the Battle joins.

[1702 ROWE *Tamerl.*, The tumult of the Battle That hastes to joyn.]

**Keep**, præd. obj., or refl., or act.; see cat. F. s. v. *keep* II, 2 a.

**Knit**, præd. obj., or refl., or act.; see cat. B s. v. *knit* II 2.



**Lap**, not in OE. or in any other Teut. lang.; first recorded c 1200—1225 in the compound *bi-lappe*, *bi-leppe*. Prob. f. *lap* sb. in the sense 'fold' or 'piece of cloth'.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To coil, fold, wrap (a garment, or anything supple). Const. *about*, *in*, *round*. a 1300— cf. NED. s. v. *lap* 1.

II Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *lap* 1 b) (1) Præd. obj. or refl. (if the subject may be conceived as a natural agent). To be lapped, to coil itself *about*, *round*. Now *rare* exc. *dial.*

[1563 *Homilies II Agst. Disobedience & Rebel.*, A great tree . . caught him by . . his goodly hair, lapping about it as he fled.]

1883 *Almondbury Gloss.*, *Lap*, the end of a piece of cloth, which in weaving laps round the low beam.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being lapped *about* or *round*.

1680 *Vind. Reforming Clergy*, This is a fine pliable principle . . 'twill lap about your finger like Barbary Gold.

**Lay** < OE. *lecgan* = OS. *leggian*, OHG. *lecken*, *legen* ON. *legja* (Sw. *lägga*), Goth. *lagjan* < OTeut. \**layjan*. The inf. *lay* derives from 2nd and 3rd pres. sing.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: *Rope-making*: To twist yarn to form (a rope). 1486— cf. NED s. v. *lay* 37.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Said of the rope: To be twisted, to make a twisting movement

1796 *Encycl. Brit.*, Then . . the top comes away from the swivel . . and the line begins to lay.

**List** < *list* sb. < F. *liste*: a catalogue, roll.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To enter on the list of a military body; to enroll (private soldiers), to receive as recruits. 1643—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *list* 4 a, b). To be enlisted, to enlist oneself, to engage for military service. Also *transf.* and *fig.*

1732 POPE *Ess. Man*, Passions, though selfish, if their means be fair, List under Reason.

a 1845 HOOD *Irish Schoolm.*, When first the scholar lists in learning's train.

1845 STEPHEN *Comm. Laws Eng.*, Merely that they [M. P.'s] may list under party banners.

**Louk**, *obs.* < OE. *lūcan* = OS. *lūkan*, OHG. *lūchan*, ON. *lúka*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To close, shut, fasten; *esp.* to fasten (a door or chamber) with lock and key, to lock; also to close (the jaws, the eyes). Also *fig.* a 1000—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be closed, to shut itself. To close up, form one mass. Also with *together*.

a 1000 *Phænix* 225 (Gr.) Siþpan þā yslan eft onginnað æfter ligþræc lūcan togædre.

*Byrhtnōð* 66 þær cōm flōwende flōd æfter ebban, lūcon lagustrēamas.

**Materialize** < *material*, a. -ize.

Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make material or represent as material, 1710—; *spiritualism*, to cause (a spirit, etc.) to appear in bodily form, 1880—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or stat. To be transformed, to t. oneself, to assume a bodily form.

1884 B. MATTHEWS in *Harper's Mag.* The . . . ghosts . . . gave dark séances and manifested and materialized.

**Matriculate** < med L. *\*mātrīculāt-*, ppl. stem of *\*mātrīculāre* f. *mātrīcula*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To enter (a name) in the register of a university. Also *fig.* 1579—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) To be, to have one's name, entered in the register of a university or college.

1851 DIXON *W. Penn*, Penn the Younger went to Oxford, where he matriculated as a gentleman commoner.

**Meddle** < OF. *medler*, *mesdler* < popular L. *\*misculāre*, f. L. *miscēre* to mix.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To mix, mingle (things *together*, or one thing *with* another), *obs.* a 1325—; to mix or mingle (persons) *with*, *among* (others) or *together*, chiefly *pass.* c 1290—1600. cf. NED. s. v. *meddle* 1, 3.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *meddle* 2, 4). In non-reciprocal sense. To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into association with something else. *Obs.*

c 1315 SHOREHAM *Poems*, [þat sacrement] ne defþ nauȝt, ase þy mete Wyþ þyne flesch medlyþ.

1390 GOWER *Conf.*, Whan wordes medlen with the song, It doth plesance wel the more.

1463 *Bury Wills*, Alle the personys. man, woman, or chyld generally that ever I medlyd with.

**Mell**, now *arch.* and *dial.* < OF. *meller*, var. of *mesler*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To mix, mingle, com-

bine, blend. a 1340—. To mix or mingle (persons). Constr. *with*, *together*. c. 1300—.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *mell*, 2, 4.) (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib., or act. In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come, enter into mixture or association with something else.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, þan sal þe rainbou descend, . . . Wit þe wind þan sal it mell. And driue þam [þe deuels] dun all vntil hell.

1390 GOWER *Conf.*, Whan venym melleth with the Sucre.

c 1515 A. WILLIAMSON *Let.*, She may cowrs the tyme that euer she mellyt with your blood.

(2) Præd. obj., (or refl. & recipr), or attrib. & recipr. In reciprocal sense: To be brought, (to bring themselves), to come into connexion which each other

c 1350 *Ipomadon*, Thy brother schall the know there by, Yf ever god wolle, þat ye melle.

**Meng**, *obs. exc. dial.* < OE. *mengan* = OS. *mengian*, OHG. *mengen*, ON. *menga* < OTeut. *\*man-yan* f. the root in OE. *ge-mang*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To mix, mingle, blend (material or immaterial objects *with* others or *together*). c 725—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *meng* 5). (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come (enter) into mixture with something else. Quot. 1614 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (to admit of being mingled; to have the quality of mingling with).

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, þe leme o light . . . þat menges with þaa colurs hew.



1614 SIR A. GORGES tr. *Lucan*,  
And from his springs A vertue takes,  
which neuer mings With other streame.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. & recipr. In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come into mixture with each other.

a 1000 *Cædmon's Satan* 132.  
Hwæt hēr hāt and ceald hwilum  
mengap.

c 1400 *Destr. Troy*, Sodonly the  
softe winde vnsobberly blew; A myste  
& a merkenes myngit to-gedur.

**Mingle** < Late ME. *mengel*,  
frequentative f. *meng*, v.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To mix (things together or one thing *with* another) so that they become physically united or form a new combination; to combine in a mixture, 1495—; to bring together, intersperse, or associate (material or immaterial things, persons, etc. *with* or *among* others), to unite or join in company, c 1450—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mingle* 4.)

(1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib., or act. In non-reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring oneself, to come, enter into a kind of association with others.

1597 SHAKS. 2 *Hen. IV.*, The  
Tide of Blood in me, . . . Now doth it  
turne, and ebbe backe to the Sea,  
Where it shall mingle with the state  
of Floods.

1756—7 tr. *Keysler's Trav.*,  
Which discharge themselves into the  
Topino, and under that name mingle  
with the Chiascio.

1872 YEATS *Growth Comm.*, The  
Batavians mingled afterwards with the  
Frisians.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. (act.) & recipr.

In reciprocal sense: To be brought, to bring themselves, to come, enter into a kind of association with others.

1671 MILTON *P. R.*, I heard the  
rack As Earth and Skie would mingle.

1860 TYNDALL *Glac.*, In nature,  
mechanical and molecular laws mingle,  
and create apparent confusion.

(3) Præd. obj. & attrib.  
To admit of being mingled.

1530 PALSGR. Oyle and water  
wyll never mengyll togyther.

**Mix**, back-formation from the  
ppl. adj. *mixt* 'mixed' < F. *mixte*  
< L. *mixtus*, pa. pple. of *miscere*  
to mix.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put together (two or more substances, or groups or classes of things) so that the particles or members of each are diffused among those of the rest; to unite in this manner *with* another or others; to mingle, blend. c 1480—. With immaterial obj.: To combine, associate, or blend. 1597—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mix* 2. (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or attrib. (act.) In non-reciprocal sense: To bring oneself, to come (enter) into the relation to something else implied in the condition of being mixed. Quot. 1647 = Præd. obj., or refl. & recipr., or attrib. & reciproc.

1632 MARMION *Holland's Leaguer*, O divine counsel! that so rare  
a beauty Should mix with wisdom.

1647 COWLEY *Mistr.*, *Platonick Love*,  
When Souls mix 'tis an Happiness; But not compleat 'till Bodies  
too combine.

1667 MILTON *P. L.*, But is there  
yet no other way, . . . how we may  
come To Death, and mix with our  
connatural dust?

a 1745 SWIFT *Abstr. Hist. Eng.*,  
The Danes . . in process of time . .  
mixed with the English.

1760—2 GOLDSM. *Cit. W.*, Her  
dear idea mixes with every scene of  
pleasure.

1774 GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.*, At last,  
when the approaches of sleep are  
near, every object of the imagination  
begins to mix with that next it.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib.  
or præd. attrib. To admit of  
being mixed; to go (well or badly)  
along with.

1815 ELPHINSTONE *Acc. Caubul*,  
The Afghaun Humsauyehs mix well  
with the Dooraunees.

1845 *Encycl. Metrop.*, Some  
builders prefer receiving the grey-  
stone lime ground dry, as it mixes  
more readily when made up into  
mortar.

1889 SKRINE *Mem. E. Thring*,  
He floated in their element, not soluble.  
It is often the way with heroes: they  
will not mix.

**Moor**, early NE. *more*; prob.  
in spite of its late occurrence, repr.  
OE. \**mārian*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To  
secure a ship by means of anchors.  
1497—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or  
act. Of a ship: To be made se-  
cure by means of anchors; to take  
up a particular position at anchor.

1697 DRYDEN *Æneid*, At length,  
on Oozy ground his Gallies moor.

1701 in Picton *L'pool Munic. Rec.*,  
Such ships . . shall moore West  
Nor-west and East Southeast.

[1875 J. H. BENNET *Winter Medit.*,  
A solid granite quay, that enables  
small vessels to moor close to land.]

**Open** < OE *openian* = OS.  
*opanôn*, OHG. *offanôn* < OTeut.  
\**opanōjan* f. *opan-* 'open'.

I. Præd. act. Note the  
trans. senses: (1) To move or turn  
(a door, gate, or the like) away

from its closed position, so as to  
admit of passage. c 1000—.

(2) To make (a building, box, or en-  
closed space of any kind) open, as  
by moving or turning a door, gate,  
lid, by removing part of the walls,  
or clearing away anything that ob-  
structs passage in or out; to break  
open, unclose, undo. c 1200—.

(3) To uncover, lay bare, disclose  
to sight, expose or exhibit to view,  
display, a 1000 (*Bēowulf*) — *Naut.*  
To come in sight of, get an open  
view of, by rounding or passing  
some intervening object. 1748—.

(4) To spread apart, widen, unfold,  
unroll, extend. c 1000— cf. NED.  
s. v. *open* 1, 2, 7 & 8, 3.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*  
s. v. *open* 16, 18, 19, 17 a (& 16))

(1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act.,  
or attrib.

(α) Corresp. to senses I, 1, 2.  
The great oscillation in predication-  
al import involves the senses: To  
be opened, to open itself, to per-  
form the action involved in ope-  
ning; to become open (if the  
result of the verbal action is upper-  
most in our consciousness).

c 1000 ÆLFRIC *Hom.*, Byrgenu  
openodon mid deādum bānum.

c 1250 *Gen. & Ex.*, Erðe . . .  
opnede vnder (h)ere fet.

1526 *Pilgr. Perf.*, The herte  
hoppeth and lepeth in the body: and  
now openeth & now closeth.

1573—80 BARET *Alv.*, The skie  
openeth, or goes asunder.

1724 DE FOE *Mem. Cavalier*,  
My wound opened again with riding.

1774 GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.*, The  
bony covers open and give it a free  
passage.

(β) Corresp. to sense I. 4: To  
be expanded, unfolded; to unfold  
itself, to expand.

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.*,  
For drawyng and by fonging of winde  
þe bladder openyþ and spredip.



1856 KANE *Arct. Expl.*, The little flag . . opened once more to the breeze.

*fig.* 1709 FELTON *Classics*, before his Understanding opens enough to let him into the Reason . . of the Rules.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or act., or præd. obj. & attrib. Corresp. to sense I 3 (*fig.* use of II  $\alpha$ ). To be opened (disclosed or revealed); to make itself open or visible (to sight); to become more and more visible = to admit of being seen.

1708 J. PHILIPS *Cider, Joy and Pleasure* open to the View.

a 1822 SHELLEY *Summer*, The stainless sky Opens beyond them like eternity.

1844 MRS. BROWNING *Lay Brown Rosary*, Down through the wood . . Till the chapel-cross opens to sight.

*Naut.* 1745 P. THOMAS *Jrnl. Anson's Voy.*, The Town of Payta . . began to open in a direct line with it.

(3) Præd. obj. Of a door or gate: To be opened. (The nature of the subject is such that an agent is salient occasioning the movement performed by the subj.)

c 1375 *Cursor M.*, Him þoȝt þe gate opened of heȝuen.

1828 SCOTT *F. M. Perth*, They were scarce gone ere the door of the glover's house opened.

(4) Præd. obj. & attrib. Corresp. to sense I. 1, 2. Of a door, office, etc

( $\alpha$ ) To admit of being opened.

*Mod.* This door will not open.

( $\beta$ ) To give access to when opened.

1760–72 H. BROOKE *Fool of Qual.*, A door that opened into a garden: and . . another door that opened to the street

[1855 *Law Times*, The rooms have an outer door opening on to a common staircase.]

( $\gamma$ ) To have the quality of being opened (at a particular time).

1870 E. PEASEOCK *Ralf Skirl.*, Law offices opened at eight o'clock in those days.

**Outfit** < *outfit* sb. recorded since the year 1769.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To provide with an outfit, to fit out. 1847—.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or *pass.*) To be outfitted, to provide oneself with, to buy an outfit.

1883 *Century Mag.*, Here I 'outfitted', and . . we were in a few days on our way to the Bitter Root Mountains.

**Reconcile** < F. *réconcilier* or L. *reconciliāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To bring (a person) again into friendly relations *to* or *with* (oneself or another) after an estrangement, 14<sup>th</sup> c —; in *pass.* without specified agent, c 1380—. (2) To bring into a state of acquiescence or submission *to* a thing. 1606—. cf. NED. s. v. *reconcile* 1, 8.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reconcile* 13.) To be reconciled; to be brought, to bring oneself (to come) into friendly relations *to* or *with*, or into a state of acquiescence *to*. *Obs.*

1666 ABP. SANCROFT *Occas. Serm.*, Your Thoughts though much startled at first, by degrees reconcile to it.

1756 H. WALPOLE *Lett. to Mann*, He . . abuses Count Bruhl with so much contempt, that one reconciles to him very fast.

**Redress** < F. *redresser*, OF *redrecier*, *-drechier*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To set (a person or

thing) upright again; to raise again to an erect position. *Obs.* c 1374 —1711.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *redress* 1 c.) To be raised, to raise itself again, to rise, become erect again.

1480 CAXTON *Ovid's Met.*, Thou oughtest not to despyse me, Galathee, thoughe my heere redresse a lytyl & brastle.

**Reinforce** < *re* + *inforce* enforce vb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To strengthen (a military or naval force) by means of additional men. 1600 — cf. NED. *reinforce* 1.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reinforce* 4). To be reinforced, to provide oneself with, to procure reinforcements.

1811 *Henry & Isabella*, In the mean while the enemy reinforced, and pursued the English.

**Reopen** < *re* + *open* vb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To open again, etc. 1733 —.

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* or *absol.*) To open again, (NED.); to be opened again.

1830 LYTTON *P. Clifford*, His warm heart at once reopened to the liking he had formerly conceived for Clifford.

1885 in Lady Bellairs *Transvaal War*, Such of the . . stores as still held any goods would occassionally reopen.

**Tow** < ME. *towen*, *tojen* < OE. *\*togian* = O Fries. *toga*, MD. *toghen* OHG. *zogôn*

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To pull, draw, OE.—

II. Præd. obj., or refl., or act. To be towed, to enter a port by towing;

Marryat *Midsh. Essay* ch. x vi. 122, for the corvette would otherwise have towed into Carthagen.



## B. Predications of direct object or of state and attribution.

**Accumulate** < L. *accumulāt-* ppl. stem of *accumulāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To heap up in a mass, to pile up; to amass or collect. Usually *fig.* 1529—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be heaped, to grow into a mass, quantity, or number; to go on increasing.

1769 GOLDSMITH *Deserted Vill.*, Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

[1868 PEARD *Water-farming*, Mud is apt to accumulate in such places.]

**Americanize** < *American*, a. + *ize*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To make American; to naturalize as an American. 1816 —. To make American in character. 1830 —

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*). To be made, to become American in character. etc ;

[1875 HOWELLS *Foregone Concl.*, He was Americanizing in that good lady's hands as fast as she could transform him.]

1882 — in *Longm. Mag.*, They have Americanised in such degree that it is hard to know some of them from ourselves.

**Anglicize** < L. *Anglicus* English + *ize*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To make English in form and character; to english. 1748 —

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*, refl. pron. omitted). To be made, to become English in form and character. *rare*.

1882 HOWELLS in *Longm. Mag.*, England Americanises in some respects, in some respects America Anglicises.

**Anhang**, *obs.*, app. a variant of *ahang* < OE. *ahōn* tr. vb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To hang up. 1205—1430.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be hanged; to hang in *intr.* sense.

a 1300 *K. Horn*, Schame mote þu fonge And on hiȝe rode anhonge.

**Anhigh(e)**, *obs.*, prob. for *a-high* < OE. *\*a-hēan* = OHG. *ir-hōhan*, Goth *us-háuhjan*; perh. a later formation on *an-* + *heghen*, *highen*, to exalt.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To exalt, raise, advance, promote. 1340.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To raise itself, mount up, increase (NED.); to be made (to become) greater, etc.

1340 *Ayenb.*, þis zenne anheȝeþ and loȝeþ be þe stat of þe persones {et hit doþ}.

**Approximate** < *approximate*  
ppl. a. < L. *approximātus* pa. pple.  
of *approximāre*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To bring close or near, to cause to approach or be near (*to*). 1660—.

II. Præd. obj., or attrib., or act. (if the notion of movement is salient.) (NED. *intr.* quot 1835, *trans.* quot. 1789). To be brought, to come near or close (*to*).

1789—96 MORSE *Amer. Geog.*. As the telescope approximates perfection.

1835 SIR J. ROSS *N.-W. Pass.*. The shores gradually approximate.

**Arefy**,? *obs.*, irregular ad L. *ārefacēre*, f. *ārēre* to dry + *facēre* to make.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To dry up. 1542—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become dry, to parch; to be dried.

1657 TOMLINSON *Renou's Disp.*. The powders will soon arefie.

**Attach** < OF. *atachier* (mod. Fr. *attacher*); *lit.* 'to tack to'. Earliest quot. in Eng. from the year 1330 (Robert Brunne). The regular OF. sense was 'to fasten', but the earlier Eng. sense was 'to arrest, seize,' a sense that arose in AF. and Eng. The Eng. trans. sense 'to fasten, affix,' and the correspond. intr. sense are modern adoptions from French.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To tack on, fasten, affix, connect. c. 1700—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *attach* 10) Note esp. the sense: To fix or fasten itself upon as an obligation or liability; to fall, come *upon*, and adhere to (NED); to be fastened upon.

1780 BURKE *Econ. Ref.*. It is... just... that the loss should attach upon the delinquency.

**Awend**, *obs.*, < OE. *awendan*, *onwendan*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To turn (away), also *fig.*, *Beow.* —

II. Pred. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be turned *to*, to change or turn *to*, to become.

c 1175 *Cott. Hom.*. þu eart of eorde ȝemine and þu awenst to eorde, þu aert dust and þu awenst to duste.

**Batter**. præd. obj. or stat.; see cat. F. s. v. *batter* II 1.

**Blanch** < F. *blanchir* to whiten < *blanc* white.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To make white, whiten; chiefly, in mod. use, by depriving of colour; to bleach. Also *fig.* c 1400—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become white (chiefly by loss of colour); to bleach, to pale.

1768 TUCKER *Lt. Nat.*. It wax blanches in the sun.

1863 TENNYSON *Boadicea*. As when the rolling breakers boom and blanch on the precipices.

**Bleach** < OE. *blācan* = OHG. *bleich'en*, ON. *bleikja* (Sw. *bleka*) < OTeut. \**blaikjan* < \**blaiko-*, OE. *blāc* white.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To whiten (linen, etc.) by washing and exposure to sunlight, or by chemical processes. OE. —. To blanch, make white, to deprive of colour, esp. by exposure, 1583—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become white or colourless. Also *fig.* To be purified. Quots. 1823, 1865 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being bleached, to have the quality of bleaching).



[1611 SHAKS. *Wint. T.*, The white sheete bleaching on the hedge.]

[1709 ADDISON *Tatler*, Virgil . . . describes some Spirits as bleaching in the Winds.]

c 1865 LETHEBY in *Circ. Sc.*, Different kinds of wax bleach with different degrees of facility.

fig. 1799 SOUTHEY *Wks.*, The poor souls that bleach . . . In that great Purgatory crucible.

1823 LAMB *Elia*, Where does the taint stop? Do you bleach in three or four generations?

**Blow**, (1) præd. obj., or stat. (2) præd. obj., or stat., or act., see cat. C, s. v. *blow* II, 3 (blow in), 4 (blow up).

**Break**, præd. obj. or stat.; see cat C s. v. *break* II 1.

**Calefy**, *obs.*, < med. L. *caleficāre*, f. *calēre* to be hot.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To make warm or hot, to warm, heat. 1526—1657.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become warm or hot Quot. 1648 = præd. obj. & attrib. (To admit of being made warm, to have the quality of being made or becoming warm).

1646 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.*, Crystall will calefy unto electricity, that is a power to attract strawes or light bodies.

1658 R. FRANCK *North. Mem.*, Soils, which calify and indurate by the Sun's reflection.

**Cancel** < F. *canceller* < L. *cancellāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To annul, repeal, render void (obligations, promises, vows, etc.). 1494 — cf. NED. s. v. *cancel* 2.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To become null and

void (NED.); to be rendered null and void. *rare*.

c 1667 COWLEY, A rash oath that cancell'd in the making.

**Clarify** < OF. *clarifier* < late L. *clārificāre* to make clear.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make pure and clear, or clean (*physically*, also *morally*), to clear. c 1430—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be made, to become clear; to clear (in various senses).

1599 A. M. tr. *Gabelhouer's Bk. Physicke*, Let this stande a whole night because it might settle, and clarify.

1625 BACON *Ess., Friendship*, His Wits and Vnderstanding doe claritie and breake vp, in . . . discoursing with Another.

**Complicate** < *complicāt-* ppl. stem of *complicāre*, f. *com-* together + *plicāre* to fold.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To fold, wrap, or twist together, to intertwine, combine intimately; to combine or mix up *with* in a complex way (only recorded in the *pass.* form). 1621—. To make complex or intricate; to render involved or complex. 1832—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought, to come into a complicated condition. *rare*.

1873 H. SPENCER *Study Sociol.*, Effects which as they diffuse complicate incalculably.

**Consume** < (perh. through F.) L. *consumēre* to take up completely, make away with, devour, waste, destroy, spend, bestow, etc.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make away with,

use up destructively. Said chiefly of fire: To burn up, reduce to ashes, etc.; also of any similar destructive or 'devouring' agent. 1382— cf. NED. s. v. *consume* 1.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (or exist. in some quotes.) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *consume* 6 a, b, c.) (1) To waste away, decay, rot, perish; to be consumed.

1526 *Pilgr. Perf.*, To lye vn-occupied . . and so to perysshe, consume and waste.

1611 BIBLE *Job*, Hee, as a rotten thing consumeth. — *Ps.* Their beauty shall consume in the graue.

1632 LITHGOW *Trar.*, An Apple . . like to the colour of gold, and within was rotten, and would consume to powder.

1749 SMOLLETT *Regie.*, Alas! thou fading flower How fast thy sweets consume!

(2) To waste away with disease, *esp.* with 'consumption'; also, with grief, to pine; to be consumed. *Obs.*

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.*, Those persones whyche done consume and waste.

1535 COVERDALE *Ps.*, For very inwarde grefe, I consume awaye.

1555 EDEN *Decades*, Fogeda also through the maliciousnes of the veneme consumed and was dryed vp by lyttle and lyttle.

1684 *Contempl. State Man*, The proud Man grieves and consumes for the Felicity of another.

(3) To burn away, become burned to ashes. Also *fig.* with zeal, fever, etc; to be consumed.

1591 SHAKS. I *Hen. VI.* Breake thou in peeces, and consume to ashes.

1702 POPE *Sapho*, While I consume with more than Ætna's fires!

[1823 DE QUINCEY *Dice*, A great fire, in the midst of which was consuming the old black book.]

**Corrode** < L. *corrōdĕre* to gnaw away. Cf. F. *corroder*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To eat into, to eat or gnaw away. *Obs.* in *lit.* sense. 1555—1746; *transf.* and *fig.* To wear away or destroy gradually as if by eating or gnawing away the texture. c 1400—.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *corrode* 5). To be brought, to come into a corroded state. Quot. 1868 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being corroded; to have the quality of (not) becoming corroded).

1820 IRVING *Sketch Bk.*, Some minds corrode and grow inactive under the loss of personal liberty.

1868 ROGERS *Pol. Econ.*, Gold and silver . . do not rust, corrode, or decay.

**Corrugate** < L. *corrūgāt-* ppl. stem of *corrūgāre* to wrinkle, f. *rūga* wrinkle.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To wrinkle (the skin), contract into wrinkles; hence *gen.* to draw, contract, or bend into parallel folds or ridges, to mark with ridges and furrows. 1620—

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought, to come into a corrugated condition, to contract.

1853 KANE *Grinell Exp.*, The elastic material corrugated before the enormous pressure.

**Crash**, an onomatopœic word having the same relation to *crack* that *clash* has to *clack* and *clap*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To break in pieces with violence and noise; to dash in pieces, shiver, shatter, smash. (Now somewhat *rare*). ? a 1400—. To crush with the teeth. *Obs.* 1530—1736.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *passive*, refers to quotes. 1515, 1530; *intr.* quot. 1803



s. v. *crash* 3 d, 2) To be broken in pieces, to go to pieces noisily between the teeth. *Obs.* To be broken, to break or fall to pieces with noise, as when dashed down or violently struck. *rare.*

1515 BARCLAY *Egloges*, Betwene thy tethe oft time the coles crashes.

1530 PALSGR., I crasshe, as a thyng dothe that is cryspe or britell bytwene ones tethe, *je cresse*.

1803 J. BRYANT in *Naval Chron.*, At the first blow his head crashed.

**Crush**, app. a. OF. *crois(s)ir*, sometimes *cruis(s)ir* to gnash (the teeth), to make a crashing or cracking noise. The ultimate source is app. Germanic.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To compress with violence, so as to break, bruise, destroy, squeeze out of natural shape or condition. ? a 1400—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *crush* 2 e). To be, become violently compressed, squeezed out of shape, or otherwise injured, by outside pressure.

1755 JOHNSON, *Crush*, to be condensed.

1786 T. JEFFERSON *Writ.*, Their rotten machine must crush under the trial.

[1866 G. MACDONALD *Ann. Q. Neighb.*, I heard the hailstones crush between my feet and the soft grass of the lawn.]

**Cure**, præd. obj. or stat.; see cat. F. s. v. *cure* II 1.

**Disarray** < *dis-* + *array*, v; perh. immediately after OF. *desareer*, -*ier* to put into disorder.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To throw out of array or order, to rout, disorder, disorganize. (Chiefly of military array). c 1470—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be thrown, fall out of array or order. *Obs.*

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.*, If any of our batayls breke, or disaray by any aduventure, drawe thyder and confort them.

**Discourage** < OF. *descoragier*, mod. F. *décourager*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To deprive of courage, confidence, or moral energy; to dishearten, dispirit. 1481—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be deprived of, to lose courage or confidence. *Obs.*

1553 BALE *Vocacyon* in *Harl. Misc.*, Because that poore Churche shulde not utterly discourage, in her extreme adversitees.

[1574 HELLOWES *Guevara's Fam. Ep.*, Scipio considering the Numantines to increase in pride, and the Romans to discourage.]

**Disjoint**, orig. from *disjoint*, ppl. a (< OF. *desjoint* < L. *dis-junctus*), but in some uses treated as f. *joint*, sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put out of joint; to disturb, destroy the due connexion and orderly arrangement of, to dislocate, wrench, dismember. Also *fig.* c 1420—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *disjoint* 4). To be brought, to come into disconnexion.

[1605 SHAKS. *Macb.*, Let the frame of things disioynt.]

1888 *Harper's Mag.*, A hundred cottages overturn . . . quiver, disjoint.

1890 CONSTANCE SMITH *Riddle L. Haviland*, Neither will the great scheme of things disjoint, because your lover has left you.

**Disorder**, app. a modification of earlier *desordene*, *disordeine* vb, OF. *desordener*, after *order* vb. (*Disorder* sb. is app. later).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To put out of order; to destroy the regular arrangement of; to throw into disorder or confusion; to disarrange, derange, upset. 1477—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought, to come into confusion. *Obs.*

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.* The batayle of the marshals began to dysorder, by reason of the shot of the archers.

**Digest**, præd. obj. or stat.; see cat. F. s. v. *digest* II 1.

**Dissolve** < L. *dissolvĕre* to loosen asunder, disunite, dissolve.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: (1) To destroy the physical integrity; to disintegrate, decompose. Now *rare* or *obs. exc.* as associated with other senses). 1382— (2) To melt or reduce into a liquid condition. 1382— (3) In various *fig.* applications of senses 1 and 2. *esp.* To melt or soften the heart or feelings of. 1509— cf. NED. s. v. *dissolve* I, 2, 3.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *dissolve* 13, 14). To be brought, to come into disintegration, dissolution in various senses (earliest record, 1420). Quots. 1592, 1718, 1873 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (to have the quality of being dissolved or of losing its consolidation).

c 1420 *Pallad. on Husb.*, A multitude of reysons puld they take, And myghtely with yerdes first hem bete, Until this with the grapes so desolve.

1481 CAXTON *Myrr. Perf.*, All þe world . . shal desolve & faylle.

1610 SHAKS. *Temp.*, The great Globe itselfe, Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolue. .

1820 SHELLEY *Ode to Liberty*, As summer clouds dissolve, unburthened of their ruin.

—c 1450 *St. Cuthbert*, þe paynims pride it sall expire, And dissolue as wax at fyre.

1592 SHAKS. *Ven. & Ad.*, What wax so frozen but dissolves with tempering?

1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.*, While Mountain Snows dissolve against the Sun.

1638 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.*, The fruit [banana] put into your mouth, dissolves and yeelds a most incomparable relish.

1718 QUINCY *Compl. Disp.*, We find Sugar will dissolve in the strongest Solution of Common Salt that can be made.

1873 A. W. WILLIAMSON *Chem. for Students*, Olefant gas dissolves considerably in water.

**Distil(l)** < L. *distillāre*, more correctly *dēstillāre* to drip or trickle down, drop, distil.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To subject to the process of distillation. 1398—.

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *distil(l)* 6) To undergo distillation; to become vaporized and then condensed into liquid; to drop, pass, or condense from the still.

c 1400 *Lanfranc's Cirurg.*, Make a fier aboute þe pott þat is aboute þe erþe & þere wole distille oile into þe pott þat is bineþe.

1471 RIPLEY *Comp. Alch.*, Than Oyle and Water wyth Water shall dystyll.

1641 FRENCH *Distill.*, The oyle which first distils . . must be kept apart.

1878 HUXLEY *Physiogr.*, The liquid . . distils over in a state of purity.

*fig.* 1625 BACON *Ess., Religion*, The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience.



**Ditch** < *ditch* sb. < OE. *dīc*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To dig ditches or furrows in for purposes of drainage or irrigation; to provide with ditches. 1393—.

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of the earth: To be made, to become ditchy; to open up into furrows or chasms. *Obs.*

1483 CAXTON *Gold. Leg.*, There cam a woman which meruaylled moche how therthe clauē & dyched by hit self onelye by the touchyng of the holy mannes Staffe.

**Dry** < OE. *drȳgean* f. *drȳge* dry.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To make dry (*e. g.* by wiping, rubbing, exposure to heat or air, draining, etc.); to rid, deprive, or exhaust of moisture. c 888—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become dry. Quot. 1300 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (=to admit of being dried, to have the quality of (not) becoming dry).

c 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.*, Sum of þe sed ful uppe þe ston and dride þere.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, He is welle þe neuer sal dri.

[c 1420 *Pallad. on Husb.*, The see grauel is lattet for to drye.]

[1870 C. F. GORDON GUMMING in *Gd. Words*, Masses of apricots spread out to dry in the sun.]

**Dwarf** < *dwarf* sb. < OE. *dweorg*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To render dwarf or dwarfish (in various senses). a 1626—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be rendered, to become dwarf or dwarfish.

1833 TENNYSON *Poems*, By him [Mark Antony] great Pompey dwarfs and suffers pain.

**Eche**, *obs.* < OE. *ēcan*, *īecan* < OTeut. *\*aukjan*, f. *\*aukan* str. vb. (Goth. *aukan*, ON. *auka*), elsewhere only in pa. pple. OE. *ēacen*, OS. *ōkan*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To enlarge, augment, increase. a 1000—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) Of a 'pace': To be quickened, to increase.

1644 QUARLES *Sheph. Orac.*, How each envious pace Vies to be first, and eches for the place.

**Enhance** < AF. *enhauncer*, prob. a mere corruption of OF. *enhaucer* < late L. *\*inaltiāre* < *altus* high.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To lift, raise, set up. *Obs.* 1388—16.. (2) In various *fig.* or immaterial senses, with personal obj., *e. g.* to exalt in dignity, rank, estimation, etc. c. 1374— (3) To raise (prices, value); to increase (charges, etc.). 1542—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) Of prices: To be increased, to rise. *Obs.*

1494 FABYAN *Chron.*, Corne the yere folowyng was scant, whereof the pryce this yere began to enhaunce.

**Enkindle** < *en* + *kindle* vb.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To cause (a flame, etc.) to blaze up. Chiefly *fig.* 1583—; To set (a combustible) on fire. In lit. sense. *Obs.* or *arch.* 1548—.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To take fire; to burst forth in flame (NED.); to be brought, to come into the state of burning. Quot. 1747 also = præd. exist.

1553 GRIMALD tr. *Cicero's Duties*. Those things wherunto most men inkindled with greedinesse bee haled.

[1747 HALES in *Phil. Trans.* . . Those who have been on high Hills have observed Lightening to inkindle among the Clouds.]

**Evolve**, præd obj. or stat.; see cat. D. s. v. *evolve* II 4.

**Feather** < OE *gefōðrian* f. the sb., to which it has been assimilated in form from 14<sup>th</sup> c.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cover or furnish with feathers. c. 888—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *feather* 4). Of a bird: To be provided with, to get its feathers, to become fledged. ? *Obs. exc. dial.*

1486 *Bk. St. Albans*. When they bene vnclosed and begynneth to feder any thyng of lengthe.

[1659 D. PELL *Improv. Sea*. The Vulture . . beholds her young to thrive and feather.]

**Feel** < OE. *fēlan* = OE. *gi-fōlian*, OHG. *fuolen*, < West Germ. *\*fōljan*.

I. Præd. act. or perc. Note the trans. main senses: To examine or explore by touch. c. 893—; To perceive, be conscious of a sensation. a. 1000—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. used (like *taste*, *smell*) in quasi-passive sense with complement s. v. *feel* III). To be felt as having a specified quality; to produce a certain impression on the senses (*esp.* that of touch) or the sensibilities; to seem. Quots. 1768, 1862 = præd. obj. or præd. depend., since the object of the sense-impression is expressed. Cf Essay I. 53.

[1581 PETTIE *Guazzo's Civ. Conv.*. The hande. . feeling to bee rough.]

1665 HOOKE *Microgr.*. The substance of it feels. . exactly like a very fine piece. . of Chamois leather.

1694 ACC. *Sev. Late Voy.*. If it feels heavy. . . then we give him more Rope.

1768 J. BYRON *Narr. Patagonia*. The weather was extremely cold, and felt particularly so to us.

1825 A. CALDCLEUGH *Trav. S. Amer.*. The air felt chilly.

1844 LADY FULLERTON *Ellen Middleton*. It felt to me as if the air had grown lighter.

1885 E. GARRET *At any Cost*. Not then could she understand how it felt to lie wakeful at nights.

H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus*. etc. (Tauchn.) ch. iv. I could not think what it was that felt like a weight upon my chest.

**Fill** < OE. *fyllan*, OS. *fullian*, OHG. *fullan* < OTeut. *\*fulljan* f. *\*fullo-* adj. 'full'.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To make full. a. 1000—. (2) *Naut.* Of the wind: To cause (the sails) to swell, to distend. 1610— (3) To satisfy, satiate. a. 1300— (4) *To fill up* = To fill to repletion, to stop up, etc. 1596— cf. NED. s. v. *fill* 1, 4, 10, 17.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (stat. cf. 3) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *fill* 3, 4 b, 10 b, 16 b, 17 i.) (1) To be made, to become full either in a material or immaterial sense.

[1607 SHAKS. *Timon*. The one is filling still, neuer compleat.]

1685 COTTON tr. *Montaigne*. A soul stretches and dilates itself proportionably as it fills.

1713 *Guardian*. In a few weeks, when the town fills.

1850 TENNYSON *In Mem.*. Twice a day the Severn fills.

β. Of a list, etc.: To be filled up. *Obs.*



1710 *Lond. Gaz.*, The Lottery for two Millions of Florins fills with great Success.

(2) Of a sail: To be made, to become full of wind.

1835 MARRYAT *Pirate*, The jib filled as the frigate rounded to.

(3) To be rendered, to become satisfied or satiated. *Obs.*

c 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron. Wace*, Sone afterward þey filledde of Leyre.

1592 SHAKS. *Ven. & Ad.*, Glutton-like she feeds, yet never filleth.

(4) Of the bed of a sea: to be filled up, to silt up.

1695 WOODWARD *Nat. Hist. Earth*, Neither the Palus Moeotis . . nor any other Seas, fill up, or by degrees grow shallower.

**Film** < *film* sb. < OE. *filmen*.

I. Præd. act. Trans: To cover with or as with a film. Also to *film over*. 1602—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be, to become covered with a film (as the eyes), to grow dim or obscure as though covered with a film.

1844 MRS. BROWNING *Dead Pan*, Straight her eyeballs filmed with horror.

1850 NEALE *Med. Hymns*, Eyes are filming o'er in death.

**Fire** < *fire* sb. < OE. *fȳr* = OHG. *fūr*, *fiur*, etc. OE had *fȳrian*, recorded once in sense 'to supply with firing.'

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: (1) To set on fire, a 1400—; to light, kindle, ignite (anything intended for the purpose), 1393— (2) *fig.* To set (a person) on fire, to inflame, heat, animate. Also, to kindle or inflame (a passion, etc.) . a 1225— (3) To discharge or let off (a gun, etc. 1530— cf. NED. s. v. *fire* 2, 3, 12.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *fire* 4, 5, 14). (1) Præd. obj. or stat. To catch fire, to be kindled or ignited. In quot. 1618 = to be burnt or to burn. Quot. 1774 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being fired, to have the quality of catching fire (easily).

a 1618 RALEIGH *Apol.*, For I will fire with the Gallioones if it come to extreanity.

1681 *Lond. Gaz.*, In this Fight, the Frigat fired twice.

1774 GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.*, Gunpowder will readily fire with a spark.

(b) *fig.* To become inflamed, or heated, or excited; to be set on fire. Quot. 1604 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. [= to admit of being inflamed, to have the quality of catching fire (easily)].

1604 MARSTON *Malcontent*, Women are flax, and will fire in a moment.

1749 FIELDING *Tom Jones*, The parson . . fired at this informatton.

1832 *Examiner*, His hearts swells, and his imagination fires.

(2) Præd. obj. or act. Of a gun etc: To go off, to be fired.

1668 *Lond. Gaz.*, The Gun fired, killing two men.

**Flat** < *flat* a. < ON. *flatr* (Sw. *flat*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make flat in shape. 1613—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become flat in shape. *Obs.*

1670 COTTON *Espernon*, A Harquebuss-shot . . that passing through one of his cheeks . . flatted upon his Gorget.

**Fortify** < F. *fortifier* < L. *fortificāre*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To make strong (in various senses). c 1450—

II. Præd. obj. or stat (attrib. quot. 1605 to increase) (NED. *intr.*) To gain strength, grow strong, to be made strong. *Obs.*

1605 BACON *Adv. Learn.*, How they [the affections] gather and fortify.

1658 EVELYN *Fr. Gard.*, Leaving the least to bear seed, and that the plant may fortifie.

**Frenchify** < *French* a. + *i-fy*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To make French in form or character, render French-like. 1592—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become French in ideas, manners, etc.

1775 J. JEKYLL *Corr.*, 'Tis in these domesticated visits one Frenchifies most.

**Fret** < OE. *fretan* = OHG. *fressan*, Goth. *fra-itan* < OTeut. *\*fra-* + *\*etan*. In OE. the sense is 'to eat, devour' (chiefly of animals) and *transf.* 'to devour, consume, destroy'; both senses are obs. in late ME.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To gnaw, to consume, torture or wear away by gnawing, (now only of small animals), a 1200—; *transf.* of slow and gradual destructive action, as of frost, rust, disease, chemical corrosives, friction, the waves, etc., a 1226—; *fig.* chiefly of the passions, etc.: to devour, consume, torment, c 1200— cf. NED. *fret* 2, 3.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *fret* 7). To be, to become eaten, corroded, or worn; to waste or wear away; to decay, become corrupt. Also with *asunder*, *off*, *out*. — *Obs.*

1486 *Bk. St. Albans*, And that same penne shalle frete asunder, and fall a way.

1545 ASCHAM *Toxoph.*, Bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande . . . for the heete of the hand

1593 DRAYTON *Idea*, Metals doe waste, and fret with Cankers Rust.

1761 HADDINGTON *Forest-trees*, They [Alder trees] fretted at the top and died.

1804 ABERNETHY *Surg. Observ.*, The wound fretted out into a sore.

**Fur** < OF. *forrer* (mod. F. *fourrer*) to line, envelop, encase, sheathe; a Com. Rom. vb. f. Teut. *\*fōdro*—.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To coat or cover with fur or morbid matter. 1593—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into a furred condition. Quot. 1706 and *Mod.* quot. = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to have the quality of being or becoming furred).

1615 CROOKE *Body of Man*, A little skill to cleere and dresse the wheelles may keepe this watch of his life [the heart] in motion, which otherwise will furre vp and stand in his dissolution.

a 1706 E. BAYNARD *Health*, For too much Meat the Bowels fur.

*Mod.* This kettle soon furs.

**Gravel** < *gravel* sb. < OF. *gravel(l)e*, dim. of OF. *grave* gravel, coarse sand.

I. Præd. caus. or act. Note the trans. sense: *Farriery*. To injure (a horse or its feet) by particles of gravel or sand being forced between the shoe and the hoof. — Since a logical subj. does not readily present itself, the verb is generally used in the passive form. 1593—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into a gravelled condition.



1737 BRACKEN *Farriery Impr.*,  
By such injudicious Practice the Horse  
often gravels.

**Heap** < OE. *hēapian* = OHG.  
*houfōn*; deriv. of the corresp. sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
senses: (1) To make, form, gather,  
or cast into a heap; to pile *up*,  
amass, accumulate; to pile one thing  
*upon* another so as to form a heap.  
c. 1000 — (2) *transf.* and *fig.* To  
amass, accumulate, to add many  
things together or one thing to an-  
other. Often with *up*, *together*. c.  
1200 —

II. Præd. obj., or attrib; or  
act. (quot. 1890) (cf. NED. s. v.  
*heap* 1 b, 2 b) (1) (NED. *intr.* for  
*pass.*) To be heaped, to form, to  
fall so as to form a heap or heaps.  
(Chiefly U. S.)

1890 *Harper's Mag.*, Fallen  
avalanches heap whitely at intervals  
below.

(2) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or  
*pass.*) *Transf.* and *fig.* To be heaped;  
to increase. *Obs.*

c 1400 *Destr. Troy*, Thes harmes  
so heterly hepit in his mynde.

1508 DUNBAR *Tua Mariit Wemen*,  
And 3it hatrent I hid within my bert  
all; Bot quhilis it hepit so huge [etc.].

1581 PETTIE *Guazzo's Civ. Conv.*,  
The preasse of people which heapeth  
together at the judgment place.

**Hight**, *arch.*, in form it repre-  
sents the pa. t. of OE. *hātan*, ME.  
*hōten* (= Goth. *haitan*), i. e. OE.  
*heht* (orig. reduplicated = Goth.  
*haihait*), ME. *hight*, later *highte*  
(with weak ending), later again  
*hight* (by the general suppression  
of final -e). From 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup>  
c. *hight* was extended to the pres.  
t. (sometimes with person-endings)  
and to the infinitive. The pa.  
ppl., OE. *(ge)hāten*, ME. *(i)hōten*,  
assumed c. 1300 also the form of  
the pa. t., i. e. *hight* (also *het* <

OE. *hēt*, contr. of *heht*). The only  
parts of the vb. which remain in  
literary use are the pa. ppl. *hight*  
'called', and the kindred pa. t. *hight*  
'was called', both conscious archa-  
isms unknown to ordinary prose.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: To call, to name. c 893 —

II. Præd. obj. or attrib.  
(NED. *intr.*) To be called, have  
or bear the name.

(1) In the medio-passive form,  
OE. *hätte*, pl. *hätton* (pres. and  
pa. t.) or their ME. descendants;  
the only trace in Eng. of the OTeut.  
medio-passive voice = Goth. *haitada*,  
pl. *haitanda* (pres. t.).

c 897 K. ALFRED *Gregory's Past.*,  
On ðāem bōcum ðe hātton Apocalipsin.  
c 1000 *Ags. Gosp.*, Hū ne hātte  
hys modor Maria?

c 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.*, þe six  
werkes of brihtnesse hatten þus.

c 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron.*, Oxen  
hate þe toun, þer þe body felle.

1377 LANGL. *P. Pl. B.*, Herte hatte  
þe [h]erber þat it in groweth.

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.*,  
A man hat [1535 *hight*, 1582 is  
called] antrapos in Grew.

c 1460 *Towneley Myst.*, A good  
yoman my master hat.

(2) in the active form:

a 1000 *Cædmon's Gen.*, Se hehsta  
hatan sceolde Satan siððan.

a 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.*, þis  
child shal hoten godes prophete.

a 1225 *Juliana*, Hire flesch-  
liche feader african hehte.

a 1300 *Cursor M.* (Cott.), þar  
for hight [v.r. heȝt] sco virago.

c 1340 *Cursor M.* (Fairf.), Tel  
me man quat þou higt.

1470—85 MALORY *Arthur*, What  
heteth your lady and where dwelleth  
she?

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.*, Sir,  
sayde he, I hyght Iohan of Helenes,  
but what is your name?

1600 FAIRFAX *Tasso*, He sends  
them to the fort that Sion hights.

a 1643 W. CARTWRIGHT *Ordinary*,  
How highteth she, say you?

**Hull** < *hull* sb. < OE. *hulu* husk, from ablaut grade *hul-* of *helan* to cover.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To remove the hull, shell, or husk of; to strip of the outer covering. 1398—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To lose the hulls (NED.); to be hulled. *Obs.* c 1430 *Two Cookery-bks.*, Take whete . . . an stampe with a pestel tyl it hole.

**Illumine** < F. *illuminer* < L. *illumināre*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To light up, shed light upon; to shine upon or into; to light up in token of rejoicing or honour. 1375—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*). To become light or bright; to be illuminated. Quot. 1801 also = præd. act., to set out illuminations.

1500—20 DUNBAR *Thistle & Rose*, All the houss illumynit of hir lemys.

*Ibid.*, All the land illumynit of the licht.

1773 J. ROSS *Fratricide*, The clouds up-rise, and Heav'n's dark hemisphere Illumines as they pass.

1801 ANNA SEWARD *Lett.*, Our city illumines to-morrow.

**Immortalize** < *immortal*, a. + *ize* cf. F. *immortaliser*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To render immortal; also *fig.* 1566—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*). To be made, to become immortal, to attain enduring fame. *rare*.

1737 POPE *Hor. Ep.*, Say at what age a Poet grows divine? . . . End all dispute; and fix the year precise When British bards begin t'immortalize?

**Improve**, in 16<sup>th</sup> c. *en-*, *em-* *proice* < AF. *en-*, *emprouer*, *enprouwer*, *emprover*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To make greater in amount or degree, augment, magnify. *Obs.* 1509—1771. To advance or raise to a better quality or condition, to increase the value or excellence of, to make better. (The prevailing modern sense). 1617— cf NED. s. v. *improve* 4, 5.

Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *improve* 10). To be brought, to come into a state of higher development. Earliest quot. of the *intr.* sense, 1650. A converted sense is salient in the following quotes.

[1727 SWIFT *To a Young Lady*, It is a shame for an english lady not to relish such discourses, not to improve by them.]

1805 PIKE *Sources Mississ.*, Their situation improves by a communication with the whites.

**Indent** < *in* + *dent* v. cf. NED. note.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To form as a dint, dent, or depression; to strike or force inwards so as to form a dent or hollow; to impress, c 1400—; to make a dint or dints in the surface of (a thing), c 1586—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To receive or take an indentation; to be, become indented or furrowed.

1653 A. WILSON *Jas.* I., His countenance had indented with Age before he was old.

**Inebriate** < *inebriate* ppl. a. or its source L. *inēbriāt-us*, pa. ppl. of *inēbriāre* to intoxicate.

I. Præd. caus. Trans.: To make drunk; intoxicate, 1555—; *transf.* and *fig.* to intoxicate in mind or feeling, etc., 1447—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into a state of intoxication. *Obs. rare*.



1626 BACON *Sylva*, Quantities of Fish . . when they come into the Fresh Water, do inebriate and turn vp their Bellies . .

**Infect** < L. *infect-*, ppl. stem of *inficēre* to dip in, stain, impregnate.

I. Præd. caus. or act. Note the trans. senses: To affect, influence, or imbue with some quality or property by immersion or infusion. To impregnate or taint with deleterious qualities; to fill (the air, etc.) with the germs of disease, to render injurious to health. c 1375—. To affect with disease. c 1386— cf. NED. s. v. *infect*. 1, 3, 4.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *infect* 11). To be brought, to come into an infected condition. *Obs.*

c 1420 *Pallad. on Husb.*, Lest they [wines] enfecte is ferther now to trete.

1500—20 DUNBAR *Poems*, This terrible monsteris sall togidder thrist . . Quhillall the air infeck of thair pvsoun.

a 1529 SKELTON *Image Ipocr.*, Nowe with sondry sectes The world sore infectes.

1589 COGAN *Haven Health*, All infected in a manner at one instant, by reason of a dampe or mist which arose.

**Inflame** < OF. *enflam(m)er* < L. *inflammāre* < *in-* + *flamma* flame.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: (1) To cause to blaze or burst into flames; to set on fire, to kindle. 1382— (2) *fig.* To set on fire with passion, strong feeling, or desire; to excite passionately. a 1340— (3) To heat, make hot; *esp.* to raise (the body or blood) to a feverish or morbid heat; to excite inflammation in. 1530—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *inflame* 5, 6, 7). (1) To burst into flame, to catch

fire, to be inflamed. Quot. 1794 also = to admit of being inflamed (= præd. obj. & attrib.) or to have the quality of (not) burning (= præd. attrib.)

1638 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.*, Long becalmed, whereby the ayre inflam'd, and Sea gave a fierie reflection.

1794 G. ADAMS *Nat. & Exp. Philos.*, It does not inflame, unless mixed with atmospherical or with vital air.

1812 SIR H. DAVY *Chem. Philos.* By the friction of solids . . the axle trees of carriages sometimes inflame.

(2) To be made, to become hot or excited with passion.

1559 *Mirr. Mag., Jack Cade*, I thereby enflamed much the more.

1824 CARLYLE *Schiller*, I know how soon your noble heart inflames when sympathy and humanity appeal to it.

(3) To become inflamed under the action of disease or stimulants; to be affected with inflammation.

[1607 TOPSELL *Four.-f. Beasts*, Sometime the liver of the Fox inflameth].

1892 *Argosy*, He was compelled to drink sparingly lest his head should inflame.

**Invert** < L. *invertēre* f. *in-* + *vertēre* to turn, *lit.* to turn outside in.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To reverse in regard to position, order, or sequence; to turn in an opposite direction, 1533 — also *fig.* in this sense: To reverse the relations of, so as to produce an opposite meaning, state of affairs, etc., 1552— cf. NED. s. v. *invert*. 2.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (or stat.) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *invert*. 5.) To be changed, to change to the opposite. *Obs.*

[1615 CHAPMAN *Odys.*, Double not needless passion on a heart Whose joy so green is, and so apt t'invert].

1813 T. BUSBY *Lucretius* II. *Comment.*, Till their natures change, and their order of operation invert.

**Knit** < OE. *cnyttan*, a derivative of the stem in OE. *cnotta* knot sb.

I. Præd. act. or caus. (cf. sense 3). Note the trans. senses: (1) To tie in or with a knot; to tie, fasten, bind, attach, join, by or as by knotting. *arch.* and *dial.* c 1000— (2) To draw (the brows) closely together. c 1386— (3) To conjoin or unite closely and firmly (contiguous members, broken parts) 1578— *fig* 1340—; cf. NED. s. v. *knit*. 1, 4, 6, 7.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *knit* 1 d, 4 b, 6 b & 7 b.) (1) Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be knitted, to attach itself, adhere. *Obs.*

1571 GOLDING *Calvin on Ps.*, Heereunto knitteth rightuousnesse, as the effect of the cause.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *knit* 4 b.) Predicated of the brows: To be drawn together; to contract (themselves).

1862 J. GRANT *Capt. of Guard*, His brows knit and his eyes loured.

(3) Præd. obj. or attrib. & reciproc. (NED. *intr.* or *intr.* for *refl.*) (α) To be brought, to come into close union with, to grow together; quot. *mod.* = pred. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (β) *fig.* To unite closely, to grow together.

(α) 1612 WOODALL *Surg. Mate.*, Leaving of the grief undressed for two daies, that the veins may knit.

*Mod.* In young people fractured bones soon knit.

(β) 1770 LANGHORNE *Plutarch*, The city . . . is broken into two parts which will never knit again.

**Liberalize** < *liberal*, a. + *ize*.

(a) Præd. act. Trans.: To render liberal, to make liberal-minded. 1774—.

(b) Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be made, to become liberal in one's ideas or principles.

1848 *Tait's Mag.*, Russia must liberalize, or be convulsed.

**Lower**, præd. obj. or attrib.; see cat. F. s. v. *lower* II 2.

**Macerate** < L. *mācerāt-*, ppl. stem of *mācerāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To soften by steeping in a liquid, with or without heat; to wear away or separate the soft parts of, by steeping. Applied also to the treatment of food in the process of digestion. (2) To cause (the body, flesh, etc.) to waste or wear away, esp. by fasting. 1547—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *macerate* 1 b, 2 c.) (1) To be brought, to come into a macerated state.

[1610 B. JONSON *Alch.*, Let 'hem macerate, together.]

[1641 FRENCH *Distill.*, Beat the spices small and bruise the Hearbs, letting them macerate twelve houres.]

1889 J. M. DUSCAN *Lect. Dis. Wom.*, If the liquor amnii is not discharged it is absorbed, and the contents of the uterus either macerate or become mummified.

(2) To waste, pine away, to be macerated. *Obs.*

1599 MARSTON *Sco. Villanie*, Once to be pursie fat Had wont be cause that life did macerate.

**Mar** < OE. *merran* = OS. *merrian* to cause to stumble, to hinder, OHG. *marren*, *merren*, to hinder, disturb; Goth. *marzjan* to cause to stumble, offend. A parallel formation from the same Teut. root \**marz-* appears in OE. *mearr-* *ian* to go astray, err, which survived into ME. and coincided in form with OE. *merran*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To spoil, impair. c 897. —



II Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl* s. v. *mar* 2d.) To be brought, to come into a deteriorated condition. *Obs.*

c 1230 *Hali Meid.*, þat ha [*sc.* hire limen & hire wittes], ne merren ne formealten þurh licomliche lustes i flesche fulðe.

13 . . . *E. E. Allit. P.*, Lo al synkes in his synne & for his sake marres!

[c 1440 *York, Myst.*, My mighte and my mayne es all marrande, Helpe, felowes, in faythe I am fallande.]

1530 *PALSGR.*, The beste thyng in the worlde, if it be myskept, will marre in processe of tyme.

1609 *C. BUTLER Fem. Mon.*, The Host . . . could not choose in that space but melt and marre.

**Mineralize** < *mineral* sb. and a. + *ize*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To combine with (a metal) so as to convert (it) into the state of ore. 1655—; To convert into a mineral substance. 1799—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought, to come into the state of ore. In quot. *fig.*

1845 *MOZLEY Ess., Laud.*, A mind, by undergoing a certain ordeal, mineralises and turns into hard transparent crystal.

**Mortify** < *F. mortifier* < *L. mortificāre*. f, *morti-*, *mors*. Recorded in Eng. already 1382 in sense: to deprive of life, kill.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: *Cookery*. To make (raw meat, game, etc.) tender by hanging, keeping, etc. *Obs.* 1594— cf. NED. s. v. *mortify* 6.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *mortify* 6.) To become (to be made) tender by hanging, keeping, etc. *Obs.*

1626 *BACON Sylva*, Try it also with Capon . . . laid abroad, to see whether it will mortifie and become tender sooner.

[1718 *OZELL tr. Tournefort's Voy.*, They presented us . . . a goat which proved very good, because we let it mortify some hours].

**Nettle** < *nettle* sb. < OE. *net(e)le*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To irritate, vex, provoke, pique. 1562—; in pa. pple. irritated. a 1400—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into an irritated state—*rare*.

1810 *Splendid Follies*, Milford . . . began to nettle at the fidgets of his visitor.

**Outwear** < *out* + *wear* vb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To wear out, wear away; to wear down to nothing, or to an end; to consume by wearing, a 1541— to exhaust in strength or endurance; chiefly in pa. pple. *outworn* = worn out, exhausted, 1610—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into a worn out or exhausted condition.

1614 *C. BROOKE Ghost Rich.* III., Life (sensible of pleasure) now feelles paine, Earth must to earth; as Nature's course outweares.

**Patch** < *patch* sb. (ME. *pacche*, *patche*, of unassertained origin.)

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To mark (a surface) as patches of different colour or material do; to diversify or variegate with patches. (Chiefly in passive) 1695— cf. NED. *patch* s. v. 5.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *patch*. 5 b). To be made, to become patchy or mottled.

1896 G. L. BECKE *Pacific Tales*, *Hollis' Debt*, 'The red, bloated face of the skipper patched and mottled, and his breath came in quick, short gasps.'

**People** < F. *peupler* in OF. *popler*, *puepler*, *pupler*, f. *peuple*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To furnish or fill with people or inhabitants; to populate. c 1500—.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be made, to become full of people, to grow populous.

1659 HEYLIN *Examen Hist.*, The world had peopled very slowly... if Eve had not twinned at least at every birth.

1892 *Home Missionary*, Not being on the line of a railroad, it has not peopled so fast as Creede.

**Petrify** < F. *pétrifier* < L. type \**petrificāre* (prob. in early mod. L.) f. *petra* rock, stone.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To convert into stone or stony substance; *spec.* to turn (an organic body) into a stony concretion, etc. 1594—; also *fig.* to change as if into stone, 1626—.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.*). To be brought, to come into the state and form of stone, to undergo petrification.

1646 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.*, When wood and many other bodies doe petrifie... wee do not usually ascribe their induration to cold.

1730 A. GORDON *Maffei's Amphith.*, Cement like that of the Ancients, which petrified.

1776 G. SEMPLE *Building in Water*, Those Piers did not petrify at all that lay on Beds that were not gravelly.

*fig.* 1685 DRYDEN *Threnod. August.*, Like Niobe we marble grow, And petrify with grief.

1868 J. H. BLUNT *Ref. Ch. Eng.*, The minds of men had petrified in certain forms of theological language.

**Pile** < *pile* sb. < F. *pile* heap, mass of masonry.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To form into a pile or heap; to heap up. Often with *up*, *on*. c. 1400—

II. Præd. obj., or attrib., or act. (cf. quot 1860). (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or *pass.*) To be piled (up), to heap.

1613—16 W. BROWNE *Brit. Past.*, The hart-like leaves oft each with other pyle As doe the hard scales of the Crocodile.

1860 SIR W. E. LOGAN, The ice in the St. Lawrence piles up over every obstacle.

1897 *Bookman* Jan., Money... continues to pile up and up at the bankers of a good lady.

**Pulverize** < late L. *pulverizāre* or F. *pulvériser*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To reduce to powder or dust. 1585 — *fig.* To demolish, to 'smash'. 1631 —

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought or fall to dust; to become disintegrated. Also *fig.*

1860 EMERSON *Cond. Life, Worship*, The stern old faiths have all pulverized.

1866 LAWRENCE tr. *Cotta's Rocks Class.*, Sometimes these varieties [of limestone] pulverise to a crystalline sand.

**Reduce** < L. *reducere* to bring back, restore, replace.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To bring down, diminish to a smaller number, amount, extent, etc., or to a single thing, 1560—; to lower, diminish, lessen, 1787— cf. NED. s. v. *reduce* 26.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (MED. *intr.* s. v. *reduce* 26 c.) To be made, to become less or limited. Quot. 1895 = præd. obj. & attrib. = to admit of being reduced (into sth.)



1811 L. M. HAWKINS *Cecilia & Gertr.*, Miss Mendax has now lived, for a long time, on a biscuit *per diem* . . . She certainly does not reduce on it.

1885 *Pall Mall G.*, Diseased he was, and of a harsh Northern strain, but all the carping reduces at last to this.

1895 J. R. Harris in *Expositor*, They reduce to two classes.

**Rend** < OE. *rendan* = O. Fris. *renda*, *randa*, not represented in the other Teut. languages.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To tear apart (*asunder*) or in pieces. c. 950—; also *fig.* c. 1380—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (act.) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *rend* 6.) To be broken, to break, split, burst. Also *fig.*

c. 1205 LAY., Scipen gunnen hellden, bosmes þer rendden, water in wende.

1578 T. PROCTOR *Gorg. Gallery*, I should . . . heale that hart that rendes.

1589 R. HARVEY *Pl. Perc.*, My shoe shall rend.

1611 BIBLE 1 Sam. XV, He laid hold vpon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent.

1705 HICKERINGILL *Priest-cr.*, Samuel's Cassock, made of rotten black Cloath, perhaps, or else it would not have rent.

1830 W. TAYLOR *Hist. Surr. Germ. Poetry*, The veil of the temple rends; an earthquake is felt.

**Replenish** < OF. *repleniss-* lengthened stem of *replenir*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make full *of*, to fill, to stock or store abundantly *with*, persons or animals; to fill. *Obs.* c. 1386—1596. cf. NED. s. v. *replenish* 5.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *replenish* 10). To be made, to become full, to become filled; to attain to fullness. *Obs. rare.*

1579-80 NORTH *Plutarch*, The City of Athens began to replenish daily more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts.

1673 H. STUBBE *Further Vind. Dutch War*, Her Coffers began to replenish. Her Subjects were rich.

**Resolve** < L. *resolvēre*, cf. *obs.* F. *resolver*, *-vir* (mod. F. *résoudre*).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To melt, dissolve, reduce to a liquid or fluid state. *Obs.* c. 1374—1732; to separate (a thing) *into* its component parts or elements; to dissolve *into* some other physical form. c. 1430— cf. NED. s. v. *resolve* 1, 6.

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *resolve* 21, 22). To be resolved, to melt, dissolve.

c. 1400 tr. *Secreta Secret.*, *Gor. Lordsh.*, In þis tyme . . . þe wyndes blowyn, þe snow resoluys.

c. 1440 *Alph. Tales*, þis yse resoluyd into watir.

1595 SHAKS. *John*, Euen as a forme of waxe Resolueth from his figure 'gainst the fire.

1759 B. MARTIN *Nat. Hist. Eng.*, Congealed (as it were) in Clusters, which resolve, etc.

(2) To undergo dissolution or separation into elements, to pass *into* some form or state.

c. 1400 tr. *Secreta secret.*, *Gor. Lordsh.*, It ys to wete þat mannys body . . . continually er dimunished and resoluyd azeyn.

1589 GREENE *Menaphon*, Pleusidippus eyes at this speach resolved into fire.

1715 POPE *Iliad*, The phantom . . . Resolves to air . . .

1847 C. BRONTË *J. Eyre*, The roof resolved to clouds, high and dim.

**Retard** < F. *retarder* (13th c.) or L. *retardāre*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To keep back, to delay, hinder. c. 1489—

II. Præd. obj., or attrib., or act. (quot. 1807). (NED. *intr.* s. v. *retard* 3.) To be delayed; to come, appear, or happen later; to undergo retardation.

1646 SIR. T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.*, Putrefaction . . shall retard or accelerate according to the subject and season of the year.

1807 PIKE *Sources Mississ.*, should they [persons] not retard more than 20 days.

**Rid** < ON. *rydja* (Sw. *rödja*). (NED.), in part also f. OE. *hred-dan* to deliver.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To clear (a way or space). c. 1200—; to dispatch, accomplish, get through, clear *off* or *away* (work of any kind). Now. *dial.* 1530— cf NED. s. v. *rid* 1, 7.

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *rid* 7 b). To be dispatched; to proceed (in a specified way) Now *dial.*

1626 BRETON *Fantastikes, Eight of the Clocke*, Now . . with quicke hands, worke rids apace.

1751 R. PALTOCK *P. Wilkins*, It is impossible to imagine how this work rids away.

**Rip**, of somewhat obscure origin and history.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cut, pull, or tear (anything) away from something else in a vigorous manner, c. 1477—; to cut or tear apart in a rough or slashing fashion, 1530—

II. Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *rip* 5 b.) To split, tear, part asunder. (NED.); to be ripped.

1840 R. H. DANA *Bef. Mast*, The great mainsail gaped open, and the sail ripped from head to foot.

1860 TOMLINSON *Arts & Manuf.* 2nd ser. *Needles*, When the surface rips or tears, the attendant can feel it.

**Rive**, præd. obj. or stat.; see cat. F. s. v. *rive* II, 1.

**Ruin** < F. *ruiner* or med. L. *ruināre*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To reduce (a place, etc.) to ruins, 1585—; *fig.* to overthrow, destroy (a kingdom, etc.), 1585—; to bring to financial ruin; to reduce to a state of poverty, 1660—

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *ruin* 6.) To come to ruin, to be brought to poverty; to be overwhelmed by failure.

1596 WARNER *Alb. Eng.*, Religion, Realmes, and all haue ruin'd then.

1659 MILTON *Rupt. of Commonw.*, Unless these things . . be once settl'd, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin.

1691 LOCKE *Money*, We may Trade, . . and grow poor by it . . ; if to this we are idle, . . we shall ruin the faster.

**Shend**, *obs.* < OE. *scendan* bring to shame, harm, ruin = OHG. *scentan* < O. Teut. \**skandjan* < \**skandō* shame.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To bring to ruin, destroy. OE. —

II. Præd. obj. or stat. To be reduced, to come into a state of ruin.

*Rom of the Rose* i, 1400. Less the tender grasses shende,

**Stain**, aphetic f. *distain*, vb. arch. < OF. *destaindre* (stem *desteign-*) < Com. Rom. *des-* + L. *tingere*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To soil, to taint, darken. ME.—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. To be brought, to come into a sullied state.



SHAKS. *LLL.* II. 48, if virtue's  
gloss will stain with any soil. .

SHAKS. *Sonn.* 33. 14, suns of the  
world may stain when heaven's sun  
staineth.

**Tarnish** < OF. *terniss-*, stem  
of *ternir*, make dim < *terne* dull  
(< OHG. *tarni* = OE. *derne*, *dierne*).

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To  
sully, dull. early NE.—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib.  
To become sullied or dull, to be  
tarnished.

DRYDEN *Abs. and Achit.* i, 249.  
Till the fresh glories, which now shine  
so bright, Grow stale and tarnish with  
our daily sight.

## C. Predications of direct object or of action or perception.

**Adjourn** < OF. *ajorner* < late L. *adiurnāre*, etc.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To adjourn (a meeting), to put off its further proceedings to another day; to discontinue or dissolve temporarily. 1494—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* from *reft.*) Of a meeting, council: To be ajourned, to suspend proceedings and disperse for a time.

1718 POPE *Iliad*. The speedy council at his word adjourn'd.

**Beat** < OE. *bēatan* = OHG. *bōzzan*, ON. *bauta* < OTeut. \**bautan*

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To work metal or other malleable material by frequent striking, to hammer. c. 1386—. (2) *To beat the brains, the head*, etc.: to think persistently and laboriously. 1579—. (3) *To beat a drum*, etc. (Formerly with *up*): To strike it so as to produce rythmical sound. 1603—, cf. NED. s. v. *beat* 21, 29, 30.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *beat* 21 b, 29 b, 31 a.) (1) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *trans.*) To become by being beaten out (NED.); to admit of being beaten out into something.

1873 BROWNSON *Red Cott. Night-c.*. One particle of ore beats out such lead!

(2) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Predicated of the brain, etc.: To be beaten, to be at work. *Obs.*

[1602 SHAKS. *Ham.*, This . . matter in his heart: Whereon his Brains still beating, puts him thus From fashion of himselfe.]

1639 FULLER *Holy War*. A lawyer's brains will beat to purpose when his own preferment is the fee.

(3) (NED. *intr.*) Predicated of the drum or the like: To be beaten, to sound (when beaten).

1656 REC. *New Haven Col.*. The second Drum hath left beating.

[1723 DE FOE *Mem. Cavalier*. I was glad to hear the drums beat for soldiers.]

1808 CAMPBELL *Hohenlinden*. But Linden saw another sight When the drums beat at dead of night.

[1822 SCOTT *Nigel*. Every brass basin betwixt the Bar and Paul's beating before you.]

1882 ROSETTI *White Ship in Ball. & Sonn.*. High do the bells of Rouen beat.

**Bleed** < OE. *blēdan* < OTeut. *blōdjan* f. *blōdo(m)* blood sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the following senses: (1) The *intr.* and general sense: To emit, discharge, or lose blood. (Predicated of a person or animal, a part of a body, a wound, etc.) Also *fig.* a 1000—. (2) The *trans.* sense with cognate object (= status limitativus); also with other objects: To emit (blood, tears, etc.). 1300—; c. g. 1300 *Cursor M.* 16775. For þe mikel blod he bled. cf. NED. s. v. *bleed* 1, 7.



II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *bleed* 6). Said of blood, etc.: To drop, flow, ooze forth. Also with *away*, *into*: To pass by bleeding. Also passive sense (though not easily salient): To be bled.

c 1305 *Song Mercy*, in *E. E. P.*, Myn\_herte blood for þe gan blede.

1595 SHAKS. *John*, Retaining but a quantity of life, Which bleeds away, euen as a forme of waxe Resolueth from his figure 'gainst the fire.

1650 FULLER *Pisgah*, This wound, whence so much precious wealth did bleed forth.

1865 BUSHNELL *Vicar. Sacr.*, If the good that is in him will get into men's bosoms, it must bleed into them.

**Blow** < OE. *blāwan* = OHG. *blā(h)an*, *blāen*, mod. G. *blāhen*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To drive or carry (things) by means of a current of air; also *fig.* Const. *simply*, or with preps. or adverbs of direction, as *away*, *down*, *from*, *off*, *to*, etc. a 1300—. (2) To make (a wind-instrument) sound. c 1000— (3) *To blow out*: To extinguish (a flame) by a current of air. 1377—. (4) To shatter, destroy, or otherwise act upon by means of explosion. Const. with various adverbs of direction, esp. *up*; also with such phrases as *to atoms*; in technical use often simply *to blow*, like 'to blast'. 1599—; cf. NED. s. v. *blow* 12, 14, 17 c, 24.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *blow* 12 b, 15, 17 c, 26.) (1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be driven or carried by the wind; to move before the wind.

1842 TENNYSON *Goose*, Her cap blew off, her gown blew up.

1842 TENNYSON *Day-Dream*, The hedge broke in, the banner blew.

(2) Præd. obj., or instr., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Predicated of a wind-instrument: To give forth a sound by being blown (NED.); also = to be blown. Also with *up* (obs.).

a 1225 *Ancr. R.*, þe englene bemen . . . þet schulen . . . biuoren þe grureful dome grisliche bloawen.

a 1340 HAMPOLE *Pr. Consc.*, þe beme þat blaw sal on domsday.

1647 FANSHAWE *Pastor Fido*. But list a little, doth not a Horn blow?

1875 O. W. HOLMES *Old Camb.*, Our trumpets needs must blow.

(3) Præd. obj., or stat., (1st sentence), or exist. (2nd sentence) (NED. *intr.*) Predicated of a fire or of glass: To be extinguished by a current of air (NED.); to cease burning, to be broken by the agency of air.

1842 TENNYSON *Goose*, The glass blew in, the fire blew out.

(4) Præd. obj., or act., or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To undergo explosion, to go to pieces by explosion. Usually with *up*.

1694 *Lond. Gaz.*, Two Magazines blew up.

1863 KINGSLEY *Water-bab.*, The mountain had blown up like a barrel of gunpowder.

**Break** < OE. *brecan* = OS. *brekun*, OHG. *brehhan*, Goth. *brikan*, etc.

I. Præd. act. Note the general or special senses in trans. use: (1) To sever into distinct parts by sudden application of force, to part by violence, a 1000—; in special use: to dissolve (parliament), disband (a regiment), *obs.* 1685—1788; *to break up* in the same trans. sense, 1483—. (2) With regard chiefly to the state or condition produced: to destroy cohesion, solidity, or firmness; crush, shatter. a 1000—. (3) To make a rupture of union or continuity by breaking, a 1205—. (4) To sever

or remove by breaking, a 1200—; *to break away*. 1420— cf. NED. s. v. *break* I and 2 f, 56; II; V; VI and 49 a.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *break* 1 b; 2 g & 56 c; 26 c; 49 b.)

(1) Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Corresp. to sense I. 1, 2.: To be broken, to come into a state of brokenness. Quot. 1175 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being broken; to be solid so as not to break easily).

c 1175 *Lamb. Hom.*, þet gles ne breked.

c 1230 *Hali Meid.*, Hwil þe scheld is hal þat is te wisdom of þi wit, þat hit ne breke ne beie, þah þi fleschliche wil fals beo þer under, etc.

(2) Præd. obj., or exist., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* and *obs.* or *intr.*). Corresp. to sense I. 1. To be dissolved; to cease existing (for the time being) (in reference to the work involved in the notion of the subject. cf. quot. 1612); to cease working and separate (in reference to the persons involved in the notion of the subject).

1536 *Wriothesley Chron.*, The twentieth daie of Julie, the Convocation brooke upp at Poules.

[1601 *SHAKS. All's Well*, The Army breaking, My husband hies him home].

1612 *DRAYTON Poly-olb.*, Then vp the Session brake.

[1882 *Boy's Own P.*, A few days later the school broke up for the summer holidays.]

(3) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Corresp. to sense I. 3, 4. Of clouds, mists, etc.: To divide, disperse; to be dispersed.

[1875 *GREEN Short Hist.*, Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar].

(3) To be severed or removed by breaking; to move away.

1860 *TYNDALL Glac.*, The snow . . . broke away from the foot and fell into the chasm.

**Careen**, perh. f. the sb. *careen* (< F. *carène*), earliest record 1591, or f. Fr. *caréner*, earlier *cariner*, Sp. *carenar*, It. *carenare* < L. *carina* keel.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To turn (a ship) over on one side for cleaning, caulking, or repairing. 1600—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *absol.*). Said of the ship itself: To be turned over on one side for cleaning, etc., to manage to be careened.

[1667 *Lond. Gaz.*, Some that were driven to shore, were since forced to unlade and Carine.]

[1670 *MARVELL Let. Mayor Hull*, Liberty for our ships to careen and victual in any of his ports].

[1720 *Lond. Gaz.*, The Barfleur . . . is now careening].

**Catch** < ME. *cachen* (earliest record c 1205 Lay.) < ONF. *cachier* = central OF. *chacier* (mod. F. *chasser*) < late L. \**captiāre* f. *captus*. 'taken captive'.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To lay hold of and detain; to grip, entangle. 1611— cf. NED. *catch* 17.

II. Præd. obj., or act., (or attrib.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *catch* 18). To be laid hold of and detained; to grip, to become entangled or fixed.

[1787 'G. GAMBADO' *Acad. Horsem.*, His foot catching and hanging in the stirrup.]

1875 *JOWETT Plato*, The scythe end caught in the rigging.

**Clap** < ME. *clappen* (earliest quot. c. 1300 *Havelok*) < OE. \**clappian* = OHG. *chlaphôn*, ON. *klappa* (Sw. *klappa*). If the word was not preserved in OE., it may have entered ME. from ON.



I. Præd. act. Note the general sense of making noise by particular actions; note the trans. sense: to shut (a door, a window) with a clap or explosive noise; to bang, slam. c 1386— *arch.* or *dial.* cf. NED. *clap* 4 b.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *clap* 4 a). Of a door or window, etc.: To be shut or to shut with a clap. *arch.*

c 1400 *Destr. Troy*. And [ai] [jaws] clappe shall full clene, & neuer vnclose aftur.

c 1470 HARDING *Chron.*, So suddenly doores and wyndowes al clapped With hydeous noyce.

1656 H. MORE *Antid. Ath.*, The upper-lid [of the eye] presently claps down.

1842 TENNYSON *Day-Dream. Revival*, There rose a noise of . . . doors that clapt.

**Coach** < *coach* sb. < F. *coche*, ultimately from Magyar *kocsi*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To convey in, seat in, provide with, a coach. Also *fig.* ? *Obs.* 1612. — (2) *University colloq.*, etc. To prepare (a candidate) for an examination; to instruct in special subjects. 1849—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) (1) To be conveyed in a coach; to ride or drive in a coach. *colloq.*

1630 BRATHWAIT *Eng. Gentl.*, This day you coach to the Exchange.

(2) *Univ. colloq.* To be instructed or prepared (for an examination); to 'read' or study with a 'coach'.

1849 THACKERAY *Pendennis*, Are you stopping at Baymouth? . . . I'm coaching there.

[1889 *Oxford Tutor to Undergrad.*, Would you like to coach this term, Mr. M.?

**Concenter, -re** < F. *concentrer* 'to ioine in one center' (Colgr.) < L. type \**concentrāre*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To bring to or towards a common centre, 1633—; *fig.* to collect (thoughts, etc.) and give them a single direction or purpose, 1772—to increase the vigour of. 1633—

II. Præd. obj., or act., or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought, to converge or come to or as to a common centre, to become intensified.

1630 R. JOHNSON'S *Kingd. & Commw.*, That . . . his inmost thoughts (like lines in a Circle) shall alwayes concenter in this immoveable point.

1750 JOHNSON *Rambler*, There was no way of life in which all his views could so completely concenter as in that of a soldier.

1876 BANCROFT *Hist. U. S.*, This jealousy of control from without centred in the subject of taxation.

**Concentrate** < L. type \**concentrāt-* ppl. stem of \**concentrāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To bring to or towards a common centre, to cause to converge or meet at one point or place. 1646—. To condense in compass or volume, often connoting the resultant effect of increased intensity or power. 1758—

II. Præd. obj., or act., or attrib. (NED. *intr.* and *absol.* usually for *refl.*) To be brought, to converge (come) to or as to a common centre; to become intensified (quot. 1841).

1640 G. WATTS tr. *Bacon's Adv. Learn.*, That the Images and beams of things (as in sense) may meet and concentrate.

1841 ALFORD in *Life*, Would that . . . my powers and attention as I advance may concentrate.

**Discharge** < OF. *descharger* (mod. F. *décharger*) < late L. type \**discarricāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To disburden (a weapon, as a bow or gun) by letting fly the missile with which it is charged or loaded, to fire off (a fire-arm). 1555 — cf. NED. s. v. *discharge* 1 b.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *discharge* 1 c) Of a fire-arm: To go off; to be discharged. *Obs.*

c 1580 J. HOOKER *Life Sir P. Carew*, The matche gave fier, and the pece dyschardged.

1582 N. LICHEFIELD tr. *Castaneda's Conq., E. Ind.*, Some of the Ordinaunce of the fleete beganne to discharge.

**Dismiss** < L. *dīmiss-*, ppl. stem of *dīmittēre* to send away (Eng. *dimit*) with the prefix altered to *dis-* after the already existing *dismet*, OF. *desmettre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To send away in various directions, disperse, dissolve (a gathering of people, etc.); to disband (an army, etc.). 1582—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *dismiss* 1 b). To disperse from ordered assembly; to be dismissed.

1837 CARLYLE *Fr. Rev.*, Finally the National Assembly is harangued . . and dismisses for this night.

**Disperse**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. D. s. v. *disperse* II, 1.

**Dissipate** < L. *dissipāt-*, ppl. stem of *dissipāre* to spread abroad, scatter, disperse, f. *dis-* + archaic vb. *sūpāre*, *sipāre* to throw, scatter.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses. (1) To scatter, to drive or cause to go off in all directions; to disperse (that which

has been concentrated. *arch.* c 1534— (2) To dispel by dispersion or minute diffusion (mist, clouds, etc.); to cause to disappear 1532—; also *fig.* and *transf.* 1691—; (3) To disintegrate and reduce to atoms, dust, smoke, or impalpable form; to dissolve completely, undo, annul (material or immaterial objects). c 1555—; (4) To scatter or consume wastefully (money, resources, faculties); to waste, squander. 1682— cf. NED. s. v. *dissipate* 1, 3, 4, 5.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *dissipate* 1 b, 3 c, 4 b, 5 b.) (1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be dissipated; to pass away in all directions.

1660 F. BROOKE tr. *Le Blanc's Trav.*, Those shelves of sand, which do dissipate, and are spent in the sea.

(2) Præd. obj., or stat., (not salient in all quot.) or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To pass away by minute dispersion or diffusion; to disappear; to be brought, to come into a state of dissolution.

1626 BACON *Sylva*, The Spirits doe but weaken and dissipate, when they come to the Aire and Sunne.

1640 HOWELL *Dodona's Gr.*, Libels neglected quickly find their own graves, and dissipat to ayr.

1758 J. S. *Le Dran's Observ. Surg.*, The Hardness sensibly dissipated.

1878 B. TAYLOR *Deukalion*, Death and decay are things That dissipate beneath thy radiant eye.

(3) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be, become disintegrated; to moulder to dust or impalpable atoms.

1677 HALE *Prim. Orig. Man.*, If it gave over its work . . it would soon dissolve, dissipate and corrupt.

1880 DISRAELI *Endym.*, His whole position . . seemed to dissolve, and dissipate into insignificant fragments.

(3) Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be wasted, squandered, to cease to exist.



1622 F. MARKHAM *Bk. War.*, The Kings Treasure . . which by any lavishnes of an . . unrestrained hand will soone dissipate.

**Dock** < *dock* sb. an artificial basin into which ships are received. The subst. is found early in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Du. *docke*, mod. Du. *dok*. Ulterior origin uncertain.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To take, bring, or receive (a ship) into a dock. 1600—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (attrib.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be docked, to go (come) into dock.

1892 *Daily News*, 4 Nov., Water . . must be pumped out before she can dock.

**Drain** < OE. *drēahmian* (*drēh-nian*), prob. for \**drēagnian* f. root OTeut. *drauy-* dry.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To strain (liquid) through any porous medium. *Obs.* c 1000—1667. (2) To withdraw the water or moisture from (anything) gradually by straining, suction, etc. 1577—cf NED. s. v. *drain* 1, 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *drain* 5, 9) (1) Præd. obj. or act. Of a liquid: To be drained, to percolate or trickle *through*;

[1587 GOLDING *De Mornay*. Let the bloud dreyne out. .]

1628 DIGBY *Voy. Medit.*, They . . fill with fresh water; but I belieue it dreaneth thither from the higher land.

[1725 BRADLEY *Fam. Dict.*, Let the Water drein well and equally from the Corn.]

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. Of land: To admit of being drained, to have the quality of (not easily, etc.) becoming rid of moisture by its gradual percolation or flowing away.

1864 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, This land won't drain.

**Draw**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. E s. v. *draw* II 1 d; 2 b.

**Drive** < OE. *drīfan* = OS. *driban*, OHG. *trīban*, ON. *drīfa* (Sw. *driva*), Goth. *dreiban* < OTeut. \**drīb-an*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) The general sense: To force (living beings or things) to move on or away. c 1000— (2) To urge onward and direct the course of (an animal drawing a vehicle or plough, or the vehicle itself), a 1250—; also to carry in a vehicle, 1662—. (3) To force, impel, or expel, by a blow or thrust; *spec.* to force by blows (a stake, a nail, etc.) into the ground or into anything solid. a 1225—cf. NED. s. v. *drive* I, 5, 9.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *drive* 26, 5 c, 9 b). (1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) (α) To be driven (by a natural agency such as wind, current); to move along, impelled by a natural agency; to drift.

[c 1205 LAY., Ich iseh þæ vden i þere sæ driuen].

1393 GOWER *Conf.*, She dryueth Under a castell with the floode.

1481 CAXTON *Reynard*, Forth he droof in the streem wel a ij or iij myle.

[1526—34 TINDALE *Acts*. And when the ship was caught . . we let her goo and drave with the wether (1611 We let her drive)].

1748 THOMSON *Cast. Indol.*, Oft as he . . mark'd the clouds that drove before the wind.

1790 BEATSON *Nac. & Mil. Mem.*, By the force of the current, all three drove a great way to leeward.

[1852 LONGF. *Warden Cinque Ports*, A mist was driving down the British Channel.]

(β) (NED. *intr.* for *pass.*) Of a vehicle: To be driven, to move.

1634 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.*, So that a-top might drive together sixe Chariots.

1904 MAXWELL GRAY *The Re-proach of Annesley*, VI, ch. iv. So they agreed, and then Rickman's carriage drove up..

(γ) (NED. *absol.*) Of persons: To be conveyed in a carriage under one's own direction or at one's disposal. (The actual driver is then generally another person, and if this fact becomes salient, the sense assumes a converted aspect].

1592 SHAKS. *Rom. & Jul.*, Sometime she [Queen Mab] driueth ore a Souldiers necke.

1892 *Times* 19 Jan., The Queen drove yesterday afternoon.

[*Mod.* You had better take a cab and drive to London Bridge.]

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or *pass.*). Of a nail, etc: To admit of being driven by a blow, etc., to have the capacity of passing through something.

1703 MOXON *Mech. Exerc.*, These Hook-Pins.. drive into the Pin-holes through the Mortesses and Tennants.

a 1774 GOLDSM. *Surv. Exper. Philos.*, At twenty-six yards distance it [the ball] would drive through an oak board half an inch thick.

1793 SMEATON *Edystone*, The trenail would drive no further.

**Exhaust** < L. *exhaust-* ppl. stem of *exhaurire*. Earliest quot. in Eng. from 1540.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To empty by drawing the contents off or out; to drain; to empty of (specified contents). 1614—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *exhaust* 3 c). Of steam: To escape from the cylinder after doing its work, to be exhausted.

1851 *Pract. Mech. Jrnl.*, The steam exhausts through the centre opening.

1865 BURGH *Slide Valve*, Before the steam can exhaust, the valve must open the same port.

**Filter** < mod. L. *filtrāre* f. *filtrum* filter sb. (NED.); but, since L. vbs. in *-āre* generally appear in the pa. pple. form in *-ate* in Eng. (cf. *filtrate*, vb.), the proximate origin of the vb. *filter* is more likely either the sb. *filter* or the French vb. *filtrer*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To pass (a liquid) through a filter, or some porous medium. 1576—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*). Of a liquid: To pass as through a filter, to percolate (NED.); to be filtered. Also *transf.* and *fig.*

1798 W. BLAIR *Soldier's Friend*, The water.. will filter through the sand.

[1864 MARSH *Man & Nature*, A stratum of snow.. causes almost all the water that composes it to filter down into the earth.]

1882 VINES *Sachs' Bot.*, Water will filter through the cell-walls into the cavities of the wood.

[*fig.* 1821 CLARE *Vill. Minstr.*, The sunbeams, filtering small, Freckling through the branches fall.]

**Filtrate** < mod. L. *filtrāt-* ppl. stem of *filtrāre* to filter.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To filter (a liquid). Also *fig.* 1612—.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of a liquid: To pass as through a filter; to be filtered. Also *fig.*

1725 BRADLEY *Fam. Dict.*, A white Liquor which filtrates thro' the Glands of Women's Breasts.

1780 SCHOTTE in *Phil. Trans.*, Digging a pit into the sand.. into which the water filtrates from all sides.

1834 PRINGLE *Afr. Sk.*, Through which the stream.. filtrates silently and unperceived.

[*fig.* 1876 *Tinsley's Mag.*, The corruptions of the higher stratum of society had been slowly filtrating to the lower.]



**Fire**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. B s. v. *fire* II 2.

**Focus** < *focus* sb. < L. *focus* hearth, fireplace.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To draw to a focus; to cause to converge to or as to a focus. Also *fig.* 1807—

II. Præd. obj., or act., or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be converged, to converge or come to or as to a focus.

1888 *Harper's Mag.* Apr., The eyes . . . flamed as if the life of the man had centralized and focussed within them.

**Heave** < OE. *hebban* = OS. *hebbian*, OHG. *heffan* (mod. G. *heben*), ON. *hefja* (Sw. *håva*), Goth. *hafjan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To lift, raise, bear up. (a) Formerly in general sense; now only *arch.* or *dial.* 971— (b) In modern use: To lift with exertion (something heavy). 1715— cf. NED. s. v. *heave* 1 a, b.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *heave* 13.) To rise, mount, come up, spring up (NED.); to be lifted. Now *obs. exc.* in spec. uses.

c 1325 *Body & Soul*. The hed haf up and the swire.

c 1420 *Pallad. on Husb.* Out of molde er colde eek must hit heuen.

1725 POPE *Odyss.* The huge trunc rose, and heav'd into the sky.

1853 KANE *Grinnell Exp.* This ice seems to heave up slowly against the sky.

**Hoist** < *hoise* vb., *obs. exc. dial.* In 15–16<sup>th</sup> c. *hysse*, *hyce*, which corresponds with Icel. *hisa*, Sw. *hissa*, LG. *hiesen*, *hissen*, Du. *hijtschen*, Fr. *hisser*, etc. It is not yet known in which language this nautical term arose. As to the vowel phonology see Horn, *Histor.*

*Neueng. Gram.* p. 100. In NED. *hoise* and *hoist* are treated as different morphemes.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To raise aloft (by means of a rope or pulley and tackle, etc.). c 1450— cf. NED. s. v. *hoise* 1, *hoist* 1.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for passive s. v. *hoise* 5, *hoist* 5). To be raised, to rise aloft.

1565 GOLDING *Ovid's Met.* The waine for want of weight . . . Did hoise aloft, and scaile, and reele as though it emptie were.

1570 B. GOOGE *Pop. Kingd.* And with a worde he hoyseth up, unto the starry raigne.

[c 1860 H. STUART *Seaman's Catech.* It will allow the yard to hoist close up to the block.]

1892 N. Y. *Weekly Witn.* He . . . marches . . . toward hosannas that ever hoist and hallelujahs that ever roll.

**Illumine**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. B. s. v. *illumine* II quot. 1801.

**Keep**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. F. s. v. *keep* II 2 b

**Lade** < OE. *hladan* = OS. *hladan* < OTeut. \**hladan*; OHG. *hladan*, Goth. (af)*hlapan* < OTeut. \**hlapan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put the cargo on board (a ship). To lade a ship (status objectivus) *with* something (status instrumenti). e. g. *Bēow.* 1897 þa was on sande sǣgēap naca hladen herewædum. — cf. NED. s. v. *lade* 1.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lade* 2 b.) Of a ship: To be laden, to ship goods as cargo.

1667 *Lond. Gaz.* As many light ships come in the last evening Tyde to lade.

1796 MORSE *Amer. Geog.*, A pier.. at which vessels . . . lade and unlade.

**Lere**, *obs.* < OE. *lāran* = OS. *lērian*, OHG. *lēran*, ON. *lára*, Goth. *laisjan* < OTeut. *\*laizjan* f. *\*laizō* lore.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To teach (others), c 900—1600; to inform (others), a 1300—a 1643.

II. Præd. obj., or percept., or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lere* 3, 4.) To be taught, to be informed; to learn (to read); to be brought, to come into knowledge of; to study.

c 1220 *Bestiary*. And zingid him ðus ðis wilde der So 3e hauen nu lered her.

c 1400 MAUNDEV., All þe Iews . . . lerez for to speke Hebrew.

c 1460 *Urbanitatis* in *Babees Bk.* Who-so wyлле of nurtur lere. Herken to me & 3e shalle here.

**Let**, *arch.* < OE. *lettan* = OS. *lettian*, OHG. *lezzan* (mod. G. *verletzen*), ON. *letja* to hinder, Goth. *latjan* tr. to delay, f. OTeut. *\*latjan* f. *\*lato-* late, a.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To hinder, prevent, obstruct, stand in the way of. c 888—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *let* 2.) To be checked; to desist, refrain; to omit *to do* (something). *Obs.*

c 1380 WYCLIF *Wks.*, Here may we see openliche hou crist lettede not for loue of petre to reprove hym sharpliche.

*The Erl of Tolous* xx. They lettyd nobyr for wynd nor wedur. .

**Let**, præd. obj. or act.; see cat. E. s. v. *let* II 1.

**Lift** < ON. *lypta* (Sw. *lyfta*) = MGH., mod. G. *lüften* < OTeut. *\*luftjan* f. *\*luft-us*, OE. *lyft*, ON. *lopt* air, sky.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To raise into the air from the ground, or to a higher position: to elevate, heave, hoist. a 1300—cf. NED. s. v. *lift* 1.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *lift* 3.) (1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be lifted, to rise. Said, esp. of a vessel riding on the waves.

a 1400—50 *Alexander*, We þan lift vp a lite & lent him a-gaine.

1526 *Pilgr. Perf.*, So that his body lyfted aboue his hedde foure fote or more.

1757 CAPT. RANDALL in *Naval Chron.*, Although there was a great Sea running, she did not lift.

[1807 COLERIDGE *Lett.*, This most morbid and oppressive weight is gradually lifting up].

[1861 THORNBURY *Turner*, Rough days, when . . . he sat . . . in boats lifting over enormous waves].

1897 R. KIPLING *Captains Courageous*, The big liner rolled and lifted.

(β) Predicated of a floor, etc.: To swell or warp and rise, to be lifted.

[1793 SMEATON *Edystone*, Those four stones . . . should be provided . . . with trenails to hinder them from lifting].

[1874 THEARLE *Naval Archit.*, The great tendency of the deck to lift . . . when these heavy guns are fired over it].

1899 *Daily News*, The concrete platforms . . . lifted when test guns were fired.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. in quasi-passive sense). Predicated of a window, etc.: To admit of being raised.

1844 W. H. MAXWELL *Sports & Adr. Scot.*, The windows would not lift.

**Lodge** < OF. *logier* (mod. F. *loger*), f. *loge*. Recorded in Eng. since a 1225.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To place, deposit; to



throw (something) so that it 'lodges' or is caught in its fall; to cause to lodge or be intercepted. 1606— (2) To throw down on the ground, lay flat. Now only of rain or wind: To beat down crops. 1593— cf NED. s. v. *lodge* 3 g, 5.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (*i. e.* the cessation of motion) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lodge* 8, 10). (1) Of an object in motion: To be arrested or intercepted in fall or progress (NED.); to come (or be brought) to a standstill.

1647 COWLEY *Mistress*, 'Resolved to be Beloved', But if it ought that's soft and yielding hit; It lodges there, and stays in it.

1796 J. MORSE *Amer. Geog.*, In a freshet the flood wood frequently lodges, and in a few minutes the water rises to full banks.

1853 LYTTON *My Novel*, I . . . who might have been shot through the lungs, only the ball lodged in the shoulder.

(2) Of corn: To be lodged, (NED), to come (be brought) into the position implied in being lodged.

1630 LENNARD tr. *Charron's Wisd.*, As corn lodgeth by too great abundance . . .

1759 tr. *Duhamel's Husb.*, It grew so rank that it lodged, and yielded but little grain.

1884 *Harper's Mag.*, The growth had been so heavy that . . . it had 'lodged', or fallen.

**Mesh**, Præd. obj., or act., or stat.; see cat. F. s. v. *mesh* II, 1.

**Overthrow** < *over* + *throw* < OE. *frāwan* = OHG. *drāen* (Mod. G. *drehen*).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To throw (a person or thing) over upon its side or upper surface; to upset, overturn. c 1330—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) To be thrown down, to fall

over or down, tumble. *Obs. Quot.* 1546 = Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (*i. e.* to admit of being overturned, or to have such a quality as to allow it to topple over).

13 . . *Sir Beues*, Tweies a ros and tweies a fel, þe þredde tim ouer-þrew in þe wel; þar inne a lai vp riȝt.

c 1450 *Merlin*, His palfrey stombled on his knees, and he ouerthrew, and brakke hys neke.

1509 HAWES *Past. Pleas.*, Warre ones begon, it is hard to know Who shall abyde and who shall overthrowe.

1546 J. HEYWOOD *Pror.*, The best cart maie ouerthrowe.

**Pain** < OF. *pener*, 3rd sing. pres. *peine* < med. L. *penūre*, f. L. *poena*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To inflict pain upon, cause to suffer. 13 . . (*Cursor Mundi*).—

II. Præd. obj. or perc., (NED. *intr.*). To suffer pain or distress; to suffer (NED.); also, to be subjected to pain. *Obs.*

c 1315 SHOREHAM 38, And seue ȝer thou scholdest, man, O dedlyche senne peyny.

1393 LANGL. *P. Pl. C.*, þe croys . . þat crist . . for mankynde on peynede.

c 1440 *Prompt. Parv.*, Peynyu. or pynyn yn wo or sekenesse.

a 1536 *Calisto & Melib.* in Hazl. *Dodsley*, Where is the patient that so is paining?

**Pay** < F. *payer* to pay, in OF. also to appease, satisfy, please, < L. *pācāre* to appease. Recorded in Eng. since c 1200.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) *To pay off* = *spec.* to pay and discharge the crew of (a ship) upon completion of a commission. 1758— (2) *Naut.* To let out (a rope or chain) by slackening it, to allow or cause to run out.

(Also in reference to something let out by the rope). Now always with *out* or *away*. 1627—. (3) *Naut.* To cause (a ship) to fall to leeward, or fall away from the wind. Now always with *off*. 1627— cf. NED. s. v. *pay* 2 b, 13, 14.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *pay* 2 c, 13 b, 14 b). (1) Of a ship: To be paid off; to pay off the crew, etc.

1891 *Daily News* 27 July. The Thrush . . . will then go to Cowes and afterwards to Chatham, where she will pay off.

(2) *Naut.* Of a ship (or persons onboard a ship): To be paid out, to move away.

1840 R. H. DANA *Bef. Mast*, We paid out on the chain by which we swung.

(3) To fall to leeward, to be paid off.

1669 STURMY *Mariner's Mag.*, The Chase pays away more room.

1825 H. B. GASCOIGNE *Nav. Fame*, By slow degrees her head to Port Pays round.

1836 MARRYAT *Midsh. Essay*, The frigate flew round, describing a circle, as she payed off before the wind.

1899 F. T. BULLEN *Log Sea-waif*, There was a great bustle to get sail off her, but unfortunately she paid off rather smartly.

**Peel**, a northern form of *pill*, < OE. \**pilian* < L. *pilāre* (cf. Luick, *Unters.*, p. 291); in later use, in Standard English, appropriated to the sense 'decorticate' and uses thence derived.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To strip (anything) of its natural integument or outer layer, as an orange, potato, etc.; to remove the peel of. c 1430—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *peel* 4). (1) Præd. obj. or act. Of skin or bark: To become detached, to fall (scale) off.

1712 SWIFT *Tale of Midas*, Against whose torrent while he swims, The golden scurf peels off his limbs. [1860 TYNDALL *Glac.*, Its outer surface appeared to be peeling off like a crust].

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being peeled or barked.

1634 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.*, The rinde or skin peeles off most easily. *Mod.* These oranges peel easily.

**Percolate** < L. *percōlāt-* ppl. stem of *percōlāre* f. *per*-through + *cōlāre* to strain.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To cause (a liquid) to pass through the interstices of a porous body or medium; to strain or filter. Loosely, To cause to trickle or pass through pores or minute apertures, to sift. Now *rare*. 1626—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Said of a liquid: To be filtered, to pass through a porous substance or medium; to filter, ooze, or trickle through.

[1684 BOYLE *Porousn. Anim. & Solid Bod.*, A tradition, that in . . . the West Indies they have . . . large Vessels, wherein they put water to percolate, as it were, through a strainer].

1687 A. LOVELL tr. *Therenot's Trav.*, Through these Jars the Water transpires and percolates into an earthen Vessel underneath.

1878 HUXLEY *Physiogr.*, The water which has percolated through the sandy beds.

**Pine** < OE. *pīnian* f. \**pīn* pine.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To afflict with pain or suffering; to cause to suffer, to torment. *Obs.* c 893—1724; to exhaust or consume (a person, animal, etc.) by suffering of body or mind, esp. by want of food or by wasting disease; to cause to languish, waste away, starve. Now *rare* exc. *dial.* 1297—



II. Præd. obj. or perc. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *pine* 2, 5). To suffer, to undergo pain. *Obs. rare* (quot. c 1177). In later use merged in the sense: To become wasted or feeble, from suffering, (grief, disease, etc.), to languish, waste away (involving only *præd. stat.*). — The passive sense 'to be pined' is not salient now, since the corresp. trans. sense is rare.

[c 1175 *Lamb. Hom.*, Ic walde fein pinian and sitten on forste and on snawe].

c 1440 *Boctus*, 'That he shulde other dayes nyne In prison leve and there pyne.

1548 *LATIMER Ploughers*, So doeth the soule pyne a way for default of gostly meate.

1593 *SHAKS Lucr.*, He ten times pines, that pines beholding food.

**Pitch** < ME. *piche(n)*, north. *pykke(n)*. Of obscure origin and history.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To thrust, drive (a stake, etc.) into the ground; to fix, plant, c 1205—; to cast, throw, or fling forward; to hurl (a spear, etc.), c 1386—; cf. NED. s. v. *pitch* 1, 17.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *pitch*. 18). To fall headlong heavily, to land on one's head, or strike forcibly against something, by being thrown (NED). To be thrown down.

1297 *R. Glouc. (Rolls)*, þo he was illowe an hei, & ne cowþe not alizte: Adoun mid so gret eir to þen erþe he vel & piȝte, þat al to peces he to rod. (MS. B. rof).

1596 *SPENSER F. Q.*, In his fall misfortune min mistooke; For on his head unhappily he pight.

**Play** < OE. *plegian*, corresp. to OS. *plegan*, G *pflegen* with divergent meaning.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: (1) To discharge;

let off (fireworks). 1721— (2) To play or perform on (a musical instrument), to cause (it) to sound. 1727-41— (3) *To play out*: To perform to an end; *fig.* To bring to an end. 1596— cf. NED. s. v. *play* 6 c, 28, 32.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *play* 7 b, 26 b, 32 b). (1) Præd. obj., or act., (or stat.) (NED. *intr.*) Of a firework: To be fired, go off (*fig.* in quot.)

1762 *GOLDSM. Cit. W.*, Yet it [a farce] played off, and bounced, and cracked, and made more sport than a firework.

(2) Præd. obj., or instrum., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of a musical instrument: To be played, to sound. — (Since the instrument does not appear as a direct object until the 18th c., quotes. before that time involve only præd. instr. or act.)

[1660 *WOOD Life*, and the organ playd].

[a 1706 *R. SEMPLE Piper of Kilbarchan*, His pipe play'd trimly to the drum].

1860 *DICKENS Uncom. Trav.*, Hear this instrument that was going to play.

(3) Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or *pass.*) To be played out, performed to an end.

1835 *BROWNING Paracelsus*, As though it mattered how the farce plays out, So it be quickly played!

**Prorogue** < obs. F. *proroguer* (mod. F. *proroger*) < L. *prōrogāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To discontinue the meetings of (an assembly; originally and chiefly in reference to the British Parliament). 1455—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* in *pass.* sense). To be prorogued, to discontinue its meetings.

1896 LD. LONDONDERRY in *Westm. Gaz.*, No opportunity was afforded . . . of discussing the question before Parliament prorogued.

**Pull**, præd. obj. or act.: see cat. F. s. v. *pull* II 2.

**Push** < F. *pousser*, with palatalization of *s*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To exert force upon or against (a body) so as to move it away. a 1300—

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *absol.* s. v. *push* 1 h.) Of a boat: To be pushed off, to shove off.

1836 W. IRVING *Astoria*, As M'Kenzie's canoes were about to push off.

1839 THIRLWALL *Greece*, The two Athenian galleys suddenly pushed out.

**Reflect** < OF. *reflector* (14th c.) or L. *reflectere*. Recorded in Eng. 1412—20 in sense 'to turn or direct in a certain course'.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: Of bodies or surfaces: To turn, throw, or cast back (beams, rays, or light). 1573— Of mirrors or other polished surfaces: To mirror. 1592 . cf. NED. s. v. *reflect* 5, 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reflect* 8 a, c.) (1) Præd. obj. or act. Of beams or rays of light: To be reflected, to return, turn back after striking or falling upon a surface. *Obs.* [Also other intr. senses may appear passival.]

1530 PALSGR., I can nat abyde here, the sonne beames reflecte so sore.

1624 QUARLES *Sion's Sonn.*, From Thee Reflect those rayes, that haue enligtned mee.

1703 MOXON *Mech. Exerc.*, When the Sun Shines upon the Glass at Nodus, its Beames shall reflect upon the Hour of the Day.

*Sundén*: Pred. categ. and pred. change in English.

(2) Præd. obj. To appear imagined or mirrored, to be reflected.

1819 KEATS *Lamia*, A silver lamp whose phosphor glow Reflected in the slabbed steps below.

1821 CLARE *Vill. Minstr.*, Brooks curl o'er their sandy bed; On whose tide the clouds reflect.

**Rock** < Late OE. *roccian* app. f. the Teutonic stem *\*ruk-*, cf. NED.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To move (a child) gently to and fro in a cradle, a 1100—; to cause to sway to and fro or from side to side, 1297—. cf. NED. s. v. *rock* 1, 5.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) To sway to and fro under some impact or stress; to move or swing from side to side. This intr. sense is recorded since the year 1398. An alternative converted sense *i. e.* to be rocked, is salient in the following quotation.

1530 PALSgrave, I love nat to lye in his house, for if there be any wynde styrring, one shall rocke to and fro in his bedde.

**Row**, præd. obj. or act.: see cat. F. s. v. *Row* II 1.

**Ruff** < *ruff* sb. Sc.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To beat a ruff or ruffle upon (a drum). 1827.

II. Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of a drum: To be thus beaten, to sound (when beaten).

1828 MOIR *Mansie Wauch*, The drum ruffed, and off set four of them.

**Sift** < OE *siftan* = LG *siften*, dial. also *sichten*, G. *sichten*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cause the finer parts to pass through or as through a sieve: to bolt.



II. Præd. obj. or act. To be sifted; to pass or fall loosely or scatteringly, as if through the meshes of a sieve.

*Mod.* The dust (the snow) sifted through the crevices. The light sifts from the clouds. (Cent. Dic.)

**Steer** < OE. *stēoran*, W.Sax. *stieran* = OHG. *stiuran*, Mod. G. *steuern*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To direct or govern (a ship). OE. —

II. Præd. obj.

(1) Præd. obj. or act. Of a ship: To be steered; to sail in a specified direction.

*Mod.* The ship steers southward. (Cent. Dic.)

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being steered.

*Mod.* The vessel steers with ease (Cent. Dic.)

**Unload** < *un-* + *load* vb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To take the load from, discharge of a load or cargo.

II. Præd. obj. or act. To be unloaded, to discharge a cargo.

MACAULAY *Hist. Engl.* XVIII. No ship could unload in any bay or estuary which he [the king] had not declared to be a port.

### D. Predications of direct object or of existence and relation.

**Adrench**, *obs.* < OE. *ādrencean*, causal deriv. of OE. *drincan* drink.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To submerge, to drown, a 1000—1494; also to give to drink, 1340.

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or exist. (NED. *intr.* by omission of refl. pron.) To be drowned, or drown; to perish in the water.

1205 LAYAMON, *Ferde* into ane watere þer inne he adronc. (1250 *a-dreint*).

c. 1230 *Ancren Ricle*, þer adreinte Pharaon, & hore voan alle.

1377 LAGLE. *P. Pl. B.* And men þat maden it amydde þe flode adreynten.

**Aquench**, *obs.* < OE. *ācwencan* causal deriv. of OE. *ācwincan* be extinguished.

I. Præd. act. Note the original sense: To quench, extinguish, put out (fire, light, life). c 1000—1482.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*). Of fire: To become extinguished, go out.

c 1230 *Ancr. R.*, þe Holi Gostes fur acwenched, hwon þe brondes . . beod i-sundred.

c 1305 *St. Dunstan* 6 in *E. E. P.*, Here liȝt aqueinte oueral.

1485 CAXTON *Trevisa's Higden*, The fyre of the sacrefyre acquenched.

**Blow**, præd. obj. or exist.: see cat. C. s. v. *blow* II 3.

**Break**, præd. obj., or exist., or act.; see cat. C. s. v. *break* II 2.

**Breed** < OE. *brēdan* = OHG. *bruoten* < OTeut. *brōdjan* f. *brōdō-*, warmth, fostering heat.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Note the trans. senses: To bring (offspring) into being, to hatch (young birds) from the egg, c 1000—; to give rise to, engender, develop, produce, c 1200— cf. NED. s. v. *breed* 1, 6.

II. Præd. obj. (cf NED. s. v. *breed* 12 a, b.) (1) Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To come into being or existence, as a continued process; to be engendered or produced. (Also predicated of vegetables, animal structures and mineral products. cf. NED. s. v. *breed* 12 c, d). In quot 1626 intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.

c 1200 *Trin Coll. Hom.*, Wu-remes breden in wilderne.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, His blod on vs be, and on þaim þat of vs sal brede.

c 1320 *Anticrist*, Nu sal yee her . . Hu þat anticrist sal brede.

c 1440 *York Myst.*, Woo worthe þe wombe þat I bredde ynne.

1579 Gosson *Sch. Abuse*, The worme that breeds within it.

1626 Bacon *Sylva*, Fleas breed principally of Straw or Mats, etc.



(2) **Præd. obj.** (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Of eggs: To be hatched.

1661 LOVELL *Hist. Anim. & Min.*,  
They lay egg<sup>s</sup>, which breed.

**Brew** < OE. *brēowan* = OHG. *briuwan*, Sw. *brygga*, etc.

I. **Præd. act.** Note the trans. senses: Properly: To make (ale, beer, and the like) by infusion, boiling, and fermentation, c. 893—; *fig.* to concoct, contrive, prepare, bring about, cause, (evil, trouble, designs, projects, natural phenomena, etc.), c. 1250—. cf. NED. s. v. *brew* 1, 4.

II. **Præd. obj. or exist.** (NED. *intr.* s. v. *brew* 5.) To be in preparation, to be in process of mixing, concocting, production, etc.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, Bituix þe ald law and þe new How crist birth bigan to brew.

c 1460 *Tourneley Myst.*, Your baille now brewys.

1599 *Mirr. Mag.*, Worcester. Doubtes that dayly brue.

[1741 RICHARDSON *Pamela*, Satisfied there is mischief brewing.]

[1860 HOLLAND *Miss Gilbert*, A storm was brewing in the domestic sky.]

**Class** < *class* sb. recorded in Engl. since 1656, < Fr. *classe* < L. *classis*; cf. F. *classer*.

I. **Præd. act. or stat.** Note the trans. sense: To place in a class, to consider (a person, etc.) to belong to a certain class or group. 1776—

II. **Præd. obj. or subsumpt.** (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To fall into a particular class or division: to rank, to be classed.

1816 KEATINGE *Trav.*, This fine country . . . whose people class morally so high in the scale of mankind.

1865 BUSHNELL *Vicar Sacrif.*, Those who class as believers.

**Consume**, **præd. obj.**, or **stat.**, or **exist.**; see cat. B. s. v. *consume* II.

**Deduce** < L. *dēdūcere* to lead down, derive, in med. L. to infer logically.

I. **Præd. act. or stat.** Note the trans. sense: To draw or obtain from some source; to derive; to consider (a thing) to spring from. Now somewhat *rare*. 1565— cf. NED. s. v. *deduce* 3.

II. **Præd. obj. or orig.** (NED. *intr.*) To be derived, to arise, to have its derivation from. *rare*.

1866 J. B. ROSE tr. *Ovid's Fasti*. The former notion of a bird . . . may deduce from the eastern word Gaphi.

1889 COURTNEY *Mill*, The very first principles from which it deduces, are so little axiomatic that, etc.

**Depart**, **præd. obj. or exist.**; see cat. A s. v. *depart* II 2.

**Derive** < F. *dériver* < L. *dērivāre* to lead or draw off (water or liquid), to divert, derive (words).

I. **Præd. act. or stat.** Note the trans. sense: To trace the origin of (a word) from its etymological source, to consider (a word) to come as a derivative from. 1559—; cf. NED. s. v. *derive* 10 b.

II. **Præd. obj. or orig.** (NED. *intr.* s. v. *derive* 13.) Of a word: To originate, come as a derivative (from its root or primitive); to be derived.

1794 MRS. PROZZI *Synon.*, *Indignant* meantime derives from a higher stock.

1804 W. TAYLOR in *Ann. Rev.*, Upholsterer is declared against as a corruption. Whence does it derive?

1866 J. B. ROSE *Virg. Ecl. & Georg.*, The words *Comus* and *Encomium* derive thence.

**Discuss** < L. *discuss-*, ppl. stem of *discutĕre* to dash or shake to pieces, agitate, disperse, dispel, drive away; in late L. and Romanic, to discuss, investigate.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To drive away, dispel, disperse, scatter; *lit.* and *fig.* *Obs.* c 1374—1651. *Med.* To dissipate, dispel, or disperse (humours, tumours, or obstructions). *arch.* 1533—1804.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *discuss* 2 b.) To disperse, pass away, to be discussed. *Obs.*

1758 J. S. *Le Dran's Observ. Surg.*, If the Erysipelas does not discuss, the Membrane falls into Putrefaction.

**Dislimn** < *dis* + *limn*, v.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To obliterate the outlines of (anything limned); to efface, blot out. 1606—

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To become effaced, to vanish.

1832--4 DE QUINCEY *Caesars*, The nocturnal pageant has dislimned and vanished.

1867 *Contemp. Rev.*, The primitive vision dislimns, decomposes, and vanishes away.

**Dispel** < L. *dispellĕre* to drive asunder, scatter.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To drive away in different directions or in scattered order; to disperse by force, dissipate (*e. g.* clouds, darkness, doubts, fears, etc.). a 1631—

II. Præd. obj., (or stat., or act.), or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To become dissipated or scattered, as a cloud or the like (NED); to be brought, to come into a state of dissolution, to pass away.

1643 *Kingdomes Wkly Intellig.*, [He] still hangs as a cloud over P<sup>l</sup>im<sup>o</sup>mouth, but it dispells every day.

1840 *Blackw. Mag.*, Conventions . . in constant succession bubble up, form, and dispel.

**Disperse** < F. *disperser* f. *dispers* < L. *dispersus* pa. pple. of *dispergĕre* to scatter, f. *spargĕre* to sprinkle, strew.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: (1) To cause to separate in different directions; to throw or drive about in all directions, to scatter; to rout. 1450— (2) To dissipate; to remove, dispel, cause to disappear (vapours, humours, troubles, etc.) 1563—; cf. NED. s. v. *disperse* 1, 7.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *disperse* 1 b, 7 b.)

(1) Præd. obj. or act. To be driven or fly asunder.

1665 HOOKE *Microgr.*, These [Rupert's drops] dispersed every way so violently, that some of them pierced my skin.

(2) Præd. obj., (or stat., or act.), or exist. To become dissipated (NED); to be brought, to come into a state of dissolution, to pass away.

1591 SHAKS. I *Henr. IV.*, Glory is like a Circle in the Water, Which neuer ceaseth to enlarge it selfe, Till by broad spreading, it disperse to naught.

1816 KEATINGE *Trav.*, At length the thick cloud of dust dispersed.

1887 BOWEN *Verg. Eclog.*, Hardly . . had the night's chill shadow dispersed.

**Dissipate**, (1) præd. obj., or stat., or exist. (2) præd. obj. or exist.; see cat. C. s. v. *dissipate* II 2, 3.

**Drench** < OE. *drencan* < OTeut. \**drankjan*, causal derivative of OE. *drincan*.

II. Præd. act. or caus.: Note the trans. senses: To make to drink, to administer drink to,



c 1000 ; to submerge in water; to drown. *Obs.* c 1200--1630.

II. Præd. obj., or stat., or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To be drenched, to be drowned, to perish by drowning. *Obs.*

1297 R. GLOUC., þe se biset ow al a bouthe . . . 3e mowe . . . drenche.

c 1485 *Digby Myst.*, þat in þis flod we drench natl.

a 1547 SURREY in *Tottell's Misc.*, Alas, now drencheth my swete fo.

1570 ARP. PARKER *Corr.*, I was like to have drenched in the midst of the Thames,

*fig.* c. 1374 CHAUCER *Troilus*, þough ye hope in salte teris drenche.

c. 1385—*L. G. W.* 1919 *Ariadne*. And let hire drenche in sorwe & in distresse.

**Engender** < F. *engendrer* < L. *ingenerāre*.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Note the trans. senses: (1) Of the male parent: To beget. Const. *on, of*. Now only *rhet.* or *fig.* c 1325—. Of the female parent: To conceive, bear. *Obs.* 1340--1683. Of both parents, also vaguely of ancestors, and *transf.* of countries, situations, conditions, etc.: To produce, give existence to (living beings). In *passive*, to be produced, begotten; to be descended. 1393— (2) Of natural processes: (a) To produce, develop, generate (plants, minerals, material substances). *Obs.* c 1386—1775. (b) To give rise to, produce (a state of things, a disease, force, quality, feeling, etc.) 1340—. cf NED. s. v. *engender* 1, 2, 3, 5.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *engender* 6). *Obs.*

(1) Of living beings: To be engendered, to originate. *Obs.*

1578 LYTE *Dodoens*, Fleas will not come or ingender where it (Flea-bane) is layed.

a 1618 RALEIGH *Instruct. Sonne*, As the worm that engendereth in the Kernel of the Nut.

1786 tr. *Beckford's Vathek*, Bats will engender in thy belly.

(2) Of inorganic substances: To be engendered, to originate.

1567 MAPLET *Gr. Forest*, The Cristall . . . engendreth not so much of the waters coldenesse.

1651 HOWELL *Venice*, An illfavoured black cloud began to engender against her in the Levant.

a 1700 DRYDEN, Thick clouds are spread, and storms engender there.

1726 LEONI *Alberti's Archit.*, Damp that may happen to engender or gather under ground.

(3) Of maladies or states: To be engendered, to originate.

c 1386 CHAUCER *Prol.*, He knew the cause of every maladye . . . And where thei engendrid.

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.*, Thus ther engendred hatred dayly bytwene Fraunce and Flaunders.

[1865 DRAPER *Intell. Devel. Europe*, In Italy . . . a dismal disbelief was silently engendering.]

**Enkindle**, præd. obj. or exist.: see cat. B. s. v. *enkindle* II quot. 1747.

**Evolve** < L. *ēvolcĕre* to roll out, unroll.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Note the trans. senses: To unfold, unroll (something that is wrapped up); to open out, expand. Almost always *fig.* a 1641— to disclose gradually to view, 1664—. To bring out (what exists implicitly or potentially) 1831—; also predicated of circumstances, or processes: to give rise to, produce by way of natural consequence. 1851—. To develop by natural processes from a more rudimentary to a more highly organized condition (chiefly in *pass.* without reference to an agent). 1832—; cf NED. s. v. *evolve* 1, 2, 5, 6, 7.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *evolve* 8). (1) Præd.

obj. or præd. obj. & attrib. To be unfolded, evolved; to admit of being seen, to come gradually into view.

1800 A. CARLYLE *Autobiog.*, The excellence of that character which gradually evolved on his admiring countrymen.

(2) Præd. obj. or exist. To be evolved, to arise.

1799 S. TURNER *Anglo-Sax.*, When great political exigencies evolve.. they are usually as much distinguished by the rise of sublime characters?

(3) Præd. obj. or orig. To be evolved, to arise (from something) by way of natural or logical consequence.

1863 W. PHILLIPS *Speeches*, Everything else will evolve from it.

1879 H. SPENCER *Data of Ethics*, How does mechanical science evolve from those experiences?

(4) Præd. obj. or stat. To be developed by 'evolution'.

1881 *Student*. A tree evolves in obedience to his [God's] laws.

**Extinguish** < L. *ex(s)tinguere* f. *ex-* intensive < *stinguere* to quench.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To put out, quench (fire, light, anything burning or shining). 1551— (2) *transf.* and *fig.* To quench, (hopes, passions, strife, life, mental faculties, etc.), 1545—; to put a total end to, blot out of existence, 1555—; cf. NED. s. v. *extinguish* 1, 2 & 3.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* in various senses: 'To die out. Quot. 1837 is not strictly an example of this use, but of the idiomatic occas. use of a trans. vb. in passive sense'; s. v. *extinguish* 4.)

(1) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (or else præd. obj. or exist.) (in a *fig.* use). Of a

fire (*lit.* or *fig.*): To admit of being extinguished; to have the quality of (not) being extinguished or ceasing burning; to be extinguished. to cease burning. In quot. *fig.*

1837 CARLYLE *Fr. Rev.*, This conflagration of the South-East will abate . . . extinguish it will not, till the fuel be all done.

(2) Præd. obj. or exist. Of other things than fire: To be extinguished (in sense I 2); to cease existing; to die out. Earliest quot. in NED. is f. 1599 (but it has scarcely a converted sense).

1742 HUME *Ess. Stoic.*, His acridity suddenly extinguishes.

**Extirp**, *obs.* or *arch.* < F. *extirper* < L. *ex(s)tirpāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To root up (plants). 1490—; To root out, exterminate (a family, sect, or nation). 1547—

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To die out, root and all (NED.); to be extirpated. In quot. = to be of such a nature that it should be extirpated = præd. obj. & attrib.

1606 G. W(OCOCKE) tr. *Justin's Hist.*, They should be vtterly rooted out, and the posteritye of their name extirp.

**Feel**, præd. obj. or depend.; see cat. B. s. v. *feel* II quotes. 1768 1862.

**Form** < OF *fourmer* (Fr. *former*) < L. *formāre*, f. *forma* form, sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To construct, frame; to make, bring into existence, produce. c 1300— (2) *Milit.* and *Naval.* To draw up (troops, etc.) in order. Also with *up*. (c 1330), 1816— cf. NED. s. v. *form*. 4, 8.



II. Præd. obj. (cf NED. s. v. *form*. 4 d, 8 b.)

(1) Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be formed, to be brought, to come into existence.

1801 SOUTHEY *Thalaba*, Three years no cloud had form'd.

1830 TENNYSON *Sea-Fairies*, The rainbow forms and flies on the land Over the islands free.

1893 *Law Times*, A sheet of ice had formed in front of Proctor's house.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of troops, ships, etc.: To be arranged, to arrange themselves in or assume some particular disposition or formation. Also with *up*.

1722 DE FOE *Col. Jack*, Our army formed immediately.

1803 LAKE in OWEN *Wellesley's Desp.*, The infantry formed in two columns.

**Found** < F. *fonder* < L. *fundāre* f. *fundus* bottom, foundation.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To set or establish (something immaterial) on a firm basis; to base, ground. a 1300— cf NED. s. v. *found* 4.

II. Præd. obj. or depend. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be based (*on, upon*). To have as basis, to be dependent on. Quot. 1837 = to be of such a nature that it must be founded on or have as basis = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. Chiefly Sc.

1836-7 SIR W. HAMILTON *Metaph.*, The legitimacy of every synthesis is . . . dependent on the legitimacy of the analysis which it presupposes, and on which it founds.

1837 CARLYLE *Fr. Rev.*, All Delineation . . . must either found on Belief and provable Fact, or have no foundation at all.

1856 DOVE *Logic Chr. Faith*, All that course of argumentation which

founds on the occurrences of the outward World.

**Gender** < OF. *gendrer*, *genrer* < L. *generāre* to beget.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Note the trans. sense: To produce by natural processes, generate (heat, odours, etc.) *Obs.* 1398—1653; to give rise to, bring about, produce, engender (a feeling, state, etc.). *arch.* c. 1450—1856.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To be produced, come into being. *Obs.*

1722 SEWELL *Hist. Quakers*, Though darkness gather together on a heap and tempests gender.

**Hatch** præd. obj. or exist.; see cat. E. s. v. *hatch* II 1, a.

**Hoard** < OE. *hordian* f. *hord*, hoard sb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To amass and put away (anything valuable) for preservation, security, or future use; to treasure *up*. c 1000 —; *fig.* and *transf.* To keep in store, cherish, treasure up, conceal (*e. g.* in the heart). 1340 —

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* in reflexive or passive sense). To lie treasured up, lie hid; to be hoarded. *Obs. rare.*

1567 TURBERV. *Epit. & Sonnet*, In common weales what beares a greater sway Than hidden hate that hoordes in haughtie brest?

**Identify** < late L. *identificāre*; of F. *identifier*.

I. Præd. act. or stat. Note the trans. sense: To make identical (with) in thought or in reality; to consider, regard, or treat as the same. 1644—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*)

(1) Præd. obj. or ident. To be made, become, or prove to be the same. *Obs.*

1683 E. HOOKER *Pref. Ep. Por-dage's Mystic Div.*, Only as . . . conjoined with our affections, which com-mix, coincide, and as it were iden-tifi with that grandest and Divinest Myserie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh.

1790 BURKE *Fr. Rev.*, An en-lightened self-interest, which . . . they tell us, will identify, with an interest more enlarged and publick.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. ident. To admit of being identified; to be one with. *Obs.*

a 1834 LAMB *Let. to Coleridge*, Your taste and mine do not always exactly identify.

**Join**, præd. obj. or exist.; see cat. A. s. v. *join* II 2.

**Ken**, *obs.* < OE. *cennan* < W. Germ. \**kannjan* = OS. *kennian*, OHG. (*ki*)*chennan*. Related to L *gignĕre*.

I. Præd. act. or orig. To generate, engender, beget; to con-ceive; to give birth to. c. 1000—c. 1460

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To be conceived or born, to come into existence. Of eggs: To be hatched out. (Præd. obj.).

13 . . . *E. E. Allit. P.* Bot much clener watz hir corse, God kynned þerinne.

13 . . . *St. Erkenwolde*, Before þat kynned þour Criste by cristene acounte A þousande þere.

1399 LASEL *Rich. Redeles*, [She] houeth the eyren . . . And with hir corps keuereth hem till þat þey kenne.

**Kindle**, now *dial.* proximate etymology uncertain.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Trans.: Of a female animal: To bring forth, give birth to (young). Also *fig.* c. 1220—1725.

II. Præd. obj. or orig. (NED. *intr.*) To be born, to ori-ginate from. *Obs. rare.*

a 1400—50 *Alexander*, þat euer he kyndild [*Dubl. MS.* come] of his kynde kend he bot litill.

**Kittle**, now *Sc.* and *North. dial.*; perh. a back-formation from *kitling*, sb.

I. Præd. act. or orig. Trans.: To kitten, to bring forth kittens. 1530—

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To be engendered or produced; to come into being.

1823 GALT *Entail*, I would be nane surprised if something had kittled between Jamie, and a Highland lassie.

1824 SCOTT *St. Ronan's*, before ony of them were born, or ony sic vapouring fancies kittled in their cracked brains.

**New**, *obs.* < OE. *nūcian* f. *nīwe* new, a.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To renew, to make new, a 900—

II. Præd. obj., or exist. (quots. 1300, 13 . . .), or attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be brought, to come into existence again, to be made, to become, fresh (new) again.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, Now me neus al mi wa.

13 . . . *Propr. Sanct.* (in Herrig *Archiv* LXXXI. 83). But greine of whete in eorþe dye, hit schal not newe.

c 1400 tr. *Secreta Secret.*, *Glor. Lordsh.*, Veyr ys hoot and moyst . . . And þerynne newys þe blood.

a 1500 *Chaucer's Dreame*, Euery day her beaute newed.

**Number** < OF. *nombrer* < L. *numerāre*.

I. Præd. act. or stat. Note the trans. senses: (1) To count, to ascertain the number of (individ-ual things or persons). a 1297—(2) To count, reckon, or class among certain persons or things. Chiefly const. *among*, *in*, or *with*. 1382—cf NED. s. v. *number* 1, 4.



II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj. or subsump. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *number* 4 b). To rank or be included *with* (others).

1864 TENNYSON *Aylmer's Field*, And tho' thou numberest with the followers Of One who cried, 'Leave all and follow me'.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *trans.* and (quot. 1833) *intr.* s. v. *number* 7). To turn out (so and so many) when numbered, to be so and so many in number, to be equal in number *with*.

1842 TENNYSON *Talking Oak*, When The maiden blossoms of her teens Could number five from ten.

1867 THIRLWALL *Rem.*, It would show not only that the Anglican Communion numbered so many Bishops.

1883 *Manch. Guard.*, The crew and passengers numbered 33.

1833 TENNYSON *Two Voices*, A wife . . . Whose troubles number with his days.

**Overshake**, *obs.* < *over* + *shake* < OE. *scacan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To shake off or away; to dispel. c 1330—1530.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To become (to be) shaken off, pass away.

[1412—20 LYDG. *Chron. Troy*, Wherefore I rede to let ouershake All heuynesse.]

a 1415 LYDG. *Temple of Glas*, Alas when wil þis turment ouershake?

**Preserve** < F. *préservier* < late L. *præservāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To keep safe from harm or injury, 1375—; to keep from physical or chemical change, 1584—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *preserve* 3 c). (1) Præd. obj. or exist. To remain without physical or chemical change (NED), to be preserved. In quot.

intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib.

1585 T. WASHINGTON tr. *Nicholay's Voy.*, The snow . . . preserveth all the whole Sommer in hys accustomed nature and coldnesse without melting.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To endure or 'stand' preserving, to admit of being preserved; to have the quality of 'keeping'.

1748 *Anson's Voy.*, The water . . . is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames.

**Purge** < OF. *purg(i)er*, < L. *purgāre* to cleanse.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To remove by some cleansing or purifying process or operation; to clear *away, off, out*. a 1340—

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *purge* 3 b.) To be purged off, to disappear.

1805 SOUTHEY *Lett. to C. W. W.*, *Wynne in Life* (1850). This sort of leaven soon purges off.

**Put** < late OE. *putian* (cf H. Mutschmann North-East. Sc. Dial., 1909, 54.)

II. Præd. act. Note the trans. expression 'to put forth' (buds or leaves), predicated of a plant. 1530 — cf. NED. s. v. *put* 42 g.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *put* 42 g (b)). Of buds, leaves, etc.: To be put forth, to sprout out, shoot out, come out.

1592 SHAKS. *Ven. & Ad.*, Who plucks the bud before one leafe put forth?

1682 GREECH *Lucretius*, When flowers put forth, and budding branches shoot.

**Quench** < OE. *\*cwencan*. (cf *acwencan* aquench) < OTeut. *\*kwank-jan*, causative form corresponding

to the strong vb. *cwincan* (*ācwincan*) to go out, be extinguished.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put out, extinguish (fire, flame, or light, *lit.* or *fig.*). a 1200—

II. Præd. obj., or exist. (if 'fire' is the subject), or stat. (if a combustible is the subj.), or act. (if a luminary is the subject) (NED. *intr.*) Of fire, a burning thing, etc.: To be extinguished, to go out, to cease to burn or shine. *Obs.* Also *fig.* (quots. see NED. s. v. *quench*, 6 b, c.)

c 1290 *S. Eng. Leg.*, Heore liȝt queincte ouer-al.

c 1386 CHAUCER *Knt.'s T.*, Right anon on of the fires queinte . . And as it queinte, it made a whisteling.

1460 *Lybeaus Disc.*, The torches that brende bryght Quenched anon ryght.

1623 FLETCHER *Bloody Brother*, Like a false star that quenches as it glides.

**Redouble** < F. *redoubler* f. *re-* + *doubler*. Earliest quot. in Engl. c 1477 (Caxton).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To repeat (a sound); to return, reproduce, re-echo. *Obs.* a 1542—1679.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.*) To be redoubled; to re-echo, resound.

1725 POPE *Odys.*, Loud shrieks the virgin train, And the loud shriek redoubles from the main.

[1817 SHELLEY *Rev. Islam*, A stunning clang of massive bolts redoubling Beneath the deep.]

**Relight** < *re-* + *light* vb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To illumine, kindle, or ignite again. 1645—

II. Præd. obj., or stat. (in *lit.* sense), or exist. (in *fig.* sense). (NED. *intr.*) To take fire again, rekindle (NED); to be relighted, to begin to burn again; to originate again.

1849 G. BRONTE *Shirley*, The desire . . relit suddenly, and glowed warm in her heart.

c 1865 J. WYLDE in *Circ. Sc.*, It will immediately relight.

**Reserve** < OF. *reserver* < L. *reservāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To keep for future use or enjoyment, 1340—; to keep in store; to deposit for preservation. *Obs.* 1480—1692; to keep, preserve (things liable to decay or destruction). *Obs.* 1555—1750. cf. NED. s. v. *reserve* 1, 9, 9 b.

II. Præd. obj. or exist. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reserre* 9 c). To remain, to continue in existence, or in a certain state; to be reserved. Quot. 1632=præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being preserved, to have the quality of remaining in a certain condition). *Obs.*

1529 MORE *Dyaloge* II. Yf theyr opinions hadde any where continuallye endured there woulde theyr bokes haue continually reserved.

1632 LITHGOW *Trav.*, The water of Jordan . . will reserue vnspoiled, both moneths and yeares.

1641 H. L'ESTRANGE *God's Sabbath*, Because it [manna] tainted against nature, and miraculously reserved upon other dayes.

**Wear**, præd. obj. or exist.; see cat. F. s. v. *wear* II 1. quot. 1834.



## E. Predications of direct object.

**Bake** < OE. *bacan* = OHG. *bachan*, ON. *baka*, (Sw. *baka*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To cook by dry heat acting by conduction, and not by radiation; primarily used of preparing bread, then of potatoes, apples, the flesh of animals, c 1000—; to harden by heat, 1388— cf. NED. s. v. *bake* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *bake* 5).

(1) Præd. obj. To undergo the process of baking, to be baked. In last quot. = to be rendered, to become firm or hard with heat. = præd. obj. or stat.

1605 SHAKS. *Macb.*, Fillet of a Fenny Snake, In the Cauldron boyle and bake.

1755 in JOHNSON.

*Mod.* How the London Clay bakes in the sun.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being baked (well, etc.)

*Mod.* These apples do not bake well.

**Besmear** < OE. *besmierian* (-g-, -a-) < OTeut. *smierjan* < *smiero-*, OE. *smc(o)ru* ointment, grease.

II. Præd. act. Trans.: To smear over or about; to cover the surface generally or largely *with* any greasy, viscous, or sticky substance; to bedaub. Also *fig.* 1050—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be besmeared. *Obs. rare.*

1587 TURBERV. *Lower confess.* If face besmeare with often streames.

**Boil** < OF. *boillir*, mod. Fr. *bouillir* < L. *bullire* to form bubbles, to boil.

I. Præd. act. Note the senses: (1) *intr.*: Of a liquid: To bubble up in agitation through the action of heat, a 1225— (2) *trans.*: To cause (a liquid) to bubble with heat, to bring to the boiling point, c 1420—; to subject (food, etc.) to heat in boiling water, to cook (solid articles) in this way, c 1325— cf. NED. s. v. *boil* 1, 4, 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *boil* 4 b.). To be boiled, to undergo the action produced by immersion in boiling liquid. Quot. 1845 = præd. obj. & attrib. (*i. e.* to have such a quality that it should be the object of a specified boiling).

1605 SHAKS. *Macb.*, Fillet of a Fenny Snake, In the Cauldron boyle and bake.

1845 E. ACTON *Cookery*. The fruit should be finely flavoured, and should boil easily.

**Brandish** < Fr. *brandiss-* lengthened stem of Fr. *brandir* f. Teut. *brand* «sword», brand.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To flourish, wave about (a sword, spear, etc.). Also *fig.* c. 1325—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Of a sword: to be brandished.

a 1649 DRUMM. of HAWTH. *Hist. Scot.*, Your Swords . . . should brandish to set him on his Royall throne.

[1800 SCOTT *Lady of L.* VI. xviii. Above the tide, each broadsword bright was brandishing like beam of light.]

**Breed**, præd. obj.: see cat. D. s. v. *breed* II 2

**Broil**, prob. f. OF. *bruillir* broil, burn, *intr.*

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To burn, to char with fire. *Obs.* 1375—1568; *spec.* To cook (meat), to grill. c. 1386—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*) To be subjected to great heat. (Mainly in *to be broiling*).

[1613 SHAKS. *Hen. VIII*, God saue you Sir, Where haue you bin broiling?]

1642 H. MORE *Song of Soul*, One of a multitude of myriads Shall not be sav'd but broyl in scorching wo?

**Burn**, the modern verb represents two earlier verbs, *viz.* (1) the intrans. strong vb. OE. *brinnan*, *be(o)rnan*, to be in a state of combustion; (2) the derived factitive weak vb. OE. (*brennan*), *bærnan* < OTeut. \**brannjan*, (Goth. *brannjan*), to consume by fire. *Beornan* and *bærnan* were still distinct in OE. but ran together early in the ME. period, the different types being used indiscriminately as to sense, though with dialectal preferences. cf NED. s. v. *burn*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To consume by fire, OE.—: to affect by burning, 1519— *transf.* a 1300— (in sense representing OE. *bærnan*). cf NED. s. v. *burn* II. 13 a, d.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *burn* 5, 6). (1) To suffer destruction, injury, change of structure or properties from contact with fire; to be consumed by fire, to be affected by burning.

a 1225 *Ancr. R.*, Hwo her euer fur wiðinnen hire þet heo ne bernde?

c 1440 *Anc. Cookery in Househ. Ord.*, Boyle hom togedur with esy fire, that it brenne not.

1590 SHAKS. *Com. Err.*, The Capon burnes, the Pig fals from the spit.

1709 *Brit. Apollo*, The Pudding burnt unto the Pot.

1830 M. DONOVAN *Dom. Econ.*, The meat would inevitably burn, and become hard and tasteless.

(b) *Transf.* Of crops, etc.: To be withered by the sun's heat. Also = præd. stat. *Obs.*

1523 FITZHERR. *Husb.*, If drye wether come, it [the grass] wyll drye and burn vpon the ground, and waste away.

1750 ELLIS *Mod. Husbandm.*, The Crop (of turnips) would set, or what we call *burn* or *spoil*, if it was not houghed in due Time.

(2) To suffer death by fire. Now somewhat *arch.*, the usual modern expression being *to be burnt*.

1600 FAIRFAX *Tasso*, With him content Was she to live, that would with her haue bren.

c 1604 J. C. in *Shaks. C. Praise*, They should all burne for their wilde heresie.

**Cast** < ON. *kasta* to cast, throw.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) Generally: To throw. c 1230—; (2) To throw forth (a net, fishing line, hook, an anchor, etc.), a 1300— to throw or cause, to fall (light, shadow, etc.) *on* or *over* any object, or in some particular direction: now chiefly in *cast a shadow (on)*, a 1300—, cf NED. s. v. *cast* 1, 6, 9.



II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *cast* 5 b, 6 c, 9 b). (1) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To be thrown, to throw itself, to wash. *Obs.*

c 1330 *St. Brandan*, Ther-over [A . . rock] the see caste i-lome.

(2) Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) (a) Of an anchor: To be cast. In quot. perh. = to have been cast, to lie = præd. attrib.

1646 H. LAURENCE *Comm. Angels*. Our anchor casts deepe in heaven.

(β) Of light, shadow: To be thrown or caused to fall. *Obs.*

[1692 in *Capt. Smith's Seaman's Gram.*, I . . find . . the Shadow of the top if the Tower to cast at D.]

1704 WORLIDGE *Dict. Rust.* et *Urb.* The light will cast a great distance before you very broad.

**Concoct** < L. *concoct*-ppl. stem of *concoquere* to boil together, digest, ripen.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To prepare by the action of heat, to boil, cook, bake, etc. *lit.* and *fig.* *Obs.* 1607—1673 (2). In obs. *Physical science*: To bring (metals, minerals, etc.) to their perfect or mature state by heat; to 'maturate'. *Obs.* 1555—1837

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *concoct* 2 b). To be concocted (in sense I 2). To pass (by concoction) *into*. In quot. in-temp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib.

1677 HALE *Prim. Orig. Man.* Rocks . . which from a sandy kind of Earth gradually concoct into Freestone.

**Contain** < OF. *contenir* (3rd. pers. pres. subj. Norman *contene*, *-teigne*) < L. *continere* to hold together, keep together, comprehend, contain.

I. Præd. attrib. Note the trans. sense: To have in it, to hold,

1382—; To have as part (or the whole) of its contents or substance to comprise, include. 1340— *e. g.* c 1400 MAUNDEV. In þis rewme of Surry er many rewmes contende. cf. NED. s. v. *contain* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *contain* 16). To be situated; to be contained in. *Obs.*

1528 LYNDSEY *Dream*, Asia contenis in the Orient.

1563 HYLL *Art Garden*, It doth cleause the places where the stones containe.

**Cook** < *cook* sb < OE. *cōc* < L. *coquus*, late L. *cocus* cook.

I. Præd. act. *Intr.*: To act as a cook, to prepare food by the action of heat (*for* a household, etc.) (Now regarded as the *absol.* use of next). c 1380—. Note the trans. sense: To prepare or make ready (food), to make fit for eating by due application of heat, as by boiling, baking, roasting, broiling, etc. 1611— cf. NED. s. v. *cook* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *cook* 2 c.) (1) Præd. obj. Of food: To undergo cooking, to be cooked.

1891 *Leisure Hour*, Stew, stirring well, till the pulp cooks to a marmalade.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. Of food: To admit of being cooked (well, etc.).

*Mod.* These pears do not cook well: they are not good cookers.

**Count**, præd. obj.; see cat. F. s. v. *count* II 2.

**Damage** < OF. *damagier*, *-er*, *damager*, f. *damage* sb.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To do or cause damage to, to hurt, harm, injure. 1477—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*)  
To suffer damage or injury. *rare.*

1821 CLARE *Vill Minstr.*, Her  
Sunday clothes might damage with  
the dew.

**Damn** < OF. *dam(p)ner* < L.  
*dam(p)nāre*, orig. to inflict damage  
or loss upon, to condemn, doom  
to punishment; taken early into F.  
in legal and theological use.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: *Theol.* To doom to eternal  
punishment in the world to come,  
to condemn to hell. c 1325—

I. Præd. obj. (NED. In pas-  
sive sense s. v. *damn* 4 c). To be  
damned. *Obs. rare.*

[1611 BEAUM. & FL. *Philaster*.  
*Cle.* Sir shall I lie? *King.* Yes, lie  
and damn, rather than tell me that.]

[1625 MASSINGER *New Way*. So  
he serve My purpose, let him hang or  
damn, I care not.]

**Damnify** < OF. *damnifier*. <  
L. *damnificāre* (in Itala), to injure,  
f. *damnificus* hurtful, injurious.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: To cause injury, loss, or  
inconvenience to; to injure, damage,  
hurt; to wrong. (Very common in  
17th c; now *rare*). 1512—

II. Præd. obj. (or stat.) (NED.  
*intr.* in passive sense s. v. *damnify*  
5). To become damaged; to be  
spoiled. *Obs.*

1712 E. COOKE *Voy. S. Sea*, Our  
Goods.. would damnify staying so long.

**Debruisse** < ONF. *debruissier*,  
*debrusier* = OF. *debrisier* to break  
down or in pieces, crush.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: To break down, break in  
pieces, crush, smash. *Obs.* 1297  
(R. Glouc.). — 1618.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*)  
To be dashed to pieces. *Obs.*

1297 R. GLOUC. *be flor to brac*  
*vnder hem . . . And hi velle and de-*  
*brusede somme anon to depe.*

*Ibid.*, He hupte & debrusede &  
deide in an stounde.

**Demolish** < F. *démoliss-* length-  
ened stem of *démolir* < L. *dē-*  
*mōlirī* to throw down, demolish,  
destroy f. *mōles* mass.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: To destroy (a building or other  
structure) by violent disintegration  
of its fabric; to pull or throw down,  
pull to pieces. 1570-6—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*  
with passive sense). To be demo-  
lished. *Obs. rare.*

1609 RIBLE *Joel*, Through the  
windowes they shal fal and shal not  
demolish. (Vulg. *et non demolientur*).

**Deposit** < obs. F. *depositer*  
'to lay downe as a gage' < med.  
L. *dēpositāre* to deposit, freq. of  
L. *dēpōnēre*, used in med. L. to  
represent OF. *deposer*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans.  
sense: To lay, put, or set down;  
to place in a more or less perman-  
ent position of rest, 1749—; also  
said of the laying down of sub-  
stances held in solution, etc., 1671—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*  
s. v. *deposit* 1 d). To be laid  
down or precipitated. *rare.*

1873 E. SPON *Workshop Re-*  
*ceipts*. When no more silver deposits  
on the copper, the operation is com-  
pleted.

**Do** < OE. *dōn* = OS. *dōn*,  
*duon*, etc., OHG. *tōn*, *tuon*, etc., a  
verb characteristic of the West  
Germanic group of languages.

I. Præd. act. Note the  
general trans. sense: To put, place,  
bestow, render, etc. c 825—



II. Præd. obj. (cf NED. s. v. *do* 34 c.) In the construction *to be doing* = to be being done.

a 1300 *Cursor M.* Pat þere er dedis doand neu. Pat þai agh sare wit resun reu.

**Drag**, not known before 15th c. Etym. uncertain; perh. f. *drag* sb. (cf. Ekwall, *Shaks. Vocab.* 1903, 17).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: *Naut. To drag the anchor:* To trail the anchor along the bottom after it is loosened from the ground, by the effort of the wind or current upon the ship. 1694—

II. Præd. obj. (or act.) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* = *passive* s. v. *drag* 1 d.) To be dragged, (to trail).

1839 MARRYAT *Phant. Ship*, The anchor still dragged, from . . . bad holding-ground.

**Draw** < OE. *dragan* = OS. *dragan*, OHG. *tragen*, ON. *draga* Goth. *(ga)dragan*: only in OE. and ON. with the sense 'draw, pull'; in the other langs. with that of 'carry, bear'.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) Of simple traction: In the general sense: To cause (anything) to move toward oneself by the application of force; to pull. c 950—; To pull (anything) after one; to move (a thing) along by traction. Specifically used of a beast of draught pulling a vehicle, a plough, etc. c 1200— In specific applications: To contract, cause to shrink, to pull out of shape or out of place. c 1400— With specific objects: To pull (a curtain, veil, cloth, etc.) over something so as to cover or conceal it, or aside or off from it so as to disclose it. c 1420— *To draw up* (a sail, etc.), 13th c—; to draw up (troops), to set in array, 1605 ; to bring to a stand (by pulling at the reins),

1828— cf NED. s. v. *draw* 1 & 2, 6, 11 & 89 a, 89 f, 89 e. (2) Of extraction, withdrawal, removal: with that which is taken as the object. To pull out, take out, extract (*e. g.* a cork from a bottle). a 1300—; to draw out in same sense, c 1300— To convey away (water) by a channel, etc., to drain off, 1845 (the correspond. *intr.* or converted sense is recorded since 1607, but presupposes the previous existence of the trans. sense); to draw off in same sense, 1697— (3) Of tension, extension, protraction: To pull out to a greater length or size; to stretch, distend, extend, elongate. a 1300— cf. NED. s. v. *draw* 32 & 87 a, 43 & 85 d, 54.

II. Præd. obj. (1) Corresponding to sense I 1.

(a) Præd. obj. (a) (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *draw* 1 d.) To be drawn or pulled. Quot. 1703 = to admit of being drawn (= præd. obj. & attrib.).

1703 Moxon *Mech. Exerc.*, That the String may draw tight upon the Work.

1886 MRS. RANDOLPH *Mostly Fools*, The rope drew taut and parted in the middle.

(β) (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *draw* 2 c & 1 d). To be drawn or dragged (tending towards the sense 'to trail'). In quot. 1660 = to be so long as to be drawn or trail = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.

1660 F. BROOKE tr. *Le Blanc's Trav.*, He . . . puts on a white shirt that drawes on the ground, like persons doing penance with us.

[1697 DAMPIER *Voy.*, The Line in drawing after him chanc'd to kink, etc.]

(γ) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* = *passive* s. v. *draw* 11 b & 89 a). Of a curtain: To be drawn (up).

1711 STEELE *Spect.*, Getting into one of the Side-boxes on the Stage before the Curtain drew.

1823 *Examiner*, The curtain drew up at the instant of his entrance.

MARRYAT *P. Simple*, ch. LXIV  
The curtain then drew up for the second piece.

(b) Præd. obj. & attrib.

(a) (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *draw* 2 c). Of a carriage: To admit of being drawn (lighter, etc.) or to turn out (lighter, etc.), when drawn. Hence, to run in a specified manner = præd. attrib.

1892 *Field*, The Irish outside cars . . draw lighter than an ordinary English cart.

(β) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* = *passive*, s. v. *draw* 11 b). Of a curtain: To admit of being drawn (in a specified direction).

1894 *Cornh. Mag.*, I remember a carriage . . with curtains that drew in front of it.

(c) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *draw* 6 b). To be contracted, to contract, shrink.

1530 PALSGR., His skynne draweth together lyke burned lether.

1626 BACON *Sylva*, I haue not yet found certainly, that the Water it selfe . . will shrinke or draw into lesse Roome.

1893 *Temple Bar Mag.*, Her dark brows draw together over her black eyes.

(β) (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *draw* 89 f). Of troops: To be drawn up in array, to arrange themselves in array.

1660 F. BROOKE tr. *Le Blanc's Trav.*, The whole Portuguese Cavalry being landed, drew up in two squadrons.

(d) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *draw* 89 e). To be driven up, to come to a stand; to pull up, stop.

1823 SOUTHEY *Penins. War*, A carriage with six mules drew up to the guard-house.

1859 THACKERAY *Vergin.*, The young gentleman's post-chaise drew up at the rustic inn.

(2) Corresponding to sense I 2.

(a) Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *draw* 87 a). To be drawn or pulled out. Quot. 1893 presupposes a præd. obj. & attrib. (to admit of being drawn out).

1891 *Longm. Mag.*, The harpoon did not penetrate sufficiently . . and therefore drew out.

[1893 *Field*, A drawer should be fitted . . so as to draw out . . and shut back . . in a moment.]

(b) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *draw* 43 & 85 d). Of water: To be drawn off, drained off; to drain off, percolate. Quots. 1794, 1856 = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (= to admit of being drained off or to have the quality of being drained or draining off).

1794 *Agric. Surv. Kincard.*, The sub-soil is so concreted . . that water does not draw or filter beyond a few feet of distance.

1856 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, It is a common belief that water draws better down a curved drain than a straight one.

— 1734 tr. *Rollin's Anc. Hist.*, To keep back the waters which otherwise would draw off too fast.

1844 *Jrnl. R. Agric.*, The deposit that would be left after the water had drawn off.

(3) Correspond. to sense I 3. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *draw* 54). To admit of being stretched.

1747 STOVIN in *Phil. Trans.*, The Skin drew or stretch'd like a Piece of Doe-Leather.

Edify < Fr. *édifier*, ad. L. *œdificāre*.



I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: In religious use: To build up (the church, the soul) in faith and holiness, to benefit spiritually, to strengthen, support, 1340—to inform, instruct, 1534— cf. NED. s. v. *edify* 3.

II. Præd. obj. (possibly also præd. act.) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *edify* 2 e, 4) To be edified, to profit in a spiritual sense. *Obs.*

a 1400 *Cov. Myst.*, 252 Mannys sowle in blys now xal edify.

[1636 W. SAMPSON *Vow-Breaker*, Is there any man here desires to edifie? I am in the humour of converting.]

1657 J. GOODWIN *Triers Tried*, A Minister, whom they can cordially . . affect, or by whom they can edifie.

(b) To gain instruction generally. *Obs.*

1610 B. JONSON *Alch.*, I haue not edified more truely, by man . . since the beautifull light first shone on me.

1675 WYCHERLEY *Country Wife*, I edify so much by example, I will never be one [a husband].

a 1726 VANBR. & CIB. *Prov. Husb.*, This is like to be a warm Debate! I shall edify.

1800 T. JEFFERSON *Writ.*, The great mass of our nation will edify and thank you.

**Entwine, intwine** < *en-*, *in-* + *twine* v.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To twine or twist together; to interlace, interweave. 1616— To wreath or encircle (an object) *with* another. 1796—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *entwine* 2). To be entwined with.

1809 W. IRVING *Knickerb.*, No more entwines with flowers his shining sword.

**Flourish** < OF. *floriss-* lengthened stem of *florir* (mod. F. *fleurir*) < vulgar L. type \**flōrīre* (L. *flōrēre*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To brandish (a weapon, etc.). 1382— cf. NED. s. v. *flourish* 9.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *flourish* 9 c). Of a weapon (or the like): To be brandished or waved about.

1388 WYCLIF *Job*, A spere and scheeld schal flourische.

[1773 H. LUSON in *Duncombe's Lett.*, All this while the cane kept flourishing over Jerry's head.]

**Foil**, irreg. repr. of OF. *fuler*, *foler*, *fouler*, (mod. F. *fouler*) to full cloth, to tread, trample down, oppress.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To tread under foot, trample down. *Obs.* c 1330—1603; To overthrow, defeat (an antagonist); to discomfit (an assailant or an attack). 1548—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *foil* 4 c). To suffer discomfiture. In quot. 1639 intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib. *Obs.*

1591 GREENE *Maiden's Dreame*, His toil He took, lest that the English state might foil.

1639 VERGER tr. *Camus' Admir. Events*, There be mindes which foyle in reading a history of great length, humane patience being not of any great extent.

**Fry** < F. *frire* < L. *frīgēre* to roast, fry.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To cook (food) with fat in a shallow pan over the fire, 1340—; *transf.* and *fig.* To torture (a person) by fire; to burn or scorch (anything) with effects analogous to those of frying. *Obs.* 1382—1697.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *fry* 3, 4). (1) To undergo the operation of cooking with fat in a

pan; *rare* in lit. sense. *To fry in one's own grease* (also in passive, *obs.*): originally *transf.*, said *e. g.* of persons burning alive, and *fig.* to be tormented by one's own passions; now only, to suffer the consequences of one's own folly.

[13 . . *Coer de L.*, Beter it is that we out renne, Thenne as wreches in house to brenne, And frye inne oure owne gres!]

(2) *transf.* To undergo the action of fire or intense heat, with effects resembling those of frying. [Other *transf.* or *fig. intr.* senses admit scarcely of a passive interpretation]. Quot. 1583 = *præd. obj. & attrib.* (to turn out like a specified thing when fried).

1583 *LYLY Pref. Ep.*, A sworde frieth in the fire like a blacke ele.

1596 *DRAYTON Legends*, Fuell to that fire, Wherein He fry'd.

1601 *B. JONSON Poetaster*, Earth and seas in fire and flame shall fry.

1715 *BENTLEY Serm.*, What Heart could bear that his dead Father should fry in the flames of Purgatory?

**Grill** < *Fr. griller, f. gril (grille)* grill sb.

I. *Præd. act. Trans.*: To broil on a gridiron or similar apparatus over or before a fire. 1672—*transf.* To torment with heat, to 'broil'. 1825—.

II. *Præd. obj. (NED. intr.)* To undergo broiling. Chiefly *fig.*

[1842 *BARHAM Ingol. Leg.*, I'd rather grill Than not come up with smuggler Bill].

**Grin** < *OE. grennian* < *O. Teut.* type *\*yranjōjan* cognate with *OHG. grenchan* to mutter < *O. Teut. \*yranjan*.

I. *Præd. act.* Note the late *trans. sense*: To express (an opinion, a feeling) by grinning. 1681—

II. *Præd. obj. or causæ, (NED. intr.)*. Of a feeling: To be expressed by grinning. *nonce-use*.

1749 *FIELDING Tom Jones*, The counterfeit Satisfaction which grinned in the features of the young one.

**Gull** < *gull* sb. perh. variant of *gool, gole* throat, gullet, gully, channel.

I. *Præd. caus. or act. Trans.*: Of water: To make channels or ruts in, to hollow out; to sweep away, wear down. 1577—.

II. *Præd. obj. (NED. intr.)* To be or become worn away or hollowed out.

1763—6 *W. LEWIS Comm. Phil. Techn.*, The collars in which the axes of the rolls turned at each end, wore or gulled so fast, that the pressure continually diminished.

**Hang**. The history of this word involves that of two *OE.* and one *ON.* verb; viz. (1) the *OE.* str. *hōn* (< *\*hanhan*) *trans.* (2) the *OE.* weak *hangian* (< *\*hanyōjan*) *intr.* (3) the *ON.* causal vb. *hengja* *trans.* (the *ON.* str. vb. *hanga* was *intr.*) The distinction of *trans.* and *intr.* sense has not been kept up morphologically. The inf. form *hang* represents the *intr.* and weak verb, *OE. hangian*, but the weak inflection *hanged* was gradually superseded by the strong *hung*, a form developed in northern Eng. on the basis of the north. inf. *heng(e)*, *hing* f. the *ON.* *trans.* and weak *hengja*, originally also weak in north. Eng. The form *hanged* is now only used in the special *trans. sense* 'put to death by hanging'. The morphological identity of the *trans.* and the *intr. sense*, may occasionally lend the latter a converted character.



I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: (1) To fasten up or suspend on a cross or gibbet, as a mode of capital punishment. Formerly, *spec.* to crucify. *Obs.*, now *spec.* to put to death by suspension by the neck. c 1000— cf. NED. s. v. *hang* 3.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *hang* 10). Of a person: To be suspended *on* or *upon* a cross, gibbet, gallows, etc., to suffer death in this way; esp. as a form of punishment. — The earliest quotes. given in NED. have no doubt only a non-converted sense, since then the morphological discrepancy between the trans. and the *intr.* sense still existed.

1340 *Ayenb.*, þanne hit behouep þet hi yelde: oper þet hi hong.

1596 SHAKS. I *Henr. IV.* If I hang; Ile make a fat payre of Gallowes.

1712—14 POPE *Rape Lock*, Wretches hang that jurymen may dine.

1879 BROWNING *Ned Bratts*, Betting which knave would 'scape, which hang.

**Hatch** < Early ME. *hacche[n]* < OE. \**hæcccean*: related to MHG. *hecken*, Sw. *hücka*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To bring forth from the egg either by natural or artificial heat. (a) with the young as obj., 1398— (b) with the egg as obj.: To incubate, 1382— (2) *fig.* To bring to maturity or full development, esp. by a covert or clandestine process; to contrive, devise, originate and develop. 1549—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.*) (1) To be hatched, (a) Of the young: also = To come forth from the egg (= præd. exist.) (b) Of the egg: To be hatched. Quot. 1888 = præd. obj. & attrib. [to have the quality of being hatched out (within a specified time).]

1593 SHAKS. *Lucr.*, Why should . . . hateful cuckoos hatch in sparrows' nests?

[1727—51 CHAMBERS *Cycl.*, After this they put in the eggs to hatch].

[1867 F. FRANCIS *Angling*, Larvæ rising from the bottom to hatch out.]

1888 LLOYD PRYCE *Pheasant Rearing*, The eggs will hatch out in from twenty-three to twenty-five days.

H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 165 And that day the egg hatched.

(2) *fig.* To be hatched.

[1646 CRASHAW *Steps to Temple*, Who finds his warm heart hatch into a nest Of little eagles and young loves].

[1654 TRAPP *Comm. Jer.*, Treason hatching in his heart].

[1741 MIDDLETON *Cicero*, The great dangers and plots, that were now hatching against the State].

**Haul**, accord. to NED. a secondary form of ME. *halen* (1205 Lay.), assumed by Ekwall (Shaksp.'s Vocab. 1903, 29) to be native and not from OF. *haler* < O.Frank. *halôn*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To pull or draw with force or violence, to drag, tug (esp. in nautical language). 1581—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* in passive sense s. v. *haul* 2 b). To be hauled.

[1797 NELSON in A Duncan *Life*, I found . . . the Spanish ensign hauling down].

1871 PALGRAVE *Lyr. Poems*, Till their flag hauls down to the foe.

**Hold** < OE. Angl. *haldan*, W. Sax. *healdan* = OHG. *haltan*, ON. *halda*, (Sw. *hålla*), Goth. *haldan*.

I. Præd. attrib. (chiefly præd. possess.) Note the trans. sense: To own, have as property; to be the owner, possessor, or tenant of; to be in possession or enjoyment of (an estate or right, etc.). Const. *of* or *from* (the superior from whom the title to an estate or office is derived). 1205—. e. g. c 1290 *Beket*,

þe baronie al-so þat þou halst of him in chef. Also used absolutely by suppression of the object: To hold property by some tenure, to derive title to something (*of* or *from* a superior). c 1275—*e. g.* c 1275 *Luue Ron* in *O. E. Misc.*, Henri king of engelonde, of hym he halt, and to hym buhþ. cf. NED. s. v. *hold* 6, 19.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* or *absol.* s. v. *hold* 19 b). Of a possession or right: To be held (*of* or *from*). *Obs.*

1648 CROMWELL in *Carlyle*, A Lease which holds of your College.

a 1654 SELDEN *Table-T.*, *Allodium*.. signifies Land that holds of nobody; we have no such Land in England.

1665 DRYDEN *Ind. Emp.*, My crown is absolute, and holds of none.

**Hurt**, præd. obj.; see cat. A s. v. *hurt* II 2.

**Impress** < L. *impress-*, ppl. stem of *imprimere* (whence also obs. F. *impresser*). Partly answering in sense to OF. *empresser* to press, press or crowd upon, crush, print.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To impress a thing *on*, *upon*, *in*, *into* something else. c. 1374—To impress a thing *with*, *by* some instrument, or as an instrument does. 1588—. cf. NED. s. v. *impress* I, II.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *impress* III 7). To be or become impressed, *Obs.*

c 1386 CHAUCER *Merch. T.*, Heigh fantasye and curious bisynesse Fro day to day gan in the soule impresse Of Ianuarie aboute his mariage.

c 1490 *Crt. of Love*, More and more impressen gan the dent Of Loves dart, while I beheld her face.

**Instance** < *instance* sb. < F. *instance* < L. *instāntia*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To illustrate, prove, or show, by means of an instance; to exemplify; to exhibit. Now *rare*. 1608—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *instance* 2 b). To receive illustration, to be exemplified. In quot. intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib. *Obs. rare.*

a 1667 JER. TAYLOR, This story doth not only instance in kingdoms, but in families too.

**Invest** < L. *investire*, also OF. *envestir*, Fr. *investir*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To settle, secure, or vest (a right or power) in (a person). Const. *in* (*with*, *upon*, obs.). 1590—cf. NED. s. v. *invest* 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *invest* 6 b). [To settle itself, vest *in* some possessor (NED.)]. To be invested *in*. *Obs.*

1602 WARNER *Alb. Eng.*, How... the Crowne-right of the House of Edward the first inuested in the Familie of York, and from whom they claimed, and in whome their claime effected.

**Ken**, præd. obj.; see cat. D. s. v. *ken* II.

**Launch**, < ONF. *lancher* = central OF. *lancier*. Earliest record in Engl. in 14th c.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cause (a vessel) to move or slide from the land, or the stocks, into the water; to set afloat; to lower (a boat) into the water. c 1400—. cf. NED. s. v. *launch* 4.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *launch* 5). Of a ship: To be launched. *Obs.*

1665 *Lond. Gaz.*, The *Resolution* now in the Dock, Launches on Tuesday 28.

[1677 W. HUGHES *Man of Sin*, A fourth... with some Prayers and three signings of the Cross made a Ship lanch with few men].



[1769 FALCONER *Dict. Marine*, Cradles, placed under the bottom, to conduct the ship . . into the water whilst lanching].

**Let** < OE. *lætan*, *lētan* = OS. *lātan*, OHG. *lāzzan*, ON. *lāta* (Sw. *lāta*), Goth. *lētan* < OTeut. *\*lætan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To allow the escape of (confined fluid); to shed (tears, blood). c. 1000— (2) To grant the temporary possession or use of (land, buildings, rooms, movable property) to another in consideration of rent or hire. 909— cf. NED. s. v. *let* 7, 8.

II. Præd. obj. (cf NED. s. v. *let* 7 b, 8 b.)

(1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of blood: To be let, to issue. *Obs. rare.*

c 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron.*, þe blode was þoþe warme and fresh, þat of þe schankes lete (AF. *le saunk pur veirs issist*).

(2) Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* in passive sense) = To be let. In quot. 1855 prob. intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib.

1855 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, Lands let at from 10 d. to 4 s. 6 d. per acre.

[1884 *Law Rep.* A large number of chambers now letting at many thousands a year].

1885 SIR J. BACON in *Law Times Rep.*, There was some reason to suppose that all the mortgaged houses would speedily let.

**Light** < OE. *lihtan* = OS. *liuhtian*, OHG. *liuhten*, Goth. *liuhtjan* < O Teut. *\*liuhtjan* < *leuhto*-light.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To set burning (a candle, lamp, torch). 1154— cf. NED. s. v. *light* 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *light* 2 d). To be lighted.

c 1400 MAUNDEV., His Lampe schal lighte . . vithouten touchinge of ony Man.

[fig. 1860 GEO. ELIOT *Mill on Fl.*, 'You poor-spirited imp', said Tom, lighting up immediately at Philip's fire.]

**Lisse**, *obs.*, < OE. *lissian* < OTeut. *\*linþisōjan* f. *\*linþjo-*, OE. *līþe* soft, mild.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To subdue (only in OE.), to mitigate, assuage, relieve (pain, etc.). a 1000—1562. To relieve (somebody) of pain, etc. c. 1374—1483.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*) To be relieved of.

c 1400 *Rom. Rose*, Than of my peyne I gan to lisse.

**Lock** < *lock* sb. < OE. *loc* < O Teut. *\*luco(m)* f. the verbal root *lūk-* in OE. *lūcan* to close, enclose.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To fasten (a door, gate, box, drawer, etc.) with a lock and key. a 1300— cf. NED. s. v. *lock* 1.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lock* 1 c). (1) Præd. obj., Of a door: To be locked.

1590 SPENSER *F. Q.*, Doubly disparted, it did locke and close, That when it locked, none might thorough pas.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To admit of being locked.

*Mod.* The door will not lock.

**Modulate** < L. *modulāt-* ppl. stem of *modulārī* to measure, adjust to rythm, make melody, etc. f. *modulus*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To attune (the voice, sounds, etc.) to a certain pitch or key; to vary or inflect in tone, adapt to a new tune; to give tune or melody to. 1615— cf. NED. s. v. *modulate* 2.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *modulate* 2 b). Of a song: To be sung in varying cadence or harmony (*with*).

1815 SHELLEY *Alastor*, I wait thy breath, Great Parent, that my strain May modulate with murmurs of the air, . . . And voice of living beings.

**Mould** < *mould* sb. < OF. *modle* (later *mol(l)e*, mod. F. *moule*) < L. *modulum*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To produce or create (a material object) in a certain form; to fashion, form, model, c 1475—; to bring into or reduce to a particular shape or form; to shape or model the character or style of. Const. *into*, *to*, 1605—; cf. NED. s. v. *mould*, 3, 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *mould* 7). To be moulded (*into*).

[1612 DEKKER *If it be not Good*, Blest raigne! The Golden worlde is molding new againe].

1858 *Ecclesiologist*, When the Norman man-at-arms had begun to mould into the English country gentleman.

**Open**, præd. obj.; see cat. A, s. v. *open* II 3.

**Oppress** < OF. *oppresser*, *apresser* < med. L. *oppressare* freq. of L. *opprimere*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To crush, quell, subdue, overwhelm (a person). *Obs.* c. 1340—1829. cf. NED. *oppress* 3.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *oppress* 3 c). To be crushed or overwhelmed. *rare*.

c 1485 *Digby Myst.*, Now I know well I xall not opprese.

**Pawl** < *pawl*, sb. a bar, of uncertain derivation.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To stop or secure (a capstan, ratchet-wheel, etc.) by means of a pawl or pawls. 1706—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *passive*). To be pawled.

1819 *Pantologia*, s. v. *Windlass*, If, in heaving the windlass about, any of the handspikes should happen to break, the windlass would pawl of itself.

**Play**, præd. obj.; see cat. C, s. v. *play* II 3.

**Polish** < F. *poliss-*, lengthened stem of *polir* < L. *polire* to polish, smooth, refine.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make smooth and (usually) glossy by friction. a 1300—.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *polish* 1 b).

(1) Præd. obj. (or attrib.). To become bright (NED.), to be made bright. *Obs. rare*.

c 1400 *Destr. Troy*, Zeforus with softe wyndes soberly blew, Planettes in the pure aire pullishet full clene, And all softe was the see to sailers perin.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. [To become smooth, take a smooth and (usually) glossy surface, NED.] To admit of being polished (well, etc. or, in quot. 1626, with a specified result); to turn out in a specified way when polished (quot. 1626).

1626 BACON *Sylva*, A kind of steel . . . which would polish almost as white and bright as silver.

1728 *Young Love Fame*, 'Tis solid bodies only polish well.

**Quothe**, *obs.* < OE. *cwedan* = OS. *quedan*, OHG. *quedan*, *chwe-*



*den*, ON. *kveða* (Sw. *kväda*), Goth. *gidan* < OTeut. \**kweþan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To speak, say, tell, declare. c. 825 —.

II. Præd. obj. (Not in NED.) In 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. (often with an impersonal pronoun as subject): To be told, said. *Obs.*

*Wihfred's Laws* (Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 1903, 12) *þær ða eadigan fundon mid ealra gemædum ðas dōmas and Cantwara rithum þeawum æctan, swā hit hyr efter segeþ and cwyp.*

CYNEWULF *Crist*, 711, *swā hit on bōcum cwīð.*

OE. (*Anglia* xxiii, 295) *þæt galdor, þæt hēr æfter cweð, man sceal singan.*

*Blickling Hom.* 133. 36 (*Anglia* xxiii, 295). *Wē leornedon, and on þām godspelle cwīð, þæt se Drihtnes Gast . .*

**Reach** < OE. (*ge*)*ræcan* = OHG. *reichen* < OTeut. \**raikjan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To stretch; to draw or pull out or in. *Obs. exc. dial.* 971—1648 *s. g.* c. 1275 *Serving Christ* 5 in *O. E. Misc.*, *Crist*.. on rode was rauht. cf. NED. *reach* 11.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reach* 18). To undergo stretching. *rare.* Now only *dial.*

1362 *LANGL. P. Pl. A.* Bi him that rauhte on the roode.

1570 *LEVINS Manip.*, To Reche, *distendi.*

**Reckon** < OE, *gerecenian* (found only once) = OFris. *rek(e)nia*, OHG. *rechenôn*, *-inôn* (G. *rechnen*) < WGerm. \**rekenōjan*.

I. Præd. act. or stat. Note the trans. senses: (1) To count so as to ascertain the number or amount of. a. 1225— (2) To include in the reckoning. 1387—; to esteem, consider, hold (a thing)

to be (so und so). 1340— cf NED. s. v. *reckon* 1, 3, 5 b.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reckon* II and 15).

(1) Præd. obj. Corresp. to sense I 2: To be reckoned. (NED.: to count, have a place or value). In quot. 1898 intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib.

1879 *MC CARTHY Own Times*, Such discretion . . would in the long run reckon to his credit and his advantage

1898 *BESANT Orange Girl*, After the fashion . . of the sailors, with whom strength of arm reckons before style.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. Corresp. to sense I 1. To turn out so and so many when reckoned, to be so and so many in number.

1877 *MISS YONGE Cameos*, He marched [them] into the camp before his own troop, which did not reckon nearly so many.

**Reflect**, præd. obj.; se cat. C. s. v. *reflect* II 2.

**Rehearse** < OF. *rehercer*, *-ier* (late AF. *rehearser*), app. f. *re-* + *hercer* to harrow.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To repeat, say over again, 1340— to say, utter, speak, 1362—1567. To relate, narrate, etc. 13 . . cf. NED. s. v. *rehearse* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. (Not in NED.) To be rehearsed, told, said.

*MALORY Morte D'Arthur* 75/17, as it reherceth after in the book of Balyn le saueage, that followeth next after.

**Retail** < *retail* sb. < OF. *retail* masc. or *retaille* fem., a piece cut off. OF. *retailer* app. does not occur in the sense of the Eng. vb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To sell (goods etc.) in small quantities. 1365—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.*) To be sold by retail. In quot. intemp. sense = præd. obj. & attrib.

1881 *Lit. World* (U.S.), Mr. Bartlett's compilation . . . retails for three dollars.

1897 *Daily News*, Turbot, brill, and halibut retail at 9 d. per lb.

**Roast** < OF. *rostir*, (mod. F. *rôtir*), of Teutonic origin.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make (flesh or other food) ready for eating by prolonged exposure to heat. 1297— cf. NED. s. v. *roast* 1.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *roast* 6). To undergo the process of being cooked. Also *transf.* (quot. 1719).

[a 1400 *Sir Perc.*, He . . . Keste hym reghte in the fyre . . . 'Ly stille therin now and roste'.]

a 1529 SKELTON *P. Sparowe*, By . . . all the dedly names Of infernall posty, Where soules frye and rosty.

1604 E. G(RIMSTONE) *D'Acosta's Hist. Indies*, When the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall distance, we see that it rostes handsomely.

1719 LONDON & WISE *Compl. Gard.*, Care must be taken to water all your Plants largely, or else they will roast and scorch.

**Rub**, præd. obj.; see cat. F. s. v. *rub* II 2.

**Say** < OE. *secgan* = OS. *seg-gian*, < OTeut. *\*sayjan*. OHG. *sagēn* < OTeut. *\*sayējan*. The inf. *say* derives from 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pres. sing.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To tell, declare. OE.—

II. Præd. obj. Mostly in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. ind., often with impers. subject: To be said, to be told. Now used in phrase *it says in the Bible* (Anglia xxiii, 296). Also *colloq. it says*.

WULFSTAN 146, 16 (Bosw.-Toller, s. v. *secgan* v). Hit segþ on bōcum þæt . . .

*Dipl. Angl.* (cf. Anglia xxiii, 296.) swā swā hit hēr būfan sægð.

*Blickling Hom.* 45, 3 (Anglia xxiii, 295) hēr segð on þissum bōcum, þæt . . .

KING ÆLFRED *Oros.* 40, 26 (Anglia xxiii, 295) hī swylc geblōt ond swylc morð dōnde wæron, swylc hēr ær beforan sæde.

a 1300 *Cursor M.* 22367 (Cott.) þe ius sal convert, als it sais.

**Scald** < ONF. *escalder*, *escauder*; > Central OF. *eschalder*, *eschauder* to burn, scald < late L. *excaldāre* to wash in hot waters.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: (1) To affect painfully and injure with very hot liquid or steam. 1340—. (2) Of the sun or fire: To scorch, burn. *Obs. exc. dial.* a 1300— cf. NED. s. v. *scald* I 1, II 6.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *scald* I 1 c, II 6 b.) (1) To become injured by hot liquid or steam.

1590 MARLOWE *2nd Pt. Tamburl.*, Now scalds his soul in the Tartarian streams.

1847 TENNYSON *Princess*, Those detestable That let the bantling scald at home, and brawl Their rights or wrongs like potherbs in the street.

(2) To be scorched or burnt.

1513 DOUGLAS *Æneis*, And all the cost belive of flambis scald. (L. *iam fervere litora flammis*).

c 1520 M. NISBET *N. T. in Scots, Matt.*, Bot quhen the sonn was risen, that scaldit.

1597 SHAKS. *2 Hen. IV*, Thou do'st sit Like a rich Armor, worne in heat of day, That scald'st with safetie.



1902 RIDER HAGGARD *Rural Eng.*,  
There the land was light and they  
scalded.

**Scorch** < ME. *scorchen*. Uncertain etymology, (cf. Skeat, *Princ. of Eng. Etymol.* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. Oxf. 1891 p. 63).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To burn superficially, to singe. ME.—

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj. To be scorched.

1719 LONDON & WISE *Compl. Gard.* 279 Care must be taken to water all your Plants largely, or else they will roast and scorch.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being scorched.

F. J. COOPER *The Prairie* ch. xxiii, 230 'Do you scorch so easily? your gran'ther had a tougher skin'.

**Sell** < OE. *sellan* = OHG. *sellen*, Sw. *sälja* < O Teut. \**saljan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To give for an equivalent, esp. money. OE.—

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj.: To find buyers or a market, to be sold.

SHAKS. *Troil.*, I, iii, 360 let us like merchants show our foulest wares and think perchance they'll sell.

GOLDSM. *Vic. of Wakef.* ch. II. I published some tracts upon the subject myself, which, as they never sold, I have the consolation of thinking were read only by the happy few.

W. CLARK RUSSELL *Romance of a Mids.*, ch. iii. 24 What a rich and thrilling black! It should sell like wild-fire in France, where the people are lovers of glossy rich curls.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being sold.

H. J. BYRON *Married in Haste* III. Won't the picture sell?

**Throw** < OE. *þrāwan* twist, turn round. (intr.) = OHG. *drāen* (Mod. Germ. *drehen*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cast, hurl, fling. ME.—

II. Præd. obj. To be cast down.

LANGL. *Piers Plowman* (B). v. 357. He stumbled on the thresshe-wolde and threwe to the erthe.

**Wear**, præd. obj.; see cat. F. s. v. *wear* II 1 quot. 1703.

**Weigh** < OE. *wegan* carry, bear, also intr. move = OHG. *wegan*, ON. *vega*, Sw. *väga*, Goth. *gawigan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the phrase: to weigh anchor, *e. g.* Sir R. GUYLFORDE *Pilgrimage* p. 63 And so ye same mornynge we wayde our ancre and made sayle . .

II. Præd. obj. Of an anchor: To be lifted or weighed.

MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xi. 94. The captain came on board, the anchor weighed, and we ran through the Needles . .

## F. Predications of object &amp; attribution.

**Act** < L. *act-* ppl. stem of *ag-ĕre* to drive, carry on, do. Probably influenced in its development by *act* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To carry out or represent in mimic action, to perform (a play). 1594—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (Not in NED.) To admit of being acted. (with a favourable result) or to present a certain aspect when acted (in comparison with a thing).

1668 SHADWELL *Sullen Lovers* III, 'Tis a play that shall read and act with any play that ever was born.

**Alloy** < mod. F. *aloyer* < OF. *aleier*, *alier* < L. *alligāre*. Its variant *allay* derives from ONF. *aleyer*, *alayer*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To mix with a baser metal so as to reduce to a desired standard or quality, to allay. 1691—

II. Præd. obj. & attr. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). To have the quality of (easily, etc.) being brought or entering into combination with another metal. To admit of being mixed with another metal.

1839 URE *Dict. Arts*, One metal does not alloy indifferently with every other metal.

1775 *Ibid.*, Gold and iron alloy with ease.

**Amalgam**, *arch.* < Fr. *amalgamer* f. *amalgame* (an alchemical term).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To soften by combination with mercury; to alloy with mercury. *Obs.* c 1386—1600.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*), To have the quality of (easily, etc.) being brought or entering into combination with mercury. To admit of being alloyed with mercury. *Obs.*

a 1619 BOYLE *Wks.*, Quicksilver easily amalgams with metals.

**Apply** < OF. *aplier* < L. *applicāre* f. *ap-* = *ad.* + *plicāre* to fold, cf. mod. Fr. *appliquer*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To give (to a general, theoretical, or figurative statement) a specific reference *to* a particular instance; to use it as relative or suitable *to*, c 1375—; to bring (a law, rule, test, principle, etc.) into contact with facts. to bring to bear practically, 1586—; cf NED. s. v. *apply* 9, 8.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *apply* 10). To have the quality of having a practical bearing upon, a valid or suitable reference *to*. To admit of being applied *to*.

1790 PALEY *Hor. Paul.*, This test applies to every supposition.

1851 MAURICE *Proph. & Kings*, This observation applies to Saul's history.



1866 J. MARTINEAU *Ess.*, It will apply no less to our own case.

**Assimilate** < L. *assimilāt-* ppl. stem of *assimilāre* to liken f. *ad-* to + *similis* like. cf. Fr. *assimiler*, 16<sup>th</sup> c.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To absorb and incorporate, 1578—; also *fig.*, a 1631—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *assimilate* 8). To admit of being assimilated, to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being assimilated or assimilating with.

1626 BACON *Sylva*, Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh doth assimilate more finely.

1658 A. Fox tr. *Wurtz' Surg.*, Stitch none of the loose pieces of flesh, they will assimilate no more.

*fig.* 1864 J. H. NEWMAN *Apol.*, I am a foreign material, and cannot assimilate with the Church of England.

**Assort** < OF. *assorter* (mod. F. *assortir*) f. *à* to + *sorte* sort, kind.

I. Præd. act. or stat. Note the trans. sense: To distribute (things, rarely persons) into groups; to arrange in sorts, classify, 1490—; to class, place (a thing or person) in the same group *with* others, 1833—

II. Præd. obj. & attr. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To admit (readily, etc.) of being assorted with (without disharmony) or to present a certain aspect when assorted with. Hence, to suit *well* or *ill* with.

1800 W. TAYLOR in *Month. Mag.*, His *Muse* assort ill with the personages of Christian mythology.

1837 SIR W. HAMILTON *Metaph.*, Finding that it is harmonious, — that it dovetails and naturally assort with other parts.

**Atend**, *obs.* < late OE. *atendan*, of earlier OE. *ontendan*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To set on fire, kindle. 1006— c. 1400. also *fig.*

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To have the quality of (easily, etc.) being kindled or taking fire, to admit of being kindled.

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.*, þis tre »Abies» atentep ful sone, and brennep with lyȝte leye.

**Bake**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *bake* II 2.

**Batter**, f. the stem *bat-* »beat», as in OF. *batre*, Eng. *bat*, v., *bat*, sb. with freq. suffix *-er*. (NED).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To strike with repeated blows; to beat continuously and violently so as to bruise or shatter, c 1325—; to bruise, beat out of shape, or indent by blows or rough usage, 1697.—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *batter* 5).

(1) Præd. obj. or stat. To become crushed, dented, or defaced with blows (NED); also passively, to be battered, *i. e.* to be brought into a crushed or defaced condition. *Obs.*

1589 BR. ANDREWES *Serm.*, All our cups would batter with the fall.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being battered, to yield to beating, to be malleable. *Obs.*

1677 MOXON *Mech. Exerc.*, Iron... if it be too cold... will not batter under the Hammer.

**Beat**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. C. s. v. *beat* II 1.

**Bind**, præd. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A. s. v. *bind* II quot. 1838.

**Bleach**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B. s. v. *bleach* II quotes. 1823, 1865.

**Blot** < *blot* sb. (earliest record of the sb. c 1325).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To spot or stain with ink or other discolouring liquid or matter; to blur. c 1440—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *blot* 1 c). [To become blotted, contract a blot. (NED).] To have the quality of (easily, etc.) being or becoming blotted, to admit of being blotted.

1860 TRENCH *Serm. Westm. Abb.*, The soul in this resembling paper which, where it has been blotted once, however careful the erasure of the blot may have been, there more easily blots and runs anew than elsewhere.

**Blunt** < *blunt*, a.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To dull, or make less sharp (an edge or point). 1398—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To admit of being blunted, to have the quality of (not etc.) being made or becoming dull of edge or point.

1684 BUNYAN *Pilgr.*, Its edges will never blunt.

**Boil**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *boil* II quot. 1845.

**Break**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *break* II 1 quot. 1175.

**Breed**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. D. s. v. *breed* II, 1 quot. 1626.

**Button** < *button* sb. (recorded in Eng. since c 1340.) < OF. *boton* (mod. F. *bouton*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To fasten (a garment) with buttons. Often with *up*. c 1440—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *button* 4) Of garments: To be capable, to admit, of being fastened (up) with buttons.

1777 SHERIDAN *Trip Scarb.*, If it had been tighter, 'twould neither have hooked nor buttoned.

1839 *New Monthly Mag.*, A jacket that buttons up close to the neck.

1875 BESANT & RICE *Harp & Cr.*, It [the coat] buttons across the chest.

**Calefy**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *calefy* II quotes. 1646, 1658.

**Clip** < ME. *clippen*, at first northern and prob. f. ON. *klippa*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To shear (sheep), to cut off (their fleece or wool). c 1200—; cf. NED. s. v. *clip* 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *trans.* s. v. *clip* 3 b). To yield on being clipped.

1879 WRIGHTSON in *Cassell's Techn. Educ.* IV. There were .. sheep in the pen that would clip as much or more wool.

**Cock**, perh. < *cock* sb. < OE. *coc(c)*, the domestic fowl. The verb represents a number of separate uses, which appear all to be derived, in one way or another, from the name of the fowl.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans-use: To turn up the brim of (a hat), esp. as a fashion of wearing it. 1663—. cf. NED. s. v. *cock* 5.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *cock* 5 b). Of a hat: To be capable



of being cocked (handsomely, etc.) or to present a certain appearance when cocked.

1672 WYCHERLEY *Love in Wood*, Say your hat did not cock handsomely.

**Coin** < OF. *coignier*, *cungner* to »strike» or stamp money, to mint, to coin, f. *coin* stamp, die. In English, with the changed sense of the sb., the notion, when analysed, became 'to make coin, make into coin'.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make (metal) into money; to convert into coin. c 1400— cf. NED. s. v. *coin* 2.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *coin* 2 b). [To undergo coinage (NED)]. To admit of being coined.

a 1700 DRYDEN *Epick Poetry*, Metal . . so soft that it will not coin without alloy to harden it.

**Coke** < *coke* sb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To convert (coal) into coke. 1804—.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*). Of coal: To have the quality of (easily, not, etc.) being turned or turning into coke, to admit of being turned into coke.

1884 E. INGERSOLL in *Harper's Mag.*, It will not coke.

**Combine**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *combine* II 1 quotes. 1800, 1812.

**Commix**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *commix* II 2, quotes. 1519, 1675.

**Compare** < OF. *comperer* (14<sup>th</sup> c., *comparer*) < L. *comparāre*, lit. 'to pair together, couple, match, bring together' f. *compar* like, equal.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To speak of or represent as similar; to liken. Const. *to*. 1375—; To mark or point out the

similarities and differences of (two or more things), to bring or place together (actually or mentally) for this purpose. Const. *with* (or *to*) another; *together*. 1509—.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *compare* 4 b). To admit of being compared with (with a favourable result) or to present a certain aspect when compared with. In quot. 1450 we are perhaps concerned with the secondary sense: to vie *with*, to rival = præd. act.

c 1450 *Merlin*, Thei ben so fewe that thei may not compare with hem.

1577 B. GOOGE *Heresbach's Husb.*, In daintinesse and goodnesse of meat, the [turkey] Hennes may compare with either the goose, or the Pehen, and the Cocke farre excell them.

1796 MACNEILL *Will & Jean Poems*, Wha wi' Jeanie could compare?

1876 JEVONS *Logic Prim.*, As athletes men cannot for a moment compare with horses or tigers or monkeys.

*Mod.* This compares favourably with the inertness of England. — A landscape which will compare not unfavourably with the masterpieces of the Dutch School.

**Compose** < F. *composer* (12<sup>th</sup> c.)

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put together (parts or elements) so as to make up a whole; *spec.* in artistic use; To arrange artistically the elements of a landscape or painting. 1655— cf. NED. s. v. *compose* 8.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *compose* 8 b). To admit of being grouped artistically; or also to present a certain aspect when composed with = to enter (well, etc.) into composition with. Only the latter sense, developed from the former, is salient in quot.

1828 ELMES *Metr. Improv.*, The house . . . composes well with the adjoining mansions and small plantations.

**Compound** < ME. *compounen* < OF. *compon(d)re*, *-pundre* < L. *compōnēre* to place or put together.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To combine (verbal elements) so as to make a compound word. 1530— cf. NED. s. v. *compound* 2 d.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (Not in NED.). To admit of being compounded (comfortably, etc.).

1897 CH. W. BARDSLEY *Cur. of Purit. Nomenclature* 77; the names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to compound comfortably with these terminatives.

**Concoct**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *concoct* II.

**Conjoin**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A. s. v. *conjoin* II 2.

**Construe** < L. *construere* to pile together, build up. The corresponding F. *construire* is a late word, but occurs in Palsgr. 1530 in the grammatical use.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To analyse or trace the grammatical construction of a sentence, etc. 1362— cf. NED. s. v. *construe* 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *construe* 3 c.). Of a series of words: To admit of grammatical analysis or interpretation.

1851 J. H. NEWMAN *Cath. in Eng.*, Definite dogma, intelligible articles, formularies which would construe, a consistent ritual.

*Mod.* This sentence will not construe; I can make nothing of it.

*Mod.* His verses did not scan, and would barely construe.

**Convert**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. stat.; see cat. A. s. v. *convert* II 2 quotes. 1554, 1826.

**Cook**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *cook* II 2.

**Corrode**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B. s. v. *corrode* II quotes. 1820, 1868.

**Count**, < OF. *cunter*, *conter* < L. *computāre* to calculate, reckon.

I. Præd. act. or stat. Note the trans. senses: (1) To tell over one by one, to assign to (individual objects in a collection) the numerals one, two, three, etc. so as to ascertain their number; to enumerate, reckon up, etc. c 1325— (2) To include in the reckoning; to reckon in. 1526— (3) To esteem, reckon, consider, regard, hold (a thing) to be (so and so). Also with *for* (*arch.*), *as*. c 1325— cf. NED. s. v. *count* 1, 2, 3.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* with passive sense (*neuterpassive*) s. v. *count* 12, 13, 14.)

(1) Præd. obj. & attrib. (a) Corresp. to sense I 1: Of (the feet of) a verse: To turn out (in a specified way) when counted.

1845 *Blackw. Mag.*, An unimpeachable verse, for it counts right.

(b) Corresp. to sense I, 2: To admit of being counted, to have the quality of (not) being counted or included in the reckoning.

1892 SIR W. HARCOURT in *Daily News*, There is Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire . . and Somersetshire; but all these do not count! They like to leave out of account the 21 seats we won at the by-elections, but they do count upon a division.

*Mod.* In this examination the first 250 marks do not count at all.

(c) Corresp. to sense I 3. [to count (as), (among).]

(α) To admit of being counted among.

1874 *Athenæum*, This volume . . may count among the scarcest works of its time.



(β) To turn out (so and so many) when counted; also = 'præd. attrib., i. e. to be so and so many in number.

1819 BYRON *Juan*, They counted thirty.

(γ) To have the quality of being counted (as), to be of such a nature as to be counted as.

1820 *Hoyle's Games Impr.*, The carambole counts two.

1850 TENNYSON *In Mem.*, They count as kindred souls.

(d) Corresp. to sense I 3 (to count (for) much, little, etc.): To admit of being counted for (much, etc.)

1857 BUCKLE *Civiliz.*, The lower classes can count for little in [their] eyes.

(2) Præd. obj. (a) Corresp. to sense I 3 (to count as). To be counted, considered, or reckoned as or among.

1833 DE QUINCEY *Autobiog. Sk.*, First and last, we counted as eight children . . . though never counting more than six living at once.

(b) Corresp. to sense I 3 (to count (for) much, etc.): To be counted, considered, or reckoned as (being of much, etc. account). — This sense, still distinctly salient, tends to be obscured so as to become equivalent to: »To be of much, etc. account» (= præd. attrib.) The latter sense is entirely predominant in quot. 1885. Quot. 1861 = præd obj. & attrib. = to be of such a quality that it should be counted (for nothing).

1861 HUGHES *Tom Brown at Oxf.*, Oxford ought to be the place . . . where money should count for nothing.

1889 JESSOP *Coming of Friars*, High birth . . . among the haughty Castillians has always counted for a great deal.

— [1885 PROCTOR *Whist*, Many doubt whether good play really counts much at Whist.]

**Cram** < OE. *crammian* < W.Germ. \**krammōjan*; cf. the strong vb. *crimman* to insert.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To fill (a receptacle) with more than it properly or conveniently holds; less strictly, to fill to repletion, fill quite full or overfull. c. 1000—. cf. NED. s. v. *cram* 1.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* with passive sense) To admit of being crammed. *rare.* a 1763 J. BYRON *Poems*, The Coach was full as it could cram.

**Cross** < *cross* sb. < Scand. *kross* < O Irish *cross* < L. *crucem* (ME. *crois*, sb. < OF. *croiz*). Earliest record of the verb, c 1340 (Cursor Mundi); cf. *croise* vb. of Fr. origin.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To draw a line across (another line or surface); to mark with lines or streaks athwart the surface, 1703—; esp. *farming*: to cross-plough, e. g. 1859 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, I have broken up 201 acres, and have crossed 128 acres. cf. NED. *cross* vb. 7.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *cross* 7 b.) To admit of being crossed-ploughed.

1796 *Hull Advertiser*, The strong lands . . . are much chilled . . . and will cross badly . . . for want of dry winds.

**Cure** < F. *curer* (in OF. to take care of, to clean) < L. *cūrāre* to care for, take care of, cure, f. *cūra* care.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. senses: To heal, restore to health (a sick person of a disease). Also *fig.* 1382—; To heal (a disease or wound). *fig.* to remedy,

rectify, remove (an evil of any kind). 15<sup>th</sup> c.—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *cure* 6).

(1) Præd. obj. or stat. Of a person: To be cured, to get well again. *Obs. rare.*

1791 GIBBON *Lett.*, I must either cure or die.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To admit of being cured (with something); to have the quality of ceasing, disappearing (in consequence of something). *Obs. rare.*

1592 SHAKS. *Rom. & Jul.*, One desperate greefe cures with anothers languish.

**Cut**, found in end of 13<sup>th</sup> c., and in common use since the 14<sup>th</sup> c. Prob. native (cf. however M.Du. *kutten* to cut); no doubt connexion with Swed. *kåta* to cut, both having prob. as source an O Teut. stem, \**kut-*, \**kot-*. (cf. Noreen, *Svenska Etym.* 1897, 50).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To make incision in or into, c 1275—; to make incision through, to sever, c 1300— (2) *To cut out* in the senses: (α) To fashion or shape by cutting (out of a piece). 1551— (β) Card-playing: To exclude from a game (of whist) by cutting an unfavourable card. 1771 (in pass.) — cf. NED. s. v. *cut* I, II, 56 j & p.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *cut* 13, 56 o, 56 p.)

(1) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in *pass.* sense). (α) To admit of being cut (with a specified result, or in a specified manner).

1751 CHAMBERS *Cycl.*, Alabaster cuts very smooth and easy.

1839 DE QUINCEY *Casuist. Roman Meals*, Who would think that a non-entity could cut into so many somethings?

H. G. WELLS *Stolen Bacillus* (Tauchn.) 180. The damned stuff cuts like butter, he said.

*Mod.* The cloth does not cut to advantage.

(β) To yield when cut or shorn (as sheep).

1854 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.*, The Hampshiredowns . . cut a heavier fleece than the Southdowns.

1858 *Ibid.*, The half-breds cut less wool than the Shropshire Downs.

(δ) (NED. *intr.*) To admit of being cut out into shape.

1829 *Bone Manure, Rep. Doncaster Comm.*, The whole [manure] . . will cut out like a jelly.

1850 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.*, Hay never cuts out so well as when it has been stacked from the field as fast as made.

(2) Præd. obj. or refl. (NED. *intr.* orig. *passive*). *To cut out*. Card-playing: To be excluded, to exclude oneself from a game by drawing an unfavourable card.

1780 MAD. D'ARBLAY *Diary*, Mrs. G—, having cut out at cards . . approached us.

1810 *Sporting Mag.*, With the same pleasure that a gentleman who has cut out returns to a rubber.

[1870 *Mod. Hoyle (Whist)*. The fifth and sixth players . . have the right to cut into the game when a rubber has been completed by the first four players. This operation is effected by two players cutting out.]

**Demise** < *demise* sb. app. of AF. origin, formed as the fem. sb. from pa. pple. of *desmettre*, *démètre* to send away.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: *Law*. To give, grant, convey, or transfer (an estate) by will or by lease. 1480—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be of such a quality that it should be demised, should pass by bequest or inheritance to.



1823 GREVILLE *Mem.*, Now arose a difficulty — whether the property of the late King demised to the King or to the Crown.

**Develop** < F. *développer*, OF. *desvoleper*, *desveloper* (whence an earlier Eng. form *disvelop*). Earliest record of *develop* is from 1656.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense (in fotogr.): To bring out and render visible (the latent image). 1845— cf. NED. s. v. *develop* 5 b.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *develop* 5 c.) *Photogr.* To admit of being developed (with a specified result), to have the quality of appearing (cleaner etc.).

1861 *Photogr. News Alm.*, A plate well washed . . . *developes* cleaner than one washed insufficiently.

**Digest** < L. *digest-* ppl. stem of *digerere* to carry asunder, separate, divide, distribute, dissolve, digest.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To prepare (food) in the stomach and intestines for assimilation by the system. 1483— cf. NED. s. v. *digest* 4.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *digest* 4 d.)

(1) Præd. obj. or stat. Of the food: To undergo digestion; to be digested, to come into a digested condition.

[1586 MARLOWE *1st Pt. Tamburl.*, Fall to, and never may your meat digest.]

1677 HALE *Prim. Orig. Man*, My Blood circulates. my Meat digests . . . without any intention of mind to assist their actings.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To admit of being digested; to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being brought or coming into a digested condition.

1574 HYLL *Conject. Weather*, Weathers over olde are to be refused in eating in that they . . . smally nourish and hardly digest.

1854—6 PATMORE *Angel in H.*, The best [fare], Wanting this natural condiment . . . will not digest.

**Ding**, *arch.* or *dial.*, frequent from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. (in later use chiefly northern), but not recorded in OE. Accord. to Björkman (*Scand. Loan-Words*, 1902, 207) ME. *dingen*, str. vb. not f. ON. *dengja* (< O Teut. \**ḍanywian*) but from ODa. *dinge* (= OSw. *diunga*) (< O Teut. \**ḍinywan* str. vb.)

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To knock, dash, or violently drive (a thing) in some direction, e. g. away, down, in, out, off, over, etc. 13 . . .— cf. NED. s. v. *ding* 4.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *neuter passive*, as in 'a loaf thats eats badly' s. v. *ding* 4 b). To admit of being driven.

1786 BURNS *A Dream*, But Facts are cheels that winna ding, An' downa be disputed.

*Mod. Sc. Prov.*, Facts are stubborn things; they'll neither ding nor drive. [i. e. they can neither be moved by force as inert masses, nor driven like cattle].

**Disclose**, præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. obj., or refl.; see cat A. s. v. *disclose* II 2.

**Disentangle**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (quot. 1607); see cat A. s. v. *disentangle* II 2.

**Disfigure** < OF. *desfigurer* < L. *dis-* + *figūrāre* to figure.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To mar the figure or appearance of, destroy the beauty of, to deform, deface. c. 1374—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *disfigure* 4). To have the quality of (not) being disfigured or becoming misshapen. *Obs.*

a 1618 SYLVESTER *Quadrains of Pibrac*, The right Cube's Figure . . Whose quadrat flatnesse never doth disfigure.

**Display** < OF. *despleier* (-plier, -ployer) < L. *displicāre* to scatter, disperse, (in late and med. L.) to unfold.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To unfold, expand, spread out, to unfurl (a banner, sail). Now *obs. exc.* in sense 'to unfold to view' (a banner or the like). c 1330—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *display* 1 a). To admit of being unfolded to view.

1572 R. H. tr. *Lavaterus' Ghostes & Spir.*, When . . their ensignes will not displaie abroade but fold about the stander-bearers heads.

**Dissolve**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *dissolve* II, quotes. 1592, 1718, 1873.

**Drain**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *drain* II 2.

**Dramatize** < Gr. *δράμα*, *δραματ-* drama + ize.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To convert into a drama, to put into dramatic form. 1780—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.*) To admit of dramatization.

1819 SCOTT *Fam. Lett.*, The present set . . will not dramatize.

1836 *New Monthly Mag.*, The story would dramatize admirably.

**Draw**, præd. obj. & attrib. or (sometimes) præd. attrib.; see

cat. E s. v. *draw* II 1 a (quot. 1703) and *β* quot. 1660; 1 b; 2 a (quotes. [1893], 1794, 1856); 3.

**Dress** < OF. *dresser* to arrange < L. *\*directiāre* f. *dīrectus*. ME. *dressen* recorded in 14<sup>th</sup> c.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To treat or prepare (things) in some way proper to their nature or character, to subject to processes requisite for cleansing, purifying, trimming, smoothing, etc. 1480— (2) Specific and technical use: To prepare for use of food, by making ready to cook, or by cooking. 13.— cf. NED. s. v. *dress* 11, 13.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* = passive s. v. *dress* 11 b, 13 a). (1) To admit of being dressed (with a specified result, in quot. 1802) or (in quot. 1802) to present a certain aspect when dressed.

(a) Corresp: to sense I 1.

1802 *Naval Chron.*, A rove-ash oar that will dress clean and light, is too pliant.

1854 H. MILLER *Sch. & Schm.*, It was a hard . . stone, but dressed readily to pick and hammer.

(b) Corresp. to sense I 2.

1806 *Culina*, This dish will dress very well with the cheese of our own country.

1858 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.* XIX. Potatoes so grown . . dress badly.

(2) To weigh when dressed.

1895 *Daily News*, The sheep . . should dress about 75 lbs. each.

**Drink** < OE. *drincan* = OS. *drinkan*, OHG. *trinchān*, ON. *drekka* (Sw. *dricka*), Goth. *drigkan* < OTeut. *\*drinkan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To take (liquid) into the stomach, to swallow down, imbibe, quaff. c 1000—



**II. Præd. obj. & attrib.** (NED. *intr.* s. v. *drink* 15). To have a specified flavour when drunk.

1607 HEYWOOD *Wom. kilde with Kindnesse* Epil., The wine . . drunk too flat.

1697 DAMPIER *Voy.*, It drinks brisk and cool.

1758 L. TEMPLE *Sketches*, The Burgundy drinks as flat as Port.

**Drive**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *drive* II 2.

**Dry**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *dry* II quot. 1300.

**Dulcify** < L. *dulcificāre*. f. *dulcis* sweet. Cf. F. *dulcifier*.

**I. Præd. act.** Note the trans. sense: *Old Chem.*: To wash the soluble salts out of a substance; to neutralize the acidity of. 1610—1789.

**II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.** ((NED. *intr.* for *pass.*) To have the quality of being or becoming dulcified under certain conditions.

1686 W. HARRIS tr. *Lemery's Course Chym.*, The oftner it is sublimed, the more it does dulcify, and becomes proper to apply to flesh, where we would gently corrode.

**Dye** < OE. *dēagian* < OTeut. \**ḍauyōjan*. f. *dēag*, dye, sb.

**I. Præd. act. or caus.** Trans.: To tinge with a colour or hue; to colour, stain. a 1000—

**II. Præd. obj. & attrib.** (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *dye* 3). To take a colour or hue (well or badly) in the process of dyeing (NED.). To admit of being dyed (with a favourable result) or to assume a certain aspect when dyed.

*Mod.* This material dyes very well.

**Eat** < OE. *etan* = OS. *etan*, OHG. *ēzzan*, ON. *eta* (Sw. *äta*), Goth. *itan* < OTeut. \**etan*.

**I. Præd. act.** Note the general trans. sense: To consume for nutriment. c 825—

**II. Præd. obj. & attrib.** (NED. *intr.* with passive force (chiefly with *adj.* or *adv.*) s. v. *eat* 5). To have a certain consistence or flavour when eaten (NED.)

1601 SHAKS. *All's Well*, Like one of our French wither'd peares . . it eates drily.

1607 TOPSELL *Four-f. Beasts*, Being dressed they eat like Barbles.

1682 J. COLLINS *Making Salt Eng.* A Chine of this Beef . . Eat with a savour like Marrow.

1766 GOLDSM. *Vicar W.* xvi. If the cakes at tea ate short and crisp they were made by Olivia.

**Endue, indue** < OF. *enduire* (also in semi-learned form *induire*) < L. *indūcere*.

**I. Præd. act.** Note the trans. sense: Of a hawk: In early use, app. = to put over, i. e. to pass (the food contained in the gorge) into the stomach; in later use, to digest. (From 16<sup>th</sup> c. also *To endue her gorge, her meat.*) *Obs.* 1430—1721 cf. NED. s. v. *endue* 2.

**II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.** (NED. *intr.* s. v. *endue* 3) [To be digested (NED.)]. To admit of being digested, to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being brought or coming into a digested condition. *Obs. rare.*

c 1575 *Perfect Bk. for kepinge Sparhawkes*, Meates wch endew sonest and maketh the hardest panell.

**Entangle**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *entangle* II quot. 1673.

**Erase** < L. *ērās-* ppl. stem of *ērādēre*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To scrape or rub out (anything written, engraved, etc.); to efface, expunge, obliterate. 1605—; also *transf.* and *fig.*

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. in *quasi-passive* use). To admit of being erased.

1837 CARLYLE *Fr. Rev.*, Things, which lie very black in our Earth's Annals, yet which will not erase therefrom.

**Even** < OE. *efnan*, also *ge-efn(i)an* f. *efen* even, a. = to make even. Cf. Goth. *ga-ibnjan*, OHG. *ebanôn*, ON. *iafna*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To liken, compare. *Obs. exc. dial.* c 950— cf NED. *even*. 6.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *even* 7). To admit of being compared (with a favourable result). *Obs.*

c 1230 *Hali Meid.*, 19 Hare weden ne mahen euenen to hare.

a 1240 *Sawles Warde* in *Cott. Hom.*, Helle is . . ful of brune uneuenlich, for ne mei nan eordlich fur euenin þer towart.

**Evolve**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. obj.; see cat. D. s. v. *evolve* II 1.

**Exchange** < OF. *eschangier* (mod. F. *échanger*) < late L. *excambiāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To change away; to dispose of (commodities, possessions, etc.) by exchange or barter; to give, relinquish, or lose (something) whilst receiving something else in return. 1484— (2) To give and receive reciprocally; to make an exchange of, to interchange; 1602—. cf. NED. s. v. *exchange* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *exchange* 4). Of coin, etc.: To admit of being exchanged *for*, to have the quality of being received as an equivalent *for*, to have the same value as.

[1776 ADAM SMITH *W. N.*, In 1695.. the value of the silver coin was not kept up by the gold coin; a guinea then commonly exchanging for thirty shillings of the worn and clipt silver.]

1890 *Sat. Rev.*, An English sovereign exchanged a little while ago for thirteen rupees.

—1848 MILL *Pol. Econ.*, Demand and supply always rush to an equilibrium, but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things exchange for each other according to their cost of production.

**Exhibit**, præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. obj., or refl., or exist.; see cat. A s. v. *exhibit* II.

**Extinguish**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (or else præd. obj. or exist.); see cat. D s. v. *extinguish* II 1.

**Extirp**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. D. s. v. *extirp* II.

**Fasten** < OE. *fæstnian* = OS. *fastnôn*, OHG. *fastinôn*, *festinôn*, to make firm, bind fast, (cf. Sw. *fastna*, *intr.* to stick fast).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make fast (in various senses of the adj. fast). a 900—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *fasten* 2 b)' To admit of being fastened. Quot. 1730 also = præd. attrib. (to have the quality of (easily. etc.) sticking fast to a thing).

1730 A. GORDON *Maffei's Amphith.*, The rough part of them fastens very well with Mortar.



1908 G. K. CHESTERTON *The man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) ch XIV, 280. The Thursday costume is quite warm, sir. It fastens up to the chin.

**Fire**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *fire* II 1 quot. 1774.

**Fix**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib., see cat. A s. v. *fix* II quot. 1748.

**Foil**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *foil* II quot. 1639.

**Fold** < Angl. *faldan*, WS. *fealdan* = OHG. *faltan*, ON. *falda*, Goth. *falþan*. < OTeut. \**falþan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To arrange (a piece of cloth, a surface, etc.), so that one portion lies reversed over or alongside another; to double or bend over upon itself. c. 888— (2) To bend, bow (the body or limbs). *Obs.* a 1300 — a 1605; cf. NED. *fold* 1, 4.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *fold* 1 e, 4 b.)

(1) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To be capable of being folded. Quot. 1398 also = præd. attrib., i. e. to have the quality of yielding to pressure so as to become folded.

1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.* That cassia is best that brekyth not soone but bendyth and foldeth.

1793 SMEATON *Edystone L.*, Having a joint in the middle, it folds.

(2) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Of the body or limbs: To bend, crook, double up, to fold itself, to be folded. *Obs.*

[13 . . *Maximon* in *Rel. Ant.*, Care and kunde of elde Maketh mi body folde, That y ne mai stonde upright.]

[1393 LANGL. *P. Pl.*, The fynGRES þat freo beo to folden and to clycchen.]

c 1460 *Towneley Myst.*, My legys thay fold, my fyngers ar chappyd.

**Found**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. D. s. v. *found* 2 quot. 1837.

**Fracture** < *fracture* sb. < F. *fracture* < L. *fractūra*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To cause a fracture in, esp. a bone, etc.; to break the continuity of; to crack. 1803—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) [To suffer fracture, to break NED.]. To have the quality of being broken or breaking (in a specified manner).

18 . . *Science* IV The implements . . are of sandstone [or] quartzite, neither of which fractures properly when subjected to heat.

**Freckle** < *freckle* sb. alteration of *frecken* < ON. *frecknur* pl. (Sw. *fräknar* pl.)

I. Præd. caus. Trans.: To cover with freckles or spots. 1613—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To have the quality of (easily, not, etc.) being marked with freckles or getting freckles.

1842 THACKERAY *Fitz-Boodle's Conf.*, Those fair complexions, they freckle so.

1889 ANSTEY *Pariah*, You know I never freckle.

**Fry**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *fry* quot. 1583.

**Fur**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *fur* II quotes. 1706, *mod.*

**Gild** < OE. *gyldan* (found in pa. pple. *gegylde*), otherwise only in the combinations *be-*, *ofergyldan*,

= ON. *gylla* < OTeut. \**yulþjæn* < *gulþa*-gold.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To cover entirely or partially with a thin layer of gold. 13.— *Alch.* To impregnate (a liquid) with gold. *Obs.* 1460— cf. NED. s. v. *gild* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *gild* 2). *Alch.* [To be impregnated with gold (NED.)] To admit of being gilded. *Obs.*

1666 BOYLE *Orig. Formes & Qual.*, I dropp'd into the Yellow Liquor afforded me by the Elevated Gold, a convenient quantity of clean running Mercury, which was immediately colour'd with a Golden colour'd Filme, and shaking it to and fro, till the Menstruum would guild no more, when [etc.].

**Glue** < *glue* sb. < OF. *glu* < late L. *glūt-em*, *glūs*, glue. Cf. F. *gluer*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To join or fasten with glue, etc., 13.—; *transf.* and *fig.* To fix or attach firmly (as if by gluing), c. 1384—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *glue* 3 b). To admit of being fastened by glue (NED.); to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being glued or sticking fast to a thing).

1664 EVELYN *Sylva*, It is observ'd that Oak will not easily glue to other Wood.

**Graft**, variant of *graff* vb. *arch.* < *graff* sb. < OF. *grafe* semi-popular ad. late L. *graphium* < Gr.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To insert (a shoot from one tree) as a graft into another tree. 1483—; *transf.* and *fig.* 1531—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *graft* 1 c). To admit of being grafted. Quot. 1894 = to have such a quality

that it should be grafted on (a thing). *rare.*

1884 HORNER *Florence.*, The Florentine artist... only adopted those principles which grafted most readily on his preconceived ideas.

1894 *Forum* (U. S.) If possible, the theme should graft on to a vigorous and well grown stock of native interest.

**Grind** < OE. *grindan* str. vb. The word is wanting in the other Teut. languages (yet, cf. Du. *gren-den* (rare), *grinden* wk. vb.).

I Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To reduce to small particles or powder by crushing between two hard surfaces; *esp.* to make (grain) into meal or flour in a mill. c. 1000—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in quasi-passive sense with. adj. complement or adv.; s. v. *grind* 1, e). Predicated of grain: To admit of being ground (fine, etc.) or to present a certain aspect (fine, etc.) when ground. No quot. given in NED.

**Groove** < *groove* sb. < early mod. Du *groeve* 'sulcus, fossa, scrobs.' = G. *grube*, Goth. *grôba*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cut a groove or grooves in; to provide with grooves. *To groove into*: to fit into by means of a groove (recorded 1808). 1686—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) [To be fitted as *into* a groove (NED.)]. To admit of being fitted *into*, to fit *into*, *rare.*

1886 C. GIBBON *Clare of Claresmede*. Sheldon adjoined Winston, and would groove into that estate nicely.

**Group** < *group* sb. Cf. F. *grouper*

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To make a group of, to place in a group *with* (something). Also *to group together*. 1754— (2)



To dispose (colours, figures, etc.) with due regard to their mutual relations and subordination so as to form a harmonious whole. 1718—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To admit of being grouped (without disharmony) or to present a certain aspect when grouped with. Hence the alternative oscillating sense 'to suit *well* or *ill* with', the only sense salient in quot. 1871.

1820 W. TAYLOR in *Monthly Rev.*, Massinger is so much more modern than the other writers noticed in this lecture, that they do not groupe well together.

1871 FREEMAN *Norman Conq.*, The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still groups well with the soaring towers.

**Handle** < OE. *handlian* = OHG. *hantalôn* to take or feel with the hands; deriv. of *hand* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To subject to the action of the hand or hands: in earlier use, *esp.*, to touch or feel with the hands, to pass the hand over, stroke with the hand; later, to take hold of, turn over, etc., in the hand, to employ the hands on or about. c 1000—

II. Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *handle* 1 b.) To have a (specified) feel, behaviour, action, etc. when handled.

1727 BRADLEY *Fam. Dict.* s. v. *Hop-garden*, If they handle moist or clammy when you squeeze them they are fit to bag.

1847 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.*, The wheat . . . soon handles cold and damp.

1881 GREENER *Gun*, If the balance is not the same, they will handle as if of different bends.

**Harrow** < *harrow* sb. < ME. *harwe*, answering to an OE. *\*hearwe* or *\*hearge*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To draw a harrow over; to break up, crush, or pulverize with a harrow. a 1300—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *passive* s. v. *harrow* 1 c.) Of land: To admit of being harrowed (with a specified result) or to present a certain aspect when harrowed.

1841 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, It [soil] never failed . . . to harrow down as mellow as possible.

**Hatch**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E s. v. *hatch* II quot. 1888.

**Heckle** < *heckle* sb., a parallel form (<OE. *\*hecel*) of *hackle* sb.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To dress (flax or hemp) with a heckle. c 1440—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To admit of being heckled (with a specified result) or to present a certain aspect when heckled.

1738 P. LINDSAY *Interest Scot.*, This Kind of Lint heckles away almost to nothing, and is indeed in Appearance very fine.

**Hook** < *hook* sb. < OE. *hōc*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To lay hold of or grasp with a hook; to make fast, attach, or secure with a hook or hooks, or in the manner of a hook; to connect or fasten together with hooks (and eyes). 1611—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To admit of being hooked. cf. NED. s. v. *hook* 5 (where, however, this interpret. of the quot. is not given).

1777 SHERIDAN *Trip Scarb.*, If it had been tighter 'twould neither have hooked nor buttoned.

**Humeot**, now *rare* < L. *hū-mectāre* f. (*h*)*ūmectus* moist, wet.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To moisten, wet. 1531—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) [To become humid or moist. NED] To admit of being humected or to have the quality of (easily etc.) being made or becoming moist.

1686 W. HARRIS tr. *Lemery's Chym.*, This Salt . . . easily humects and dissolves into a liquor.

**Incorporate**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *incorporate* II 3.

**Identify**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. ident.; see cat. D s. v. *identify* II 2.

**Indurate** < L. *indūrāt-*, ppl. stem of L. *indūrāre* to make hard.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Note the trans. sense: To make (a substance) hard. 1594—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To admit of being hardened (quot. 1646); or to have the quality of being made or becoming hard (by some agency) (quot. 1626).

1626 BACON *Sylva*, This sheweth that Bodies doe . . . by the Coldnesse of the Quick-siluer, Indurate.

1646 SIR. T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.*, That plants and ligneous bodies may indurate under water . . . we have experiment in Coralline.

**Inflame**, præd. obj. & attrib.; or præd. attrib.; see cat. B s. v. *inflame* II 1 quot. 1794.

**Instance**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *instance* II.

**Intermingle**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *intermingle* II quot. 1626.

**Intermix**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *intermix* II 2 quot. 1846.

**Interpret** < F. *interpréter*, or immed. ad. L. *interpretārī* to explain, expound, translate, understand, also in pass. sense, to be explained, mean, f. *interpretes*, -*pret-em* an agent, explainer, expounder, translator, dragoman.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To expound the meaning of (something abstruse or mysterious); to render (words, writings, an author, etc.) clear or explicit; to elucidate; to explain. 1382—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *interpret* 4). To signify, mean (NED.); also, to have the quality of being interpreted in a particular way. *Obs.*

1614 SELDEN *Titles Hon.*, Sophi by all likelihood was giuen him with regard to his reformed profession, as the word interprets.

**Keep** < late OE. *cēpan*: no related words known in the cognate langs.; ulterior etymology unknown.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) With adjectival (or other) complement: To preserve, maintain, retain, or cause to continue, in some specified condition, action, or course. c 1340—. (2) With adverbs as complements: *To keep away*, in the naut. sense: to cause to sail off the wind or to leeward. 1805—. (3) *To keep down* in the sense: to hold down; to hold in subjection or under control; to repress. 1581— cf. NED. s. v. *keep* 24, 46 c, 48 a.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *keep* 39 b, 41, 46 c, 48 e). (1) Correspond. to sense I 1. (a) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd.



attrib. (NED. *intr.*) (α) With adjectival complement: To have the quality of remaining or continuing in a specified condition, etc., also, to admit of being kept in a specified condition, etc.

c 1600 *Acc-Bk. W. Wray* in *Antiquary*. This . . . will kepe but one yeare good.

1825 *New Monthly Mag.*, It will keep sweet a very long time.

(β) Without any specifying complement: To admit of being reserved (in its proper condition) for another occasion, to have the quality of remaining in its proper condition. Also *fig.* cf. quot. 1889.

1626 *BACON Sylva*, Grapes . . . it is reported . . . will keep better in a vessel half full of wine, so that the grapes touch not the wine.

1705 *Lett.* in Chr. Wordsworth *Scholæ Academ.*, When he is to be buried I can't tell, but they say he can't keep long.

1847 *MARRYAT Childr. N. Forest*, He brought home more venison than would keep in the hot weather.

1889 *DOYLE Micah Clarke*, Your story, however, can keep.

(2) Correspond. to sense 1, 2, 3.

(a) Præd. obj., or refl., or act. *To keep away* = *naut.* (NED. *intr.*) To be kept away, to sail off the wind or to leeward.

1875 *BEDFORD Sailor's Pocket-Bk.*, If the vessel keeps away [from the wind's eye] 5 points, she must steam, etc.

(b) Præd. obj. or act. *To keep down* (NED. *intr.*) = To be kept down; to remain low or subdued; to be inactive.

1889 *MARY E. CARTER Mrs. Severn*, Praying that the wind would keep down for a few hours.

**Kill**, supposed to represent an OE. type *\*cyllan*, conjecturally re-

ferred to an O Teut. *\*kuljan*, ablaut-variant of *\*kwaljan*, whence OE. *cwellan* to quell.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put to death, to deprive of life; to slay, slaughter. c 1330—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in passive sense s. v. *kill* 2 e).

(1) To admit of being killed (well, etc.)

1857 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.*, On inquiry of butchers . . . I find that one characteristic of a beast which kills well, is to have a little stomach.

(2) Of an animal: To yield (so much meat) when killed.

1868 *Whitby Gaz.*, I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . . She killed 34 stones.

**Kithe, Kythe**, now *Sc.* and *north. dial.* < OE. *cȳðan* (f. *kunþo-* known) to make known in words, to announce, = OS. *kūðian*, OHG. *chundian*, ON. *kynna* < OTeut. *\*kunþjan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To make known (by action, appearance, etc.), to manifest, c. 1175—; to make manifest to the sight, to show, 1297—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. obj., or refl. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *kithe* 2) To be seen or perceived by sight, to admit of being seen or perceived, to show itself.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, Luken lune at þe end will kith.

1535 *STEWART Cron. Scot.*, The langer ay the better it did kyth.

1585 *Papers Jas. Carmichael*, Our true humility shall appear, and the fruit of our forming to that work kythe.

1821 *GALT Ann. Parish*, A kindly spirit, which would sometimes kythe in actions of charity.

**Lace** < OF. *lacier* (F. *lucier*) < popular L. *\*laciāre* to ensnare, f. *\*laciūm*, (L. *laqueum*) a noose.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To fasten or tighten with, or as with, a lace or string; to tie on; to fasten the lace of. In mod. use *spec.* to fasten or tighten (boots, stays, etc.) with a lace or laces. a 1225— (2) To mark as with (gold or silver) lace or embroidery; to diversify with streaks of colour. 1592—; cf. NED. s. v. *lace* 1, 6.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* (quasi-pass) s. v. *lace* 2 c.) To admit of being fastened or tightened with laces.

1792 WOLCOT *Wks.*, She wailing, in most piteous case, Of stubborn stays — that would not lace.

1888 P. FURNIVAL *Phys., Training*, Shoes . . . should . . . lace from the toe, as high up the foot as is possible.

**Lap**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *lap* II 2.

**Lather** < OE. *\*lēðran*, *lēðran* = ON *løyðra* < O Teut. *\*laufrian* f. *\*laufpro(m)* lather sb. From the 16<sup>th</sup> c. the word has been assimilated in form to the sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cover with or as with a lather; to wash in or with a lather. c 950—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in quasi-passive sense s. v. *lather* 1 c.) To admit of being lathered (with a specified result). *Obs.*

[1691 *Phil. Trans.* XVII [They] put them over a Fire till they are more than Blood-warm; which will make them [skins] ladder and scour perfectly clean].

**Lead** < OE. *lædan* = OS. *léd-jan*, OHG. *leiten*, ON. *leida*, (Sw.

*leda*) = O. Teut. *\*laidjan*, causative of *\*līfan* str. vb., OE. *līfan* to go, travel.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To go before or alongside and guide by direct or indirect contact. 971— (2) To draw or pass (a rope, etc.) *over* a pulley, *through* a hole, etc. 1869—; but the general sense to guide the course or direction of (something flexible) is recorded since c 1050. cf. NED. s. v. *lead* 4, 8 b.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (1) (NED. *intr.* quasi-passive s. v. *lead* 4 d). To admit of, to submit to being led.

1607 MARKHAM *Caval.*, Till hee be so tame . . . that he will leade vppe and downe quietlye.

1822 SCOTT *Pirate*, My mester may lead, but he winna drive.

1887 I. R. *Lady's Rancho Life Montana*, In the morning the pupils [colts] have learnt their lesson, and will lead anywhere.

(2) (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lead* 8 c). *Naut.* Of a rope: To admit of being 'led'. (fair, etc.).

[1867 SMYTH *Sailor's Word-Bk.*, *Fair-lead*, is applied to ropes as suffering the least friction in a block, when they are said to lead fair.]

**Lead** < *lead* sb. < OE. *lēad* = MLG. *lōd*, MHG *lōt* < O. Teut. *\*laudo(m)*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cover with lead. c 1440—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *lead* 8) Of a gun-barrel: To have the quality of (quickly etc.) being made or becoming foul with a coating of lead.

1881 GREENER *Gun*, The barrel also leads very quickly.

**Leam**, *dial.*; belongs to *leam* sb. the husk of a nut.



I. Præd. act. Trans.: To free nuts from their husks. 1788—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) Of nuts: To admit of being leamed; accord. to NED. = to separate easily from the husks = præd. attrib.

1846 BROCKETT, N. C. *Words*, It leams well.

**Let**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *let* II quot. 1855.

**Lift**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *lift* II 2.

**Load** < *load* sb. < OE. *lād* way, course, journey, conveyance = OHG. *leita*, ON. *leið* way < OTeut. \**laiðō*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To put a load on or in; to charge *with* a load. 1503—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* s. v. *load* 1 b). Of a vehicle: [To fill with passengers NED.], To have the quality of being loaded (well, etc.), to have plenty of passengers.

1832 *Examiner*, Last week the coach travelled nearly empty.. [Now] the coach loads better than ever.

1893 *Times*, This coach always loads well.

**Lock**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E s. v. *lock* II 2.

**Lower** < *lower* a., the comparative of *low* a. < ON. *låg-r* (Sw. *låg*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To let down gradually; to haul down (a sail, flag). 1659—; To bring down in rank, station, or estimation, to degrade, dishonour. 1771— cf. NED. s. v. *lower* 1, 5.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *lower* 2, 5 b). (1) Præd. obj. & attrib.: (NED. *intr.*) *Naut.* Of a yard: To admit of being let down.

1727 *Philip Quaril*, The main yard could not lower.

(2) Præd. obj. or attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To be brought down (to come down) in rank, station, or estimation.

1842 TENNYSON *Locksley Hall*, Thou shalt lower to his level day by day.

**Make** < OE. *macian* = OHG. *mahhōn*, app. f. \**mako-* fit, suitable.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To bring into existence by construction or elaboration. OE. — Note the constr. 'to make a thing *out of* (a thing), c 1175— cf. c 1000 ÆLFRIC *Gen.* xxvii. 9 Bring me twa þā betstan tyccenu, þæt ic macize mete þinum fæder *þær of*. (2) Const. *into*. To convert by process of manufacture or otherwise into something else. 1583—; (3) *To make up*: (a) To make (a garment, etc.) by fitting and sewing pieces of material cut out for the purpose; to make (cloth) into clothing. 1672—; (β) To get (a horse, etc.) into good condition for selling; to fatten. 1794—; cf. NED. s. v. *make* 1, 50, 96 f (b), 96, i (e).

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. materiæ (in quots. II 1). (cf. NED. s. v. *make* 27 b, 50, 96 f (c), 96, i (e).)

(1) (NED. *trans.*) To admit of being made into.

1592 KYD *Sp. Trag.*, Doost thou think to liue till his olde doublet will make thee a new trusse?

1598 SHAKS. *Merry W.*, An old Cloake makes a new lerkin.

1787 BECKFORD *Lett. fr. Italy*, They [frogs] make a good soup, and not a bad fricassée.

(2) (NED. *intr.* for *passive*). To have the quality of being made *into*.

1893 *Illustr. Sport. & Dram. News*, A little corner flap-table which makes into a good-sized square when the flap is up.

(3) (NED. *quasi-passive*). Of cloth: To admit of being made *up* (with a specified result) or to present a certain aspect when made *up*.

1861 Mrs H. Wood *E. Lynne*, Her striped silk, turned, will make up as handsome as ever.

1892 *Sat. Rev.*, It is a modest, unobtrusive stone, and makes up so well with diamonds, that (etc.).

(4) (NED. *intr.* for *pass.*) To turn out (in a specified way), to weigh when made *up* (i. e. fattened).

1867 *Jrnl R. Agric. Soc.*, If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they will make up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier.

**Malt** < *malt* sb. < OE. *mealt* = OHG. *malz*, Sw. *malt*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To convert (grain) into malt. c 1400—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.*) Of grain: To admit of being malted (well, etc.)

1766 *Compl. Farmer*, Old barley mixed with that of the last harvest, does not malt well.

1870 YEATS *Nat. Hist. Comm.*, Scotch barley . . does not malt well.

**Manage**, recorded earlier than the cognate *manage* sb., and prob. directly ad. It. *maneggiare* to handle esp. to manage or train (horses) = Sp. *manejar*, F. *manier* < vulgar L. *\*manidiāre*, f. L. *manus*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To conduct or carry on (a business, etc.), to control the course

of (affairs) by one's own action. 1579— cf. NED. *manage* 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* (quasi-pass.) s. v. *manage* 3 e). To admit of being managed (well, etc.).

1625 B. JONSON *Staple of News*, Is't a Cleare businesse? will it mannage well? My name must not be vs'd else.

**Manufacture** < *manufacture*, sb. (recorded since 1567) < F. *manufacture*. Cf. F. *manufacturer*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To work up (material) into forms suitable for use. 1683—; To make or fabricate from material; to produce by labour (now esp. on a large scale) 1755—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *manufacture* 4). To permit of being manufactured (well, etc.).

1763 *Museum Rusticum*, The flax thus managed dresses and manufactures much better.

**Mash** < *mash*, sb. < *masc*, *max* in compounds, corresponding to late MHG., mod. G. *meisch* = crushed grapes for wine-making, infused malt for beer. The earliest forms of the verb appear to point to an OE. *\*māscan*, (< *\*maiskjan*), cf. G. *meischen*, Sw. *mäska*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To beat into a soft mass; to crush, pound, or smash to a pulp. a 1250—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mash* 2 d). To admit of being crushed or pounded.

1877 LE CONTE *Elem. Geol.*, The lower one [lamination line] . . . consists of coarse sand which could not mash, and therefore has been thrown into folds.



**Measure** < F. *mesurer* f. *measure* measure sb. cf. L. *mēnsūrāre*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To ascertain or determine the spatial magnitude or quantity of (something). a 1340— cf. NED. *measure* 2.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in *pass.* sense s. v. *measure* 2 i). To admit of measurement (NED.). To admit of being measured (with a specified result) or to take up a certain space when measured.

1765 *Museum Rust.*, My malt . . does not shrink so much when it comes to be laid in the kiln; of course it measures to more advantage.

**Meek**, *obs.* < *meek* a. < early ME. *meoc* < ON. *miúkr*, Sw. *mjuk*.

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To make meek in spirit, to humble, c 1200—1680.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *meek* 3) To admit of being made or becoming meek.

c 1400 *Rom. Rose*, His herte is hard, that wole not meke, whan men of mekenesse him biseke.

**Mend**, aphetic f. *amend* vb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To rectify, remedy, remove (an evil); to correct, put right (a fault, anything amiss). a 1300— cf. NED. s. v. *mend* 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mend* 3 c). Of a fault: To have the quality of undergoing rectification or of abating.

1712 POPE *Spect.*, The Fire of Youth will of course abate, and is a Fault . . that mends every Day.

**Meng**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *meng* II 1 quot. 1614.

**Mesh** < *mesh* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To catch in the meshes of a net, a 1547—; *transf.* and *fig.*: To entangle, involve inextricably. 1532—

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* or *pass.* s. v. *mesh* 3).

(1) Præd. obj., or act., or stat. To be or become enmeshed, entangled, to go in the meshes of a net.

1589 WARNER *Alb. Eng.* She pitched Tewe, he masshed.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. attrib. To admit of being meshed; to have the quality of going in the meshes of a net (under certain circumstances); Quot. 1827 = To have the quality of generally being meshed or going in the meshes.

1801 PENNANT *Journ. Lond. to Isle of Wight*, After which they [mackerel] will not mesh, but are caught with hooks.

1827 in J. G. Cumming *I. of Man*, In the summer fishery the herrings always mesh with their heads to the north.

1864 J. BRUCE in *Glasgow Daily Herald*, When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and do not mesh well.

**Mill** < *mill* sb < OE. *mylen* < late L. *molīnum*, *molna*. f. *mol*-root of *molĕre* to grind.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To grind (corn) in a mill; to produce (flour) by grinding, 1570—; to hull seeds by means of a mill, 1863.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mill* 2 c). [To undergo hulling or milling. NED.] To admit of being milled.

1863 BUCKMAN in *Gard. Chron.*, The Burnet . . will not mill, but simply gets its wings broken off.

**Mingle**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *mingle* II 3.

**Mix**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *mix* II 2.

**Mouth** < *mouth* sb. < OE. *mūþ*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To pronounce, speak; to give utterance to. *Obs. exc. arch.* a 1300—; To utter in a pompously oratorical style, or with great distinctness of articulation; to declaim. 1602—. cf. NED. s. v. *mouth* 1, 2.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *mouth* 2 b). To admit of being mouthed (well, etc.).

1762 WILKES *N. Briton*, It [the word 'glorification'] found favour among their long-winded divines, only because it was so long, and mouthed so well.

**Multiply** < OF. (mod. F.) *multiplier* < L. *multiplicāre*. Recorded in Engl. a 1275.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: *Alch.* To increase the precious metals, as by transmutation of the baser metals. c 1386— *Obs.* cf. NED. s. v. *multiply* 6.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *multiply* 6). Said of the precious metals: To admit of being multiplied. *Obs.*

1477 NORTON *Ord. Alch.*, Upon Nature thei falsely lye For Mettalls doe not Multiplie.

**Muster** < OF. *mostrer*, *mouster* < L. *monstrāre* to show.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To collect or assemble (*primarily* soldiers) for verification of numbers, inspection, etc., to inspect. c 1400—; To collect, bring together (persons or things). c 1586—;

often in phrases (*I, he, they*, etc.) *can muster* (such or such a number or amount) 1743—; cf. NED. s. v. *muster* 2, 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *trans.* s. v. *muster* 2 g). To turn out to be (such or such a number) when mustered, to comprise or number.

1837 W. IRWING *Capt. Bonneville*, The whole garrison mustered but six or eight men.

[1907 *Athenæum*, Davout's corps . . . defeated a force . . . mustering nearly double its numbers.]

**Nitrify** < F. *nitrifier* (1777).

I. Præd. act. or caus. Trans.: To convert into, impregnate with, nitre; to make nitrous. 1828—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) [To turn to nitre; to become nitrous (NED.)]. To admit of being nitrified; to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being made or becoming nitrous.

1884 *Nature*, A thin layer of solution will nitrify sooner than a deep layer.

[1892 MORLEY & MUIR *Watt's Dict. Chem.*, A little vegetable earth which was known to nitrify easily.]

**Notch** < *notch* sb. app. ad. older F. *oche* (mod. F. *hoche*) of the same meaning, with *n* of the article prefixed.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cut or make notches in; to cut or mark with notches. 1600—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *notch* 7). To admit of being notched; to have the quality of (easily, etc.) being or becoming jagged or indented. *rare*.

1693 EVELYN *De La Quint. Compl. Gard.*, Their matter must be of good temper'd Steel, so that the edge may neither turn, or notch easily.



**Nurse**, later form of *nursh*, vb. by assimilation to *nurse* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: Of a woman: To suckle, and otherwise attend to, or simply to take care or charge of (an infant). 1535—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. stat. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *nurse* 1 c). Of an infant: To admit of being nursed, to (wish to) take the breast, to be given the breast.

1897 *Trans. Amer. Pedriatic Soc.*, The child seemed languid, and would not nurse.

**Open**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. A s. v. *open* II 4; præd. obj., or refl., or præd. obj. & attrib. *ibid.* II 2.

**Outlaw** < Late OE. *(ge)ūtlagian*, f. *ūtlag(a)*, outlaw sb. of ON. origin. Cf. ON. *útlegja*, *útlægja* to banish.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To deprive of legal force. 1647, a 1661. Now only in U. S. cf. 1864 Webster *Outlaw*, To remove from legal jurisdiction or enforcement, as to *outlaw* a debt or claim.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) To admit of being outlawed, to have the quality of (not) being outlawed or losing legal force (U. S.).

1895 'MARK TWAIN' in *Westm. Gaz.*, Honour is a harder master than the law. It cannot compromise for less than a hundred cents on the dollar, and its debts never outlaw.

**Overgrow** < *over* + *grow* < OE. *grōwan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To grow over, to cover with

growth, to overrun, overspread. (Now chiefly in pa. pple.) 14th c.—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *overgrow* I c) To have the quality of being overgrown or covered *with*. *Obs.*

a 1643 J. SHUTE *Judgem. & Mercy*, The Field unplowed overgrows with weeds.

**Overthrow**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *overthrow* II quot 1546.

**Overwhelm** < *over* + *whelm*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To overturn, overthrow, upset. *Obs.* c 1330—1796.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *overwhelm* 1 d). [To turn over, revolve, tumble over (NED.)]; To have the quality of being brought, of coming, into agitation under certain circumstances.

c 1400 *Rom. Rose*, The see may never be so stil, That with a litel winde it nil Overvhelme and turne also.

**Oxidate**, now rare, < F. *oxid-er* + *ate*.

I. Præd. caus. or act. To cause to unite with oxygen; to convert into an oxide. 1790—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.*) To admit of being oxidated, to have the quality of (easily etc.) being turned into or becoming an oxide.

1879 G. PRESCOTT *Sp. Telephone*, The harder metals which do not oxidate readily, being preferred.

**Pack** < MDu., MLG. *pakken* vb. (also Eng. *pack* sb. < LG). So also Anglo-Fr. *packer*, *enpaker*, Anglo-L. *pakkare*, *impaccare*. In

Eng. the verb appears at an early date in connexion with the wool trade, and it is known that the trade in English wool was chiefly with the Low Countries. Accord. to NED. the vb. < *pack* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: To make into a pack, package, bale, or compact bundle, 13...—; also to pack *up*, 1530—; To put together closely or compactly, to form into a compact mass or body, to crowd together, 1563—cf. NED. s. v. *pack* 1, 2, 3.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.* in passive sense s. v. *pack* 5 b). To admit of being packed (quot. 1846: with a specified result). Quot. 1846 also = to lie close together when packed.

1846 GREENER *Sc. Gunnery*, When the small balls did not pack perfectly tight.

1867 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.*, It all takes to pieces, packs up easily.

**Paint** < OF. *peindre* (3rd sing. pres. *peint*, pa. pple. *peint*) < L. *pingere*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To make (a picture or representation) on a surface in colours; to represent (an object) to the eye on a surface by means of lines and colour; to depict, portray, delineate, by using colours. c 1290—cf. NED. s. v. *paint* 1.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for neuter-passive s. v. *paint* 1 f.) To admit of being painted (with a good result) or to present a certain aspect when painted = NED: to form a good (bad) subject for painting.

1860 READE *Cloister & H.*, War was always detrimental... But in old times... it painted well, sang divinely, furnished Iliads.

**Parse**, app. f. L. *pars* part or f. ME. *pars* sb. pl. *obs.* = parts; parts of speech, grammar < OF. *pars* pl. of *part*.

I. Præd. act. Trans.: To describe (a word in a sentence) grammatically, by stating the part of speech, inflexion, and relation to the rest of the sentence; to resolve (a sentence, etc.) into its component parts of speech and describe them grammatically. a 1553—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *part* c) To admit of being parsed.

1880 GRANT WHITE *Every-day Eng.*, Anxious... whether his sentences will parse.

**Peel**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. C s. v. *peel* II 2.

**Perfurnish**, *obs.* < F. *parfour-niss*-lengthened stem of *parfournir*, in OF. to achieve, complete, accomplish, furnish completely, furnish with what is wanting to completeness. *Perfurnish* is connected with *perform* by the intermediate ME. *parfourne*, *parfourny*, and 16th c. *perf(o)urmis*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To perform, carry out, execute. 1374—1592.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *perfurnish* 1 b) To admit of being carried out.

1393 *Test. Ebor.*, (Surtees) In kase be that this wytword will noght perfurnysche, I will it be abyrdged; for I will hafe of na mans part bot of myne aune.

**Pervert** < F. *pervertir* < L. *pervertere*:

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To turn aside from its right course, aim, etc. 1382—



II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *reft.*) To have the quality of being or becoming perverted (*into*). *rare*.

1635 QUARLES *Emblems*. Blessings unus'd pervert into a Wast. As well as Surfeits.

**Pick** < ME. *pīken*, (*pīkken*), prob. of Teut. origin (cf. OE *picung* vbl. sb.). The history of the word is obscure. Earliest record c 1325.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To separate by picking, to pull or comb asunder, 1536— cf. NED. s. v. *pick* VI 11.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* s. v. *pick*. VI, 11 b) To admit of being picked *into*.

1794 *Rigging & Seamanship*. The yarn . . will pick into oakum.

**Polish**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. E s. v. *polish* II 2.

**Preserve**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. D. s. v. *preserve* II 1, 2.

**Print** < *print*, sb. < OF. *priente*, *preinte*, sb. < *prient*, *preint*, pa. pple. of *priembre*, *preindre* to press, stamp < L. *premere*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: to print (books, etc.). 1511—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* or *absol.* s. v. *print* 8 c). Of a manuscript or of literary matter: To run up or amount in type (to so much) (NED.); to turn out (to constitute so much) when printed. *rare*.

1886 TUPPER *My Life as Author*. I wish there was space here to say more about all this: but the great book before me would print up into several volumes.

**Pull** < OE. *pullian*, rare, and of uncertain etymology.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To pluck, gather, cull, pick (fruit, flowers, or leaves) from the trees or plants on which they grow. Now chiefly Sc. 1340— (2) To pull (an oar or sculls); hence to row, to propel (a boat) by rowing. 1835—; the *intr.* or *absol.* sense 'to pull an oar so as to move a boat' is recorded since 1676. The chronology is strange, since the latter sense presupposes the former. (3) To pull *up*: to cause to stop; to stop (a coach) 1623—; to bring (a horse) to a standstill by tightening the reins. 1827—; cf. NED. s. v. *pull* 1 c, 15 b, 31 d, e.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *pull* 1 e, 15 c, 31 f.) (1) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.*) (α) To bear or admit of plucking or pulling (easily, etc.).

1641 BEST *Farm. Bks.*, They [pease] pull the best when they are the most feltered together.

1778 [W. MARSHALL] *Minutes Agric.*, They [beans] may not pull so easily in dry weather.

(β) NED. *trans.*) Of a boat: To have the quality of being rowed with, to carry (so many oars.) The latter sense involves præd. attrib.

1804 in Nicholas *Disp. Nelson* (1845). She should be fitted so as to pull thirty-eight sweeps and two skulls.

1829 *Chron.* in *Ann. Reg.*, She pulls six oars.

MARRYAT *Midsh. Easy*, XXX 263 She (a gally) pulled fifty oars.

(2) Præd. obj. or act.

(α) (NED. *intr.* with passive sense). Of a boat: To be pulled or rowed (NED.); also = to move by pulling.

1836 MARRYAT *Midsh. Easy*, XIII, The boats pulled in shore.

MARRYAT *P. Simple* XLIX, 525, and it (the jolly-boat) pulled in-shore . .

( $\beta$ ) (NED. *absol.*) Of a vehicle, To stop, come to a standstill (NED.); to be pulled up.

1874 BURNAND *My Time*, A carriage pulled up . . close by the bridge.

MAXWELL GREY *The Reproach of Annesley* V. 26 The phaeton pulled up.

CHESTERTON *The Man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) 25 The car pulled up before a particularly dreary and greasy beer-shop.

**Quilt** < *quilt* sb. < OF. *cuilt*, *coilte* < \**colcta*, \**culcta* < L. *culcita* a stuffed sack, cushion, mattress.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To fasten together, (two pieces or thicknesses of woven material) by stitches or lines of stitching, so as to hold in position a layer of some soft substance placed between them. Also, to sew (several thicknesses) together, usually by stitches arranged in some regular or decorative pattern. 1555—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *quilt* 1 b) To admit of being sewn as a quilt.

1622 MARKHAM *Decades War*, Buckram . . is too stiffe and unplyable, by which means it will not quilt like the other.

**Read** < OE. *rædan* = OS. *rādan*, OHG. *rātan*, ON. *rāða* (Sw. *rāða*), Goth. *rēdan* < OTeut. \**ræðan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To inspect and interpret in thought (any signs which represent words or discourse); to peruse (a document, book, etc.). c 888— cf. NED. s. v. *read* 5.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *read* 18).

(1) To admit of being read (with a favourable result as to

impression) or to present a certain aspect when read.

1668 SHADWELL *Sullen Lovers*, 'Tis a play that shall read and act with any play that ever was born.

1727 DE FOE *Hist. Appar.*, The book will read without it.

( $\beta$ ) To admit of interpretation:

1866 J. MARTINEAU *Ess.*, This rule reads both ways.

(2) To present a specified character, to produce a certain impression, when read.

1731 *Gentl. Mag.*, Thy comedies excell . . . And read politely well.

1789 T. TWINING *Aristotle's Treat. Poetry*, Whose productions . . . read better than they act.

1805 W. TAYLOR in *Ann. Rev.*, This Pamphlet is so pious as to read more like a sermon than a political address.

1828 *Examiner*, Nothing can read more free and easy than his present translation.

1878 BOSW. SMITH *Carthage*, The joke does not read to us like a very good one.

*transf.* 1863 JULIA KAVANAGH *Eng. Wom. Letters*, There are lives that read like one long sorrow.

**Realize** < *real* a. + *ize*. < OF *real*, *reel*, late L. *reālis* f. *rēs*, thing), perh. after F. *réaliser*. Earliest quot. 1611.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To convert (securities, paper money, etc.) into cash, or (property of any kind) into money. 1727— (In this sense: after F. *realiser* cf. NED. *realize* 4).

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *trans.*; *intr.* (quot. 1884) s. v. *realize* 5 b, c). (a) Of property or capital: To admit of being sold (with a specified result as to price) or to bring a specified amount of money when sold or invested.



1845 *Mc CULLOCH Taxation*, notwithstanding the high rate of profit it realises in the States.

1863 *FAWCETT Pol. Econ.*, if the same pictures realised a hundred guineas each.

1884 *Leeds Mercury*, The liabilities are estimated at £ 130,000, and the assets will, it is assumed, realise well.

(b) Of property or capital: To (actually) bring a specified amount of money when sold.

1885 *Law Times Rep.*, His duty was to see that the property realised its full value.

**Rear** < OE. *ræran* = ON. *reisa* (whence Eng. *raise*), Goth. *-raisjan* < OTeut. *\*raizjan*, causative of OE. *rīsan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To bring (animals) to maturity or to a certain stage of growth by giving proper nourishment and attention; *esp.* to attend to the breeding and growth of (cattle, etc.) as an occupation. c 1420—. cf. NED. s. v. *rear* 9.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *rear* 16) To turn out (well or ill) in course of, or after, rearing (NED.).

1894 *Daily News*, In the counties mentioned pheasants have reared well.

**Reckon**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *reckon* II 1 (quot. 1898), 2 (also præd. attrib.)

**Reduce**, præd. obj. & attrib. see cat. B s. v. *reduce* II. quot. 1895.

**Reproduce** < *re-* + *produce* vb, prob. after F. *reproduire* (16th c.).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To bring again into material existence; *spec.* in *Biol.* to form (a lost limb or organ) afresh; to generate (new individuals). 1611— (2) To repeat in a more

or less exact copy, to produce a copy of (a work of art, picture, drawing, etc.), now *esp.* by means of engraving, photography, or similar processes. 1850—. cf. NED. s. v. *reproduce* 1, 3 b.

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *absolute*, s. v. *reproduce* 1 c.) To have the quality of being or becoming multiplied by generation, of originating in a specified way, etc.

1894 *Times* (weekly ed.) 31 Aug., It [the bacillus] reproduces at the rate of hundreds per day.

1896 tr. *Boas' Text.-bk. Zool.*, Among those animals which reproduce only by fertilised ova, successive generations are almost always alike.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *reproduce* 3 c.) To turn out (well, etc.) when reproduced, *i. e.* in a copy.

1891 *Pall Mall G.*, The drawings . . reproduce in monochrome-plate process with greater strength than might be expected.

**Reserve**, præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.; see cat. D s. v. *reserve* II quot. 1632.

**Retail**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *retail* II.

**Retract** < L. *retract-* ppl. stem of *retrahere*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To draw or pull (something) back. 1432-50—.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *retract* 5). To admit of being retracted.

1862 *Catal. Internat. Exhib.*, In non-military rifles, the foresight . . retracts within a strong sheath.

**Ride** < OE. *ridan* = OHG. *rītan*, Sw. *rida*, etc.

I. Præd. act. Note the construction: To ride a horse, etc. Here

the adjunct may be conceived as status instrumenti (cf. the older constr. to ride *on, upon* a horse), which, however, owing to its form of casus rectus and to the analogy with phrases such as 'to drive a horse', also tends to appear as status objectivus. 13th c.— cf. NED. s. v. *ride* 15.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib., or præd. instr. & attrib., or præd. attrib. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *ride* 6).

(1) Of horses: To admit of being ridden, to have the quality of 'going' (a certain distance or in a specified way).

1470—85 MALORY *Arthur*, Thenne he . . was ware of a damoyssel that came ryde ful faste as the horse myghte ryde.

1632 LITHGOW *Trav.*, The Dromidory . . will ride aboue 80 miles in the day.

(2) Of horses: To 'go' (in a specified way) when ridden.

1598 ROUS *Thule*, The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full gently rides.

1692 *Lond. Gaz.*, A Chestnut Gelding . . rideth gracefully, paceth a little.

1714 *Ibid.*, Commonly Rides with her Tongue out of her Mouth.

1805 *Spirit Publ. Jrnls.*, Can you get me a nag That will ride very quiet?

**Rive** < ON. *rifa* (Sw. *riva*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To tear apart or in pieces, to pull asunder, to rend or split. a 1300 (*Cursor M.*) — cf. NED. s. v. *rive* 1, 4.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *rive* 10 a, 10 b). (1) Præd. obj. or stat. (NED. *intr.*) To be split, to part asunder, to cleave, split, open up, etc.

a 1300 *Cursor M.*, þe see [gan] to ris, þe erth to riue.

c 1330 *Arth & Merl.*, Mani schaft þer gan riue.

1578 LYTE *Dodoens*. A thinne barke the which will soone rive, or cleave asunder.

[1877 TENNYSON *Harold*, Why let earth rive, gulf in These cursed Normans.]

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.*) (2) Of wood or stone: To admit of splitting or cleaving.

1699 *Phil. Trans.* XXI, A Tree we call Cypress . .; it is soft and spungy, will not Rive.

1772 *Ann. Reg.*, The body of the willow tree rives into pales.

1811 PINKERTON *Petral.*, All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, will cut and rive in any direction.

1831 JOHN HODGSON in Raine *Mem.*, They rive, according to the term of the quarry-men, into thin . . laminæ.

**Row** < OE. *rōwan* = MLG. and LG. *rōjen, rojen*, MHG. *rüejēn*, ON. *róa* (Sw. *ro*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To propel (a boat or other vessel) by means of oars. c 1340— The intr. sense (predicated of persons) 'to use oars for the purpose of propelling a boat,' is met with c 950. cf. NED. s. v. *row*, 5, 1.

II. Præd. obj. (cf. NED. s. v. *row* 3 a, 3 c.)

(1) Præd. obj. or act. (NED. *intr.*) Of a boat or other vessel: To move along the surface of water by means of oars (NED.); to be rowed.

c 1375 *Sc. Leg. Saints*, As fysche wald he dwel in þe flud, & our-tyrwit batis, þat rowyt þare.

1500—20 DUNBAR *Poems*, Where many a barge doth saile, and row with are.

1794 MRS. RADCLIFFE *Myst. Udolpho*, Montoni's gondola rowed out upon the sea.



(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. (NED. *trans.*) To have the quality of being rowed with, to carry (so many oars).

1769 FALCONER *Dict. Marine*, Pinnaces . . are somewhat smaller, and never row more than eight oars.

1854 H. MILLER *Sch. & Schm.*, I purchased . . a light little yawl . . that rowed four oars.

**Rub** < ME. *rubben* = LG. *rubben*; etymology obscure.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To subject to pressure and friction in order to clean, polish, etc., 1382 (1377)—; *to rub off* to remove by rubbing, 1591— cf. NED. s. v. *rub* 2 (1), 10.

II. Præd. obj. (NED. *intr.* s. v. *rub* 17.) (1) Præd. obj. & attrib. To bear rubbing; to admit of being rubbed (*off, out, etc.*)

1683 MOXON *Mech. Exerc. Printing*, When the Shank of a Letter has a proper Thickness, Founders say, It Rubs well.

1726 LEONI *Alberti's Archit.*, It is very soft, and will easily rub to pieces.

1859 *Handbk. Turning*, They [marks] will easily rub out.

1877 SPURGEON *Serm.*, Dirt will rub off when it is dry.

(2) Præd. obj. To be rubbed off.

1870 LOWELL *Study Wind., Condesc. Foreigners*, When the plating of Anglicism rubs off . . we are liable to very unpleasing conjectures about the quality of the metal underneath.

**Saw** < *saw* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To cut with a saw. a 1225—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* with passive force) To admit of being sawn.

1726 LEONI *Alberti's Archit.*, Beech . . will saw into extreme thin Planks.

*Ibid.*, A white sort of Stone . . which Saws easier than Wood itself.

**Scan** < ME. *scannen* < F. *scander* or directly < L. *scandere* (*versus*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To examine by counting the metrical feet or syllables; to read or recite so as to indicate the metrical structure. 1398—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass. s. v. scan* 1 c.) To admit of being scanned (with a good result) or to turn out to agree with the rules of meter when scanned.

1857 HUGHES *Tom Brown* II iii, Martin . . proceeded . . to convert these . . into Latin that would scan.

*Mod.* (cf. NED. s. v. *construe* 3 c.) His verses did not scan and would not construe.

*Mod.* (cf. Cent. Dic.) Lines that scan well.

**Scorch**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *scorch* II 2.

**Screw** < *screw* sb.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To turn a screw, to insert or fix one thing *in(to), on, to*, another or two things *together* by a turning or twisting movement. 1612— cf. NED. s. v. *screw* II 10.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* in passive sense s. v. *screw* 10 c.) To admit of being screwed (*together, etc.*). Quot. 1881 = to have the quality of being or of requiring to be screwed *on* (a specified thing).

1776 G. SEMPLE *Building in Water*, The Rods were in three Pieces . . which screwed together occasionally.

1791 GILPIN *Forest Scenery* He carried with him a gun, which screwed into three parts . .

1821 *John Bull*, The head [of the vessel] screws off at the middle of the neck.

1881 F. CAMPIN *Mech. Engin.*, The face-plate which screws on the mandrils.

**Sell**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. E. s. v. *sell* II 2.

**Sing** < OE. *singan* = OS., OHG. *singan*, ON. *syngja*, *syngva* (Sw. *sjunga*), Goth. *siggwan*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To chant, to utter in musical sounds. OE. —

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being sung (with a good result) or (in quot. 1860) also to present a certain aspect in the way of subject when sung. Hence, to form a good (bad) subject for singing.

1860 READE *Cloister & H.* xliii, 123. War was always detrimental . . . But in old times . . . it painted well, sang divinely, furnished Iliads.

O'CURRY *Anc. Irish*, II, xxxviii (cf. Cent. Dic.) I know it (Ossianic hymn) myself very well, and I know several old poems that will sing to it.

**Stain**, perhaps præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. B. s. v. *stain* II quot. (Shaks. Sonn.)

**Steer**, præd. obj. & attrib.; see cat. C. s. v. *steer* II. 2.

**Taint** < AF. *teinter* (1409 -- 10) f. *teint* pa. pple. of OF. *teindre* to dye, colour < L. *tingere* to tinge, steep, dye, stain.

I. Præd. act. Trans: To touch, affect; to imbue with something of a deleterious nature; to sully. ME. —

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. To admit of being affected (with weakness). *Obs.*

SHAKS. *Macbeth* V, iii, 3. Till Byrnam wood remoue to Dunsinane I cannot taint with Feare.

**Take** < ON. *taku* (Sw. *taga*).

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense with *from*, *off*: To carry away, to remove, extract, to deprive, or rid a person or a thing of, a 1272— cf. NED. s. v. *take* 58.

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *pass.* with adv. or advb. phr. s. v. *take* 58 f.) To be capable of being (or adapted to be) taken *off*, *out*, *to pieces*, etc. So by extension, *to take in and out* = to be capable of being put in and taken out; so *to take on and off*. Quot. 1892 = to have the quality of generally being taken off (at a particular time).

[1669 STURMY *Mariner's Mag.*, A Brass pair of Compasses . . . and four Steel Points to take in and out.]

1867 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.* Ser. ii, III, ii 591. It all takes to pieces, packs up easily.

1892 *S't James Gaz.*, Yours [*i. e.* hair] takes off at night.

**Tan** < late OE. *tannian* (found once in pa. ppl. *getanned*) or else < OF. *tanner*.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To prepare skins. OE.— (2) To make brown (the face or skin). 1530—

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. (NED. *intr.* for *refl.*) Of face or skin: To admit of being tanned.

1884 *Illustr. Lond. News*, One advantage you swarthy people have over us -- you don't tan.

*Mod.* (cf. Cent. Dic.) The leather tans easily.

**Tear** < OE. *teran* = OHG. *fir-zëran*, Goth. *ga-tairan* break, destroy.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To rend, pull apart or in pieces, to make a rent in. OE. —

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib. To admit of being torn, to have the quality of rending (easily, etc.).

*Mod.* (cf. Cent. Dic.) Cloth that tears readily.

**Wash** < OE. *wascan* = OHG. *wascan*, Sw. *vaska* < OTeut. \**waskan*.



I. Præd. act. Note the trans. sense: To apply a liquid, especially water, to (a person or thing) for the purpose of cleaning. OE. —

II. Præd. obj. & attrib. Of fabrics and of dyes: To admit of being washed (without being spoilt or injured) or to turn out (well, etc.) when washed. *fig.* To admit of being put to the proof (without proving not genuine) or to turn out genuine, reliable when submitted to trial.

1798 JANE AUSTEN *Northang. Abb.* (1833) I. iii 14. I do not think it will wash well; I am afraid it will fray.

CH. READE *Love me Little X* (cf. Cent. Dic.). I had no idea your mousseline-de-laine would have washed so well. Why, it looks just out of the shop.

*Mod.* Colours that do not wash well.

*fig.* T. HUGHES *Tom Brown at Rugby* ii, 2 (cf. Cent. Dic.). He has got pluck somewhere in him. That's the only thing after all that will wash, ain't it?

J. PAYN *High Spirits* (Tauchn.) 51. Indeed, he once so far forgot himself as to inquire 'Whether it [*i. e.* the tone] would wash?'

**Wear** < OE. *werian* = OHG. *werien* (*werren*), ON. *verja*, Goth. *wasjan* to clothe.

I. Præd. act. Note the trans. senses: (1) To carry or bear on the body as a covering or ornament. OE. — (2) To consume by frequent or habitual use, to waste or impair by rubbing or attrition, to consume. Often with *away*, *off*, *out*. ME. —

II. Præd. obj. (1) Præd. obj. Correspond. to sense I. 2. To be impaired or diminished through use, attrition or lapse of time, to be spent or consumed. 2nd quot. intemp. sense, also = præd. exist. (to disappear).

1703 MOXON *Mech. Exerc.* 183. In short time wears the outside of that

Corner to comply and form with the hollow of the Gouge.

1834 MARRYAT *P. Simple* ch. xxxiv. 386. Peter, that's just the first feeling which wears away after a time.

(2) Præd. obj. & attrib. (a) Corresp. to sense I. 1. To admit of being worn or used (without being easily consumed, etc.) or to turn out (good, etc.) when worn (= used). *fig.* To admit of being put to the test (without proving not genuine) or to turn out genuine, etc. when tested. Hence the alternative oscillating sense 'to last or hold out' (in course of use or in lapse of time) = præd. attrib., the only sense *now* salient, both in *lit.* and *fig.* use.

MRS. GASKELL *Cranford* (Tauchn.) 154 And I dare say lavender will wear better than sea-green.

*fig.* GOLDSMITH *Vicar of Wakefield* ch i. 1. but such qualities as would wear well.

[MAXWELL GRAY *The Reproach of Annesley* ch. vi, p. 34. The old rascal wears well.]

(b) Corresp. to sense I. 2. To admit of being impaired, diminished, wasted, etc. or to have the quality of (not) being, becoming (easily) consumed or wasted = præd. obj. & attrib. or præd. attrib.

SHAKS. *Lucrece* I. 560 Though marble wear with raining.

BUNYAN *Pilgr. Progr.* i, and shoes that would not wear out.

*Mod.* I want a cloth that will not wear.

(c) Corresp. to sense I 1. To have the quality of (not) being worn (by persons), also = præd. attrib. (to be in fashion).

SHAKS *All's Well* I. i. 172. Like the brooch and the toothpick, which wear not now.

**Note.** The mod. quot. 'I want a cloth that will not wear' (sense II 2 b) means practically the same as 'I want a cloth that will wear' (sense II 2 a) (cf. H. BRADLEY *The Making of English*, London 1906, 189).

## CHAPTER II.

### Etymological review of active predications of direct object in English.

In dealing with the origin of a passive sense in the active form, we are no doubt methodologically justified in examining separately each of the categories into which we have descriptively divided this semological change. For, though there is a uniform all-comprehensive explanation of the proximate origin of the passive sense, this is not so in the case of its ultimate source. True, we may here distinguish two leading principles of etymological interpretation, *i. e.* the reflexive and the causative principle. However, they are chiefly applicable to the first four or five categories, and even in them they do not constitute the only mode of explanation. Besides, the descriptive categories established present a very serviceable basis of division for studying the origin and the applicability of these principles.

The scheme of arrangement of our etymological study of each of the categories should be conditioned by the fact that we have to account both for the ultimate origin of the passival sense in the active form and for its proximate source. The latter fact involves not only an examination of the factors that in a secondary intransitive construction give rise to the passival sense, but also a consideration of the forces that counteract their operation and tend to make the secondary sense appear as reflexive or intransitive. But this refers to the salience of the passival and the alternative non-passival sense, which in its turn determines the extent of the several categories. Thus there are descriptive points which are so closely bound up with the etymological examination that in our opinion they should be dealt with in connexion with the latter.

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### A. Predications of direct object or of reflexivity.

In this category we are concerned with primary transitive verbs which have adopted a correlative non-transitive meaning oscillating between a passive and a reflexive aspect. But in most cases, nay in all instances, where a verb in the active form presents this oscillation there is also an intransitive sense struggling for salience. Let us first examine this phenomenon as revealed in our material.

*Salience of  
an intr.  
sense.*

The salience of the intransitive sense is principally dependent on one particular factor. It will be remembered that we are here in the presence of primary transitive verbs used in a secondary intransitive construction. This circumstance involves the origination of two conflicting forces which are the principal agencies in bringing about an oscillation in the predication aspect of the verb. On the one hand it should be borne in mind that the primary transitive meaning generally constitutes the predominant sense of the verb regarded from the hearer's (reader's) point of view. Thence it follows that this sense tries to make itself conspicuous also in a secondary non-transitive construction. If there is nothing to counteract this tendency, then the result will be that the verb in the new construction assumes either a passival or a reflexive aspect or else both. Thus one of the forces that determine the import of the verb is the associative influence exercised by the primary sense of the verb.

On the other hand it should be noticed that the verb in the new construction is dressed in the active form. Now this form is not the normal expression for the passive or reflexive senses. The active form is, instead, suggestive of an intransitive meaning, and it is therefore only natural that the hearer's (reader's) consciousness should try to bring the sense of the verb into harmony with the normal function of the active form. But this implies that a non-converted, *i. e.* intransitive sense struggles for salience. Thus the other force that determines the predication import of the verb is the associative influence exercised by the form of the verb in the new construction.

Though we admit that it is this factor that principally conditions the intransitive sense, yet there is also another point that should be taken into consideration. We may proclaim that the more readily the primary transitive sense stands out as causative, the more easily appears the intransitive construction as involving the correlative intransitive sense. Causative aspect implies an intransitive meaning that is turned into a transitive sense by the additional existence of a semological element presupposing a cause or an agency bringing about that the grammatical object is determined by the intransitive signification.

But the semological contrast between a causative sense and a correlative intransitive signification is a distinction that pervades language to a very large extent and that, in fact, constitutes an important psychological category. Therefore, if a primary transitive sense has a distinctly causative aspect, then its use in a secondary non-transitive construction very readily gives rise to the correlative intransitive sense. In short, we mean that the semological contrast between causative and correlative intransitive senses, whether expressed by different morphemes or not, exercises an associative influence on the predication aspect of a verb used in a secondary intransitive construction and strengthens the tendency to give rise to an intransitive sense already induced by the active form of the verb. Hence it follows that the operation of the factors that tend to lend a passival or a reflexive aspect to a secondary intransitive construction are more strongly counteracted when the primary transitive sense readily appears as causative than when this is not the case. But, apart from these two factors, *i. e.* the form and the causative aspect, we may suppose that the oscillation towards an intransitive sense is in some measure also due to the general tendency of morphemes to oscillate in import independently of form. In the case of verbs, this is for instance proved by the fact that a verb in the passive or the reflexive form may assume an intransitive sense (cf. Essay I p. 32).

If we examine our material, we can trace this oscillating intransitive sense more or less distinctly. Thus in the verbs *arrange*, *embattle*, *form*, when predicated of troops, we can distinguish the intransitive meaning 'to take up a position in the field', and the verbs *exercise*, *drill*, predicated of the same kind of subject, may involve 'to perform military exercises'. The verbs *bend* and *beye*, when used in an intransitive construction, may imply the intransitive



sense 'to assume a curved shape, to bow'. The verbs *berth*, *moor*, *keep (away)*, and *tow*, when predicated of ships, may present the intransitive import 'to take up a suitable position at anchor', 'to sail off the wind or to leeward', 'to enter a port (to move along) by towing'. Such verbs as *bisect*, *depart*, *dissever*, *divide* when predicated of a way, sea, nerves, etc., may imply an intransitive sense of action, then metaphorically conceived, *i. e.* 'to become separated into parts, to branch, ramify'. When *dissever* and *divide* are predicated of clouds, persons, blood, etc., we are concerned with an intransitive sense involving real activity. We must admit that the verb *cast*, when predicated of the sea, may imply an intransitive sense, *i. e.* 'to strike against', or the like. We must also admit that such verbs as *clench (clinch)*, *close*, *distort*, *draw*, *frounce*, *knit*, when predicated of parts of an animate body, *e. g.* hands, eyes, teeth, face, brows, forehead, may involve an intransitive sense, *i. e.* only the activity (movement) performed by the subject may be salient. The same is true of the verbs *cleave*, *fold*, *close*, *loup*, *disclose*, *open*, and *reopen*, when employed in a secondary intransitive construction. The verbs *chare* and *convert* in a non-transitive use may stand out intransitively, *i. e.* 'to embrace another belief or religious faith'. Also the verbs *empty* and *evacuate*, when predicated of rivers, may imply an intransitive sense, *i. e.* 'to discharge its waters into'. The non-transitive use of *engage* may involve an intransitive sense of action, *i. e.* 'to enter upon an action', but also an intransitive sense of attribution 'to come into contact with'. The verbs *erect* and *redress*, when predicated of stalks or hair, may be equivalent to the sense 'to rise'. The non-transitive sense of the verb *hurt* does not only mean 'to be brought, to bring itself into violent contact with', but it also implies the alternative intransitive sense 'to strike on or against'. The verbs *invalid*, *list*, *matriculate*, *outfit*, employed in a secondary non-transitive sense, may present intransitive meanings such as 'to go on the sick-list', 'to engage for military service', 'to enter one's name as a member of a college', 'to buy an outfit'. The verb *lay*, when predicated of a rope, has also an intransitive sense of action, if the movement only, performed by the subject, is salient. And if we turn to the verb *reinforce*, when predicated of troops, the meaning may also be interpreted as intransitive, *i. e.* 'to procure reinforcements'.

In the verbs hitherto considered the intransitive sense involves some kind of activity on the part of the subject. But there are in our material also several verbs where the secondary intransitive meaning is oscillating between a sense of action and a sense of attribution. Such is the case with verbs whose transitive sense implies 'to bring into connexion, cohesion, or mixture with a thing (things or persons)', viz. *amalgamate*, *bind*, *blend*, *cement*, *combine*, *commix*, *concorporate*, *conjoin*, *disentangle*<sup>1</sup>, *entangle*<sup>1</sup>, *incorporate*, *inoculate*, *intermingle*, *intermix*, *join*, *meddle*, *mell*, *meng*, *mingle*, *mix*. In these verbs the secondary intransitive sense oscillates between the sense of activity 'to enter into connexion, cohesion or mixture with' and the sense of attribution 'to come into connexion, cohesion, or mixture with'. Thus the non-transitive sense of these verbs involves an oscillation between a fourfold predication aspect. If the parts entering (or coming) into connexion, cohesion, or mixture with each other are all involved in the grammatical subject, then the predication aspect becomes at the same time reciprocal.

In some verbs in our material the intransitive sense struggling for salience seems to imply chiefly a sense of inactivity. Such is the case with *estrangle*, involving 'to become alienated in feeling', *materialize* and *reconcile* denoting 'to get a bodily shape', 'to come into friendly relations with', *convert* in sense 'to turn to godliness'. We are here concerned with intransitive senses of state, but it is not entirely impossible to conceive the intransitive meaning as implying an element of activity on the part of the subject, i. e. an intransitive sense of action may be salient, e. g. *materialize* = 'to appear in bodily form'. However, an undoubted sense of inactivity is presented by the alternative intransitive import of *exhibit* when implying 'to originate', consequently a sense of existence. The secondary non-transitive use of this verb embraces, however, not only an intransitive sense or the passival or reflexive meanings 'to be manifested', 'to show itself', but also a passive sense of attribution, i. e. 'to become manifest', since it is equivalent to the import 'to admit of being seen'. This latter sense is also distinguishable in the verbs *disclose* and *open*, which both also have the passival and reflexive meanings 'to be brought to

<sup>1</sup> The intr. sense of the verbs *disentangle* and *entangle* has in our material been described as a sense of state. But with our limitation of the notion of state (cf. p. 74), the sense 'to come into a disentangled or entangled condition' should rather be looked upon as a sense of attribution.



light', 'to show itself'. Again the secondary intransitive sense of the verb *chare* may sometimes imply the elementary inchoative (or perfective) verb of predication, *i. e.* 'to become', and the same is the case with the verb *iwende*.

It is evident that the oscillating intransitive sense may be more or less distinctly salient. Thus, in our material, we have not indicated such a sense in the case of the verbs *arm* and *clean*, when predicated of ships, the verb *cut* as a term in card-playing or the verb *lap* when predicated of a pliable thing. But here too, an intransitive sense is undoubtedly struggling for salience, though it is less distinguishable except perhaps in the case of *lap* (cf. *fold*). Thus in *arm* and *clean* we may trace a tendency to the import 'to take on board ammunition, etc.', 'to undertake cleaning work', and in *cut* and *lap* it is not impossible to distinguish the intransitive meanings 'to cease playing by drawing an unfavourable card', 'to perform the movement involved in lapping'. In the secondary intransitive construction of the verbs *disclose* and *open*, used figuratively, it seems difficult to trace an intransitive sense. In their material use in an intransitive construction the intransitive sense implies a sense of action, which however is combined with a connotation referring to the result of the action, *i. e.* 'to perform an action so as to be seen', 'to show itself', and then 'to become visible', 'to be seen'. But when the verbs are used figuratively, this connotation becomes the predominant sense, *i. e.* 'to become visible', 'to be seen'. And if we here want to trace also an intransitive or a reflexive meaning, this is possible only by assuming that a sense of activity metaphorically conceived is salient. The same is true of *exhibit*, which, however, in quot. 1768 rather presents an intransitive sense of existence.

*The relation  
between the  
trans. and  
intr. senses.*

If we examine the semological relation between the secondary intransitive sense and the primary transitive meaning, we shall find that in most cases the latter readily enough stands out as causative. This involves that the intransitive sense constitutes an element in the transitive signification, which in addition implies a transifying element indicating the subject as the cause — whether this presupposes activity or not — that makes the object perform an action, come into a state, get (have) an attribution, etc., implied in the intransitive element. Thus the primary transitive meaning of the verbs *amalgamate*, *bind*, *blend*, *cement*, *combine*, *commix*, *concorporate*, *conjoin*, *disentangle*, *entangle*, *incorporate*, *inoculate*, etc (cf. p. 221) have distinctly the causative meaning

'to bring (to cause to come) into combination, connexion, cohesion, or mixture with a thing'. The primary transitive meaning of verbs such as *estrangle*, *materialize*, *reconcile*, *convert* present all an equally salient causative aspect, *i. e.* 'to make (to cause to become) alienated in feeling', 'to bring into (to cause to appear in) a bodily shape,' 'to bring (cause to come) into friendly relations with', 'to cause to turn to godliness'. The transitive sense of the verbs *chare*, *ivende* may be described as the elementary sense of causality, being equivalent to the meaning 'to bring', 'to cause to become (come into)', just as their intransitive correspondents involve an elementary inchoative verb of predication, *i. e.* 'to become' (come into). Less conspicuous is the causative aspect in the transitive sense of verbs such as *exhibit*, *open*, *disclose*. Yet it is traceable, in as much as they may be interpreted as involving 'to bring (cause to come) to light'.

If we turn to the transitive verbs where the secondary intransitive sense implies a sense of action, the causative aspect is in the majority of cases distinctly salient. Thus, for instance, the verbs *arrange*, *embattle*, *form* may mean 'to cause to take up a position in the field'; and the verbs *exercise* and *drill* may imply 'to cause to perform military evolutions'. The verbs *bend* and *beye* may be interpreted as involving 'to cause to bow'.

The same is true of the nautical verb *keep away*, *i. e.* 'to cause to sail off the wind or to leeward'. A distinctly causative aspect is often presented also by verbs such as *bisect*, *depart*, *dissever*, *divide*, *i. e.* 'to cause to become separated into parts'. We must admit the same in the case of the verbs *clench* (*clinch*), *close*, *open* (eyes), *distort*, *draw*, *frown*, *knit*, at least when their object is a movable part of an animate body which constitutes the subject of the secondary intransitive sense. We may sometimes recognize a causative aspect also in such transitive verbs as *cleave*, *fold*, *close*, *open*, (in a material sense), and *reopen*, *i. e.* 'to cause to perform the movement involved in cleaving, folding, closing, etc.' A causative sense may be salient also in the verbs *chare*, *convert*, *i. e.* 'to cause to turn to or embrace a (specified) religious faith'. This is also the case with the verbs *erect* and *redress*, which involve 'to cause to rise', 'to bring in an erect position', and also with the verb *hurt*, *i. e.* 'to bring (to cause to come) into contact with'. In the verbs *empty* and *evacuate* we may trace the causative sense 'to cause to discharge (its waters)'. Also the verbs *engage* and *lay* (a rope), generally present a causative



meaning, *i. e.* 'to cause to enter upon an action', 'to bring into contact with', 'to cause to twist'.

There are, however, several verbs in our material where the primary transitive sense, either with difficulty or not at all, presents a causative aspect. It is possible to trace a causative sense in the verbs *berth* and *moor* when they are predicated of the commander of a ship (which then includes also the notion of the crew). But this is not the case when the verbs are predicated of the crew, since they then involve a connotation of particular activity on the part of the subject (letting down the anchor, etc.). Again, in the case of *tow* a causative aspect cannot be assumed, since it can hardly imply 'to cause to move along by towing'. We have maintained that in the secondary non-transitive use of the verbs *arm*, *clean*, *cut*, and *lap* an intransitive sense, though struggling for salience, is not very distinctly prominent. If this is true, it is only natural that the primary transitive sense should not easily stand out as causative, since a causative sense involves that the correlative intransitive meaning forms a constituent of its semological import. Also the verbs *cast* and *reinforce* (in a military sense) cannot be said to present a causative aspect. The same is eminently true of the verbs *invalid*, *list*, *matriculate*, *outfit*.

Thus we can state that the primary trans. sense of the verbs here considered, though involving a sense of activity, as a rule also may be conceived as causative. This fact is of importance for the explanation of the origin of secondary intransitive constructions.

*Salience of  
a refl. sense.*

The salience of the reflexive sense is principally dependent on the vitality of the primary transitive sense as compared with the secondary non-transitive signification. We may safely proclaim that the more predominant the transitive sense is, the more readily does the reflexive sense appear, provided the subject is capable of the reflexivity involved in the predicate-verb or metaphorically conceived as having this capacity. It is easy to understand this phenomenon. If the transitive sense is the predominant meaning, *i. e.* the sense that more readily than any other presents itself to our consciousness when the verb is pronounced (read), then it follows that the transitive sense tends to maintain itself also in a secondary non-transitive construction. But the preservation of the transitive sense is here possible only in the way that the secondary construction appears either as reflexive in import or else as passival, *i. e.* as a converted use of the transitive meaning.

Again, if the transitive sense is only slightly predominant as compared with the import of the correlative intransitive construction, or if the two constructions are of much the same frequency, then the non-transitive sense appears as intransitive and does not easily stand out as reflexive or as passival. Such is no doubt generally the case, when there is only a slight chronological gap between the two constructions or when the verb is of rare occurrence, since in the latter case, when the verb is used non-transitively, the hearer (reader) may even be unconscious of the existence of a correlative transitive meaning. To take an example. The verb *disaggregate* is recorded transitively since 1828, *i. e.* 'to separate (an aggregated mass) into its component particles', and intransitively since 1881, *i. e.* 'to separate from an aggregate'. In view of the slight chronological difference and the rare occurrence of the verb, the secondary construction can hardly present a reflexive or a passival aspect.

It is evident that it must sometimes be very precarious to determine the degree of vitality presented by a primary transitive sense as compared with the vitality of the secondary intransitive construction. It is consequently equally precarious to decide upon the existence of a passival or a reflexive sense in such a construction. In other words, we can draw no hard and fast lines between the case when a secondary non-transitive sense involves an oscillation between a passive and a reflexive meaning and the case when it implies a purely intransitive sense. Already for this reason we cannot claim that our material is either exhaustive or even always correct in the choice of examples. Thus, for instance the verb *hurt*, of OFr. provenience, is in its transitive sense 'to knock, strike, dash (a thing) against' recorded about a century earlier (*i. e.* c 1200) than the correlative non-transitive sense (*i. e.* 1330). This latter presents no doubt the aspect of an intransitive sense of action, *i. e.* 'to strike *on* or *against*', 'to enter into violent contact with'. But the question is if the earlier recorded transitive meaning has sufficient vitality to make the intransitive construction oscillate towards also a reflexive or a passival aspect, *i. e.* 'to bring itself, to be brought into violent contact with', *e. g.* c 1330 Schipes . . þat on vn-to toþer hurte. In our material we have assumed this oscillation in import. But perhaps this assumption is not so well justified, since we are concerned with a foreign loan-word which already in its native language,



*i. e.* O French, presented the same intr. sense<sup>1</sup> and since the chronological gap between the trans. and the intr. construction as occurring in English is not very considerable. Thus we have seen that one of the factors that condition the salience of the reflexive sense is such that the dimensions of the category of semological changes here involved cannot be determined with exactitude.

However, the salience of the reflexive sense is not only due to the vitality of the primary transitive meaning. It is also dependent on the nature of the grammatical subject and on the frequency of a truly reflexive use of the verb. In all cases where we are concerned with a truly reflexive sense (involving a direct object), the predicate-verb presupposes activity (or causality) on the part of the grammatical subject. Therefore, if a transitive verb of activity is used in an intransitive construction and is predicated of a subject capable of the transitive activity involved in the verb, then the sense may assume also a reflexive aspect. Thus the question about the salience of the reflexive sense is equivalent to the question as to when the grammatical subject may be considered as capable of self-originated activity of the kind implied in the predicate-verb and when it should be conceived as metaphorically capable of it. Let us consider this point as far as it is illustrated by our material.

When the grammatical subject is an animate body, it is naturally conceived as capable of a self-originated activity congenial to its nature, and, if the verbal sense implying such an activity is transitive, it is also conceived as capable of directing this activity against itself, *i. e.* the subject is then capable of reflexivity. Examples of this kind are presented by the following verbs in our material: *arrange, chare, convert, cut, divide, draw up, drill, embattle, engage, entangle, estrange, exercise, form, invalid, iwende, join, list, materialize, meddle, mell, mingle, mix, outfit, reconcile, reinforce*. Here belong also subjects denoting a collective body or an abstractly conceived personality, such as 'Church' and 'State', predicated by *concorporate*, or 'Government', predicated by *engage*. Since a ship is generally conceived as a personality (chiefly because including the crew), it is looked upon as capable of the self-originated activity involved in predicates such as *arm, berth, clean, moor, tow*.

Moreover, as capable of self-originated activity consisting in not very complicated movements and therefore also as capable of re-

<sup>1</sup> cf. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) Paris 1880-1902.



flexivity, are of course conceived movable parts of an animate body such as 'brows', 'eyes', 'hands', 'knees', 'limbs', 'teeth', 'face', etc. Illustrative examples are presented by *bend* (*beye*), when predicated of limbs, knees, *clench*, *clinch*, when predicated of hands, teeth, *close*, when predicated of eyes, *disentangle*, when predicated of a foot, *distort*, when predicated of a face, *fix*, when predicated of eyes, *fold*, when predicated of bodies, limbs, fingers, legs, *frounce*, when predicated of a face or a forehead, *knit*, when predicated of brows. Here belong also *conjoin*, predicated of nerves, *draw*, predicated of skin, *open* and *loup*, predicated of wounds, *redress*, predicated of hair.

Since also plants have life, they or their parts such as 'branch', 'flower', 'root', 'stalk' ('shell') naturally tend to be conceived as capable of self-originated movement (of a more elementary nature) and therefore, if the verb is transitive, as also capable of reflexivity, which then involves 'to bring or put itself into the movement implied in the predicate-verb'. Examples of this kind are presented by verbs such as the following: *bend*, when predicated of a tree or a harvest (a collective notion), *close*, when predicated of a flower, *conjoin*, when predicated of roots, *divide*, when predicated of the shell of a chestnut, *entangle*, when predicated of boughs, *erect*, when predicated of stalks, *incorporate*, when predicated of a bud, *lap*, when predicated of (the boughs of) a tree.

If we turn to inanimate bodies, we shall find that here also there are things which may be naturally conceived as capable of self-originated activity and consequently also of a corresponding reflexivity. This is tantamount to saying that the cause of the activity involved is here conceived as inherent in the nature of the subject, just as is the case with animate subjects (including plants). Here belong subjects denoting substances capable of expansion or contraction or of entering into a chemical association or dissassociation with other substances. Therefore, when we are concerned with transitive verbs meaning 'to cause expansion or contraction', 'to bring into (chemical) association or dissassociation with', and when these verbs in a secondary non-transitive sense are predicated of inorganic or organic substances, then the verbs readily assume a reflexive aspect, *i. e.* the subject is conceived both as the cause and as the object of the verbal action. As examples in point may be adduced: *amalgamate*, predicated of a metallic film of mercury, *blend*, predicated of blood, *commix*, predicated of element, iron, clay, *combine*, predicated of acid, silver,



oxide of manganese, *divide*, predicated of blood, *incorporate*, predicated of water, salt, *inoculate*, predicated of eggs, *intermix*, predicated of water, *meddle*, predicated of digested meat, *mell*, predicated of venom, *meng*, predicated of fluids. Vapours and fluids are things capable of expansion and of association or dissacociation. When they occur in such masses and forms as have given rise to particular concepts, *e. g.* 'sea', 'river', 'spring', 'cloud', then the things involved may be conceived as capable of self-originated activity of the kind mentioned and therefore also as capable of a corresponding reflexivity. As examples may be given: *conjoin*, predicated of springs, *depart*, predicated of the sea, *dissever*, predicated of clouds, *divide*, predicated of rivers, *join* and *mingle*, predicated of rivers, *empty* and *evacuate* (involving much the same as 'join' and 'mingle'), predicated of rivers, *louk*, predicated of waters. The activity is of another nature, when *cast* is predicated of the sea.

Also when the grammatical subject is incapable of every kind of self-originated activity, the predicate-verb may nevertheless assume a reflexive aspect by way of a metaphor or by the fact that the origin of the activity is not reflected upon (cf. *beye*, *lap*, *open*). We should restrict this assumption to such verbs as are often predicated of subjects capable of reflexivity. For in this case it is only natural that, when predicated of subjects incapable of reflexivity, they should by way of a metaphor tend to present a reflexive aspect. Here belong *close*, *disentangle*, *open*, *reopen*, when predicated of the heart. Other examples are: *beye*, predicated of a spear, *bend*, predicated of vows or studies, *blend*, predicated of peaks and atmosphere, motions, sounds, and voices, or of sky and water, *close*, predicated of the grave, *disentangle*, predicated of thoughts, *fix*, predicated of attention or prejudices, *meddle*, predicated of words, perhaps *mell*, predicated of the rainbow, perhaps *intermingle*, when predicated of shadows and sunshine, *intermix*, predicated of wants and affections, *mix*, predicated of beauty, *mingle*, predicated of laws, *incorporate*, predicated of notions, truth and falsehood, grace or sin, *lap*, predicated of cloth, *open*, predicated of a flag or of our understanding. To the same category may be referred *bisect* and *dissever*, predicated of a way, or *depart*, predicated of sinews.

It is evident that it must often be very difficult to determine when the subject should be conceived as capable of self-originated activity of the kind implied in the transitive sense of the predicate-



verb. It is also evident that it may be equally precarious to decide as to when a grammatical subject incapable of reflexivity, but predicated by a verb otherwise often occurring in a truly reflexive sense and form, should be assumed to be conceived as having this capacity metaphorically. For this is a question about the frequency of the reflexive sense in individual verbs and its analogical extension to combination with other subjects. We can only state that the more frequently a verb occurs in a truly reflexive function, the more readily does a subject predicated by such a verb, but incapable of reflexivity, admit of being metaphorically conceived as capable of it, and consequently the more easily appears a reflexive sense in an intransitive construction of this verb. Therefore, even if we are entitled to assume that the primary transitive sense has sufficient vitality to maintain itself in an intransitive construction, we can draw no lines of demarcation between the case when a secondary non-transitive sense presents an oscillation between a passival, a reflexive, and an intransitive sense and the case when it is oscillating only between a passive and an intransitive signification. We are here often concerned with almost imperceptible degrees in the salience of the reflexive sense. It is this fact that in several languages has led to a functional extension of the reflexive form; for also in this morphological dress a verb may present the same oscillation between a passive, a reflexive, and an intransitive meaning as in its active form. And this extension consists in the fact that the reflexive form has become a regular passival or a regular intransitive formative, *i. e.* it is employed to express the very meanings which often originate from a reflexive sense as its oscillating alternatives (cf. below).

Thus also the second factor that conditions the salience of the reflexive sense is of such a nature as to make the dimensions of cat. A very vague and indefinite. This vagueness is increased by the fact that the reflexive aspect is in some measure also dependent on individual linguistic instinct, since the prerequisites for its salience may not be at hand to the same extent in different individuals.

Under such circumstances the distribution of our material must necessarily sometimes be open to discussion. Thus we admit that, in the case of the material of category A, there may be some instances where the reflexive sense is not very salient or is even questionable. Such is perhaps the case with *bisect*, *depart*, *divide*, *drill*, *cleave* (cf. *rend*, referred to cat. B) and *hurt*.



On the other hand we readily admit that, if we turn to the other categories (B, C, D), there are cases where the secondary non-transitive sense may stand out also as reflexive. This is perhaps the case with such verbs of cat. B as *heap*, when predicated of avalanches, *pile*, when predicated of ice, and *attach* (then metaphorically conceived), when predicated of 'loss'. As to *knit*, when predicated of veins, the sense should have been indicated as also reflexive with the same reason as the sense of *conjoin*, when predicated of nerves. The same is true of *awend* as compared to *iwende*, which latter has been referred to cat. A. But at least in OE. both verbs had originally also a reflexive aspect. Moreover, if we turn to cat. C., a reflexive aspect, too, is perhaps salient in several verbs such as *clap*, when predicated of jaws, *concenter* and *focus*, when predicated of life, *exhaust*, when predicated of steam, *lere*, when predicated of persons, *lodge*, when predicated of corn, *sift*, when predicated of falling snowflakes and dust, *heave*, when predicated of ice. Also the verbs *drain*, *filter*, *filtrate*, and *percolate*, when predicated of a fluid, *i. e.* an element capable of expansion, may perhaps present a reflexive meaning. The same is perhaps the case with the verb *illumine*, when predicated of a town, or *overthrow*, when predicated of a person (though the action is involuntary). We have assumed an oscillating reflexive aspect in the verbs *arm*, *berth*, *clean*, *moor*, *tow*, when predicated of ships. But it seems more difficult to trace a reflexive sense in the verbs *careen*, *dock*, *steer*, and *unload*, when predicated of a ship. The verbs *adjourn*, *dismiss*, and *prorogue* are predicated of assemblies and consequently of subjects capable of self-originated activity. But since Parliament is prorogued by the monarch, and since the adjourning of a council and the dismissal of a national assembly (for the time being) is determined by the president, they scarcely involve reflexivity. The semological import of the verb *break*, when predicated of clouds, is very much equivalent to *dissever*, when predicated of the same thing. In the case of the latter verb we have assumed the existence of a reflexive sense, but in the former verb a reflexive aspect is not easily salient, since the verb does not otherwise occur in a reflexive meaning. If we turn to cat. D, we should perhaps admit the salience of a reflexive sense in the verbs *dispel* and *disperse*, when predicated of clouds, or in the verb *put forth*, when predicated of a leaf or a flower, or in *evolve*. Since the operating factors in the formation of ice, clouds, a rain-

how, etc. do not stand out clearly to our consciousness, these things are perhaps sometimes conceived as self-originated. But if so, the verb *form*, when predicated of them, assumes also a reflexive aspect.

The difficulty of deciding upon the existence of a reflexive sense in a secondary intransitive construction is distinctly manifested in NED. Its indication 'intr. for refl.' in such cases seems to have a twofold function, *viz.* to denote the import of the sense and to intimate its etymological origin. We may at least assume that such is the case with the verbs referred to our category A, but in point of the other categories where we have not assumed the existence of a collateral reflexive sense, the indication must generally refer to the etymological origin of the sense. Already a cursory glance at our material as revealed in cat. A, will show that the secondary sense of verbs with the same semological structure and presupposing the same subjects, are indicated now as 'intr.', now as 'intr. for refl.' Thus, for instance, the verb *bend*, when predicated of a body or limbs, is qualified as 'intr.', but *fold*, predicated of the same subject, is designated as 'intr. for refl.' The verbs *blend*, *meng*, *mingle*, and *mix* are indicated as 'intr.', while the synonymous *commix*, *meddle*, *mell* are described as 'intr. for refl.' The verb *entangle* is qualified as 'intr.', but *disentangle*, its negative correspondent, as 'intr. for refl.' The verb *depart* (in the intr. sense 'to divide') is designated as 'intr.', but *divide*, as 'intr. for refl.' The verb *redress* is considered as 'intr.', but its semological relative *erect*, as 'intr. for refl.'. The verb *frown*, predicated of a face or a forehead, is described as 'intr.', but *distort*, predicated of a face, as 'intr. for refl.'.

Thus we find that NED. cannot be considered as a trustworthy guide as to the salience of a reflexive aspect in verbs used in a secondary intransitive construction. Nor do we ourselves pretend to have invariably given a correct semological characterization of the verbs, since in many cases it is impossible to decide with certainty upon the salience of a reflexive sense.

The occurrence of a collateral reflexive form of verbs which are used in the active form in a secondary non-transitive sense and predicated of subjects capable of reflexivity, is naturally a corroboration of the salience of a reflexive sense also in the latter case. If we examine our material, it will turn out that the majority of the verbs of cat. A is in NED. recorded in a reflexive form presenting the same import as the reflexive aspect in the secondary in-



transitive construction. Yet we must admit that this reflexive form is not always predicated of the same category of subjects as occur in the latter function of the verb and also that it is not always recorded earlier than this function. The following verbs of cat. A are by NED. recorded in a reflexive form: *arm oneself*, c 1300—a 1612 (predicated of persons); *arrange oneself*, 1830 GEN. P. THOMPSON *Exerc.* I 226 . . that the well-informed part of the middle classes . . does not arrange itself on the side of the reformers; *bend oneself*, to direct or apply oneself, 1591 LOK in Farr's *S. P.* I 140 Whilst in the garden of the earthly soile Myself to solace and to bath I bend. 1850 THACKERAY *Pendennis* LXXI, To the completion of which he bent himself with all his mind; *berth oneself*, 1667 PEPYS *Diary* 30 June, The 'Henery' . . berthed herself so well as no pilot could ever have done better; 1673 CAMBDEN *Soc. Misc.* 27 We . . anchored againe, and birth'd our selves in our anchoring posture agreed on; *blend itself*, 1863 GEO. ELIOT *Romola* LII, 405 It blent itself as an exalting memory with all her daily labours; *cast oneself*, 1330 R. BRUNNE, 274, þam to kest smertly to þe assaute; 1611 BIBLE *Pref.* 2, He casteth himselfe headlong vpon pikes; 1832 TENNYSON *Mariana in S.* 27 Low on her knees herself she cast; *chare oneself*, c 1000 CÆDMON *Satan* 698 Cer ðē on bæcling; c 1205 LAY. 21266, þis isæh Childric, & gon him to charren; *clean oneself* (predicated of persons), 1876 MISS BRADDON *J. Haggard's Dan.* ix, which was known throughout Penmoyle as 'cleaning oneself'; *combine oneself*, 1593 ABP. BANCROFT *Dangerous Positions* III, xvi, 131, They haue combined themselves together into a strange brotherhood; 1853 KINGSLEY *Hypatia* xxii, 282, The youths and maidens combined themselves with the gentler animals into groups; *commix oneself*, obs., 1659 EVELYN *Misc. Writ.* 117 Lest . . a certain rabbe impure . . rabble enter, and commix themselves with our citizens; *convert oneself* (now obs.), c 1400 Rowland & O. 1153, I rede þ<sup>t</sup> þou conuerte the in hye . .; c 1430 *Pilgr. Lyf Manhode* II, xxiv, 85 Ne were it, þe jewes wolden come to hire, and conuerte hem; *disclose oneself, itself*, (1) in a material sense, obs., 1577 B. GOOGE *Heresbach's Husb.* II, 67. b, It [a rosebud] discloseth it selfe and spreadeth abroad. (2) in an immaterial sense: 1561 T. NORTON *Calvin's Inst.* I 22, The faithful should not admit him [God] to be any other than such as he had disclosed himself by his word; 1874 GREEN *Short Hist.* iii, 121, The great league . . at last disclosed itself; *disentangle oneself*, 1769 ROBERTSON *Chas. V.* III, xii, 370 The Emperor disentangled himself . . from all the affairs of this world; 1860 TYNDALL *Glac.* I, xix, 135 Two hours had been spent in the effort to disentangle ourselves from the crags; *dissever oneself*, c 1470 HENRY *Wallace* VIII, 757, A thousand archaris . . Disseueryt thaim among the iiij party; 1568 GRAFTON *Chron.* II 87, if they had not dissevered themselves; *embattle oneself*, c 1450 *Louelich Grail* XIII, 458 Eualach enbattailed him in the field. 1580 NORTH *Plutarch* 212, He commanded the first Bands . . should embattle themselves. 1844 *Blackw. Mag.*, LVI, 531, Another had now slowly reared and embattled itself against the . . Crescent; *empty itself*, 1555 EDEN *Decades W. Ind.* 284, A branche of Nilus which emptieth it selfe



in owre sea; 1725 DE FOE *Voy. round World*, 306 A large river empties itself into this bay; 1860 TYNDALL *Glac.* I, 34, The river . . empties itself into the lake; *engage oneself* (obs.), a 1586 SIDNEY (J.), So far had we engaged ourselves . . that we listed not to complain; *entangle oneself*, 1576 FLEMING *Panoplie Ep.* 287, They intangle themselves in the same webbes of woe. a 1649 DRUMM. OF HAWTH. *Irene*, Wks. 173 That labyrinth wherein they are like to intangle and lose themselves; *erect oneself, itself*, 1646 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.* II, iii, 74, If unto the powder of Loadstone or Iron we admove the North pole of the Loadstone, the powders or small divisions will erect and conforme themselves thereto; 1730 A. GORDON *Maffei's Amphit.* 93, The Charioteers sometimes bowed to the Ground, then erected themselves on high; 1774 GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.* VII, 49, The muscle . . is capable of erecting itself on edge; 1877 MRS. OLIPHANT *Makers Flor.* xiii, 325, His weak frame erected itself; *estrangle oneself*, 1494 FABYAN VII, 644, The duke of Brytayne began to estrange hym from the Kyng; 1606 HOLLAND *Sueton.* 91, but afterwards hee began to estrange himselfe; *evacuate itself*, 1725 DE FOE *Voy. round World* 311, At the further end of the lake, they found that it evacuated itself into a large river; 1762 STERNE *Tr. Shandy* V, iii, 23, Such griefs evacuate themselves best by that particular channel; *exercise oneself*, 1549 LATIMER *6th Serm. bef. Edw.* VI, 161, Menne of Englande . . when they woulde exercyse theym selues . . were wonte to goo a brode in the fyeldes a shootynge; a 1695 WOOD *Life* 266, A company of scholars . . exercised themselves in feats of arms . .; 1838 PRESCOTT *Ferd. & Is.* II, v, 478 [Ximenes] exercised himself with fasts, vigils, and stripes; *exhibit oneself*, 1659 HAMMOND *On Ps.* xxiv, 6 Annot. 138, Where God hath promised to exhibite himself to those; *form oneself*, 1736 LEDIARD *Life Marlborough* II 494 The first Squadrons . . had much ado to form themselves; 1832 HT. MARTINEAU *Hill & Valley* viii, 126 The soldiers formed themselves round the waggon; *incorporate oneself*, 1646 H. LAWRENCE *Comm. Angeles* 185, Incorporate your selves with that which is good; *inoculate oneself*, a 1639 WOTTON in *Reliq.* 342. Pompey had one very ignoble custome, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises; *intermingle oneself*, 1712 STEELE *Spect.* No. 272, Crowds of forlorn Coquets who intermingle themselves with other Ladies; *iwende oneself*, a 1000 *Boeth. Metr.* xxii, 123 Æghwylc . . hine hræde sceolde eft gewendan in tō sīnum mōdes gemynde; *join oneself* ('to' or 'with'), obs., 13.. *K. Alis.* 4030 He a knyght of Grece slowgh . . And joined him us among; a 1400—50 *Alexander* 1284, He . . loynes him to Iosaphat . .; 1611 BIBLE *Acts* viii, 29, Then the Spirit saide vnto Philip, Goe neere, and ioyne thy selfe to this charet; *lap itself*, 1569 NEWTON *Cicero's Olde Age* 38 a, The vine . . lappeth it selfe fast, to what soever it commeth neare; *list oneself*, 1643 *Declar. Comm. Reb. Irel.* 62 Who . . have lysted themselves in the Lord Dillons Troupe; 1702 SEDLEY *Grumbler* III, i, 233, Brillon had listed himself a soldier; *materialize oneself*, 1885 WHITTIER *Pr. Wks.* II, 314, A Newbury minister . . rode . . over to Hampton to lay a ghost who had materialized himself; *meddle oneself*, obs., c 1384 CHAUCER *H. Fame* III 1012, We



wil medle us eche with other . .; *meng oneself* (predicated of persons, 'to have sexual intercourse with'), a 900—a 1300; *mingle itself*, 1725 DE FOE *Voy. round World* 258, It is impossible to describe how the sound [of falling water], crossing and interfering, mingled itself; 1856 KANE *Arct. Expl.* I, xxix, 384, The renewed chorus mingling itself sleepily in my dreams with school boy memories; *mix oneself* (predicated of persons, 'to associate with' 1535, 1791—); *moor oneself*, 1614 RALEIGH *Hist. World* V, i, 331, They therefore not only moored themselves strongly by their Anchors . .; *outfit oneself*, 1872 C. KING *Mountain. Sierra Nev.* v, 94, I outfitted myself with a pack-horse . .; *reconcile oneself*, 1535 COVERDALE *Tobit* viii, 4, These thre nightes wil we reconcile oure selues with God; 1675 H. NEVILE tr. *Machiavelli's Prince*, 207, The Ursini reconciled themselves to him . .; 1819 SHELLEY *Cenci* I, i 36 Thou mightest . . reconcile thyself with thine own heart And with thy God; *redress oneself, itself*, c 1374 CHAUCER *Troilus* II 920, Right as floures . . stoupen in hire stalk lowre, Redressen hem a-yen þe sonne bryght; c 1450 *Merlin* 328 As soone as the spere was spente the kynge Boors redressed hym in his sadell; 1727—41 CHAMBERS *Cycl.* s. v. *Redressing*, Trees and other plants have a natural faculty of redressing themselves, when . .

On the other hand, no reflexive form of the correlative transitive sense has been recorded by NED. in the case of a great number of verbs of our category, viz. *amalgamate, beye, bind, bisect, cement, cleave, clench, close, concorporate, conjoin, cut out, depart, distort, divide* (in senses I, 1, 2), *draw, drill, fix, fold, frounce, intermix, invalid, keep* (away), *knit* (of brows), *lay* (of a rope), *louk, matriculate, reinforce*. To begin with, it should be observed that a reflexive form of these verbs may have occurred, though it has not been recorded in NED. Thus, for instance, *beye* and *fold* are in OE. met with in a reflexive form, the latter predicated of a thing, the former of a person, and *fold* may also in NE. appear in a refl. dress, e. g. *Exon* 100 (B.—T.) Bȳgdest ðū ðē for hæleðum. *Ps. Th.* 49, 5 (B.—T.) þæt hē hine fealde swā swā bōc (= that it *folded itself* like a book). Next, it should be remembered that we are here concerned with verbs whose subjects are generally capable of reflexivity and that therefore their use in a reflexive form or at least in a reflexive sense would not involve a deviation from the morphological or semological structure of the English language. Lastly, be it noticed that the secondary non-transitive sense mostly implies an intransitive sense, in comparison with which the primary transitive sense stands out as causative. But in English the semological contrast between a causative sense and its correlative intransitive meaning became in course of time



more and more often expressed by the same verb. In fact, this phenomenon grew so common that at least in the NE. period we may consider it a constructive or a semological law that a verb with a causative aspect may also be used in a correlative intransitive sense. But, if so, a secondary non-transitive use of a verb may very well be due to this law also in the case when, owing to particular factors, the import is oscillating towards a reflexive or a passive aspect. But this implies that a reflexive form of such verbs need not have existed before their intransitive use, though the latter involves also a reflexive sense. The more conspicuous the causative aspect, the more likely is this case. On the other hand, the salience of the reflexive sense may later occasionally call forth also a reflexive form, or rather, the latter form may be due to the fact that the subject is capable of the reflexivity presupposed by the predicate-verb. Therefore, when the reflexive form is in NED. not rarely recorded later than the intransitive function, this may very well be due to the fact mentioned and not to incompleteness in the material.

Thus we find that absence of a collateral reflexive form is no proof of the absence of a reflexive sense in an intransitively employed verb. The only reliable criteria of the existence of a reflexive sense dressed in the active form, are the predominance of the primary transitive sense and the capability of reflexivity presented by the grammatical subject.

As was the case with the reflexive sense, so in the case of the passive meaning its salience in secondary intransitive constructions is principally dependent on the vitality of the correlative transitive sense, and for reasons already mentioned. This is tantamount to saying that the proximate origin of the passival sense is conditioned by the vitality of the transitive meaning. But since the factor that principally conditions both the reflexive and the passive aspect is the same, we may here, too, proclaim that the more predominant the vitality of the transitive sense as compared with the frequency of the intransitive construction, the more readily does the passival sense appear, or *vice versâ*. This implies also that, when a secondary intr. construction that originally stood out as also reflexive or passival has attained great currency, the salience of these senses must abate or perhaps even be suppressed. This is the case with many of the verbs adduced in cat. A. In other words, in the earlier records of the intransitive

*Salience of  
a passive  
sense = its  
proximate  
origin.*



use of such verbs the passive and reflexive senses are generally more salient than in the later records, where they sometimes may even be questionable.

The passival sense involves the existence of an agential element. Therefore the difference between the oscillating reflexive and passive meanings is in fact not very considerable. In both cases the grammatical subject is conceived as the object of an action. But the discrepancy is that the agency (including the cause) of this action, *i. e.* the logical subject, is conceived as emanating in one case from the grammatical subject itself, in another case, from a source outside it. Thus the oscillation between the reflexive and the passival aspect implies an oscillation in the idea as to the factor that constitutes the agency of the verbal process. Again this oscillation as to agential element is dependent on the context, *i. e.* the nature of the grammatical subject and of the predicate-verb.

The context may be such that no passival sense may originate. If so, the import of the secondary intransitive construction oscillates only between a reflexive and an intransitive sense. As examples in point may be adduced the following instances: *clothe*, (1) trans., to dress, OE.— (2) reflexive (or intr.) sense, *e. g.* 1393 GOWER *Conf.* I, 14 The tresor . . Whereof the pouer shulden clothe And ete, drinke and house bothe; *confine*, (1) trans., to keep within bounds, to limit, restrict, *fig.* 1597, *to confine oneself to*, 1649— (2) refl. or intr. sense, to restrict one's action, attention, etc., to, to keep to, *obs.*, 1643 SIR T. BROWNE *Pseud. Ep.* IV, v, 187 Children . . permitted the freedome of both [hands], do oft times confine unto the left; *disport*, (1) trans., to divert (from sadness, etc.), to amuse, *obs.*, c 1374—1665, *to disport oneself*, c 1385— (2) refl. or intr. sense, to amuse, enjoy oneself, etc. 1480 CAXTON *Chron. Eng.* ccxliii, 287 The emperour . . come in to england to kyng Henry with hym to speke and to disporte; *divorce*, (1) trans., to separate by divorce *from*, 1494—, *to divorce oneself from*, 1593— (2) refl. or intr. sense, *e. g.* 1643 MILTON *Divorce* I. iv, The reasons which now move him to divorce are equal . .; *dress*, (1) trans., to array, attire with suitable clothing, c 1400—, *to dress oneself*, 1641— (2) refl. or intrans. sense, to dress oneself, to put on clothes, etc., *e. g.* 1703 ROWE *Ulyss.* Prol. 15, They . . Dress'd at Her, danc'd and fought; *embathe*, (1) trans., to bathe, dip, 1593—, *embathe oneself*, 1593— (2) refl. or intr. sense, 1817 Coleridge, She dare . . embathe in heavenly light; *ensconce*, (1) trans., to shelter within or behind a fortification; also

*fig., obs.*, 1590—a 1734, *to ensconce oneself*, also *fig., obs.*, 1590 1678 (2) refl. or intr. sense, *obs., e. g.* 1663 BUTLER *Hudibras* I, iii 416, The Fort where he enscons'd; *entwine*, (1) trans., to twine or twist together, 1616— (2) refl. or intr. sense, *e. g.* 1663 BP. PATRICK *Parab. Pilgr.* xiii, 92 There they entwine in the dearest embraces; *exert*, (1) trans., to bring into active operation, 1681—, *to exert oneself*, 1736— (2) refl. or intr. sense, *obs., e. g.* a 1749 PHILIPS *Pastorals* V, To try How art exerting, might with nature vie; 1799 MACKINTOSH *Law Nat. & Nations* I 363, Other men have exerted to disguise . .; *fend* (1) trans., to defend, a 1300—, *to fend oneself*, c 1330— (2) refl. or intr. sense, *e. g.* 1573 *Satir. Poems Reform.* xl, 196, How the suld fend from furie and their fead; *hide*, (1) trans., to conceal c 897 —, *to hide oneself*, c 897— (2) refl. or intr. sense, *e. g.* c 1330 R. BRUNNE *Chron. Wace* 8864, On heþ and hilles to hyde in hulk, c 1420 *Chron. Vilod.* st. 808 Where ever he satte, stode, or hude; *indulge*, (1) trans., to gratify by compliance, etc. 1660—, *to indulge oneself in*, 1659— (2) refl. or intr. sense, to gratify oneself, to take one's pleasure in, *e. g.* 1706 ESTCOURT *Fair. Examp.* v. i, 58, While my transported Soul indulges on the Thought.

On the other hand, the context may be such as to favour alike the idea that the agency is the grammatical subject itself or that it is another force. Let us discuss some illustrative examples in respect of the nature of the agency when it may be other than the grammatical subject.

The alternative agency may be conceived as implying a fairly definite person (or collectivity of persons). This is the case with verbs such as *arrange*, *draw up*, *embattle*, *form*, when they are predicated of troops. Since the idea of a troop also may include its commander, the grammatical subject is evidently capable of self-originated activity of the kind here involved, and therefore the sentence tends to assume a reflexive aspect. But, on the other hand, the commander need not be included in this notion, *i. e.*, in predications here concerned, the idea of the troop (army) as an instrument in the hands of the leader may be salient. When so, the verb presents a passival meaning. The same reasoning is applicable to *drill* and *exercise*, when predicated of troops. An equivlent reasoning may also be applied to the nautical verbs *arm*, *berth*, *clean*, *keep* (away), *moor*, *tow*, predicated of ships. For, as the crew may constitute a semological element in the idea of a ship, the subject may be conceived as capable of



reflexivity, and if so, the verbs present a reflexive aspect. But if the idea of the ship as being under the control of the crew becomes salient, then they assume here a passive meaning.

Take further such verbs as *invalid*, *list*, *matriculate*, *outfit*. When these verbs are employed in a secondary non-transitive sense predicated of persons, we are concerned with subjects capable of such a reflexivity as is implied in the predicate-verbs, and the latter tend therefore to present a reflexive aspect. But the absence of a reflexive form favours the origination of the idea that somebody else, *e. g.* the physician, the military or university authorities, or the seller, is the agent of the action of which the grammatical subject is the 'patients' when the sense is reflexive.

In other instances the agency outside the grammatical subject may be a definite individual. This is the case when movable parts of an animate body (*e. g.* limbs, eyes, brows, foot, face, hands, etc.) are predicated by verbs such as *bend*, *beye*, *close*, *disentangle*, *distort*, *fix*, *fold*, *frounce*, *knit*. Since the movements performed by these parts are generally dependent on the will of the individual concerned, this idea becomes easily salient, and, when so, the verbal import stands out as passival. But if this idea does not present itself, then parts of an animate body are conceived as independent entities, and the verbal sense assumes a reflexive aspect.

In general, however, the alternative agency is of non-personal nature or it may involve a co-operation of personal or non-personal factors. As examples of the latter case may be considered the verbs *convert* and *engage*, predicated of persons in sentences of the following type: 1557 Likewyse ioye shal be in heauen ouer one sinner that conuerteth. a 1667 If we engage into a large Acquaintance . . we set open our gates to the Invaders . . 1796 The nation again engaged in debt. 1848 The government engaged in war with the United Provinces. In the case of the first quotation the idea may present itself that the conversion was brought about by the subject itself, but equally easily that it was due to the operation of preachers or to some experience. In the case of the other quotations the fact of being engaged with a large circle of acquaintance, or in war, or even in debt may be, but need not be conceived as due to the will of the grammatical subject. The idea may originate that it is due to other persons (nations) and to the force of circumstances.

The alternative non-personal agency is mostly of a more or less indefinite nature. It is generally the force of circumstances or

chance, when a personal subject is predicated by verbs such as *cut* (in card-playing), *divide*, *entangle*, *estrangle*, *meddle*, *mell*, *mingle*, *mix*. When the grammatical subject is non-personal, the non-personal agency is generally represented by the forces of nature except in the case of movable parts of an animate body. Sometimes a specified kind of this force may be prominent. Thus, when *redress* is predicated of hair, the agency may be conceived as being some affect, and when *bend* is predicated of a tree, the operating factor is the wind. The agency may be represented both by the forces of nature and a curative remedy, when *loup* is predicated of 'wounds'. Mostly, however, it is only indefinite forces of nature that stand out as the operating agency. This is the case when plants or their parts are predicated by such verbs as *close* (of a flower), *conjoin* (of roots), *divide* (of a shell), *entangle* (of bows), *erect* (of stalks), *incorporate* (of a bud), *lap* (of boughs). Also when verbs are predicated of inanimate bodies capable of such reflexivity as is involved in the predicate-verbs, the alternative agency is generally represented by the forces of nature, though sometimes — in the case of chemical combination — also by the experimentator. Here belong such verbs as *amalgamate*, *blend*, *commix*, *combine*, *divide*, *incorporate*, *inoculate*, *intermix*, *meddle*, *mell*, *meng*, *mingle*. When such inanimate entities as 'clouds', 'rivers', 'springs', 'seas' are predicated by verbs such as *cast*, *conjoin*, *divide*, *join*, *mingle*, *dissever*, *depart*, *loup*, *open*, *empty*, *evacuate*, then also in this case the alternative agency is represented by the forces of nature.

When we are concerned with immaterial subjects, the alternative agency may be of various nature, yet of the same kind as those just mentioned. Thus when 'vows' or 'wishes' are predicated by *bend* or when 'idea' is predicated by *mix*, the alternative agency may be conceived as being the person to whom these immaterial entities belong. Likewise, when 'displeasure' is predicated by *disclose*, the agency may appear to be the person(s) concerned. The same is the case when 'prejudices' are predicated by *fix* or when 'notions' are qualified by *incorporate*. The force of circumstances or chance, fate, Providence, may be looked upon as the agency in the following sentences where *iwende* and *mix* are predicate-verbs: 1171 Hit iwendeð from uele to gode. 1632 O divine counsell that so rare a beauty Should mix with wisdom. Again in the following instances with *mingle* and *open* as predicate-verbs, the agency



may be conceived as being the forces of nature: 1709 before his Understanding opens enough to let him into the Reason . . of the Rules. 1800 In nature, mechanical and molecular laws mingle, and create apparent confusion.

When an adjunct has been expressed that may be conceived as the cause or the agency of the verbal action, the passival aspect generally appears more readily. But on the other hand this adjunct does not preclude the grammatical subject from being conceived as the agency, since the adjunct may be looked upon as constituting only the instrument or the cause of the activity of the grammatical subject or else as involving some other kind of adjunct. Consequently it does not prevent the origination of a reflexive or even an intransitive sense. As examples: 1398 *For tendernes* the lymmes of the chylde maye . . bende and take dyvers shapes. a 1225 Chear ananriht, þæt te oðre chearren *þurh þe*. 1742 Thoughts disentangle *passing o'er the lip*. 1628 A Bird . . By struggling more entangles in the Gin. 1649 Perswading the King, that Foreign Princes estranged from him . . *for some apprehensions* . . 1724 My wound opened again *with riding*. 1856 The little flag . . opened once more *to the breeze*.

From what precedes it is evident that the passive sense may be more or less salient and that in individual cases it must often be very precarious to decide upon its existence. Therefore we are bound to admit that a passive sense may sometimes be questionable in the examples given in our material. But this is of small importance. For the chief point is to have stated its existence in congenial cases and its nature of presenting various degrees of salience and also to have indicated the factors that condition this phenomenon.

If we turn to NED., we shall find that there the passive aspect of the verbs adduced in cat. A., is very seldom recognized in the general indication of the nature of the non-transitive sense. As already pointed out, the secondary non-transitive use of these verbs is by NED. generally described as 'intr. for refl.' or else as 'intr.' Only in the case of *cut*, *drill*, and *outfit* a passive sense is acknowledged. Thus *cut* is indicated as 'intr. for passive', and *drill* and *outfit* are described as 'intr. for refl. or passive'. But the passival aspect of these verbs is no more conspicuous than that of at least the vast majority of the verbs quoted in our material. However, if we turn to the meanings given in NED.

To illustrate the import of the verbs, we shall find that the passive is more often recognized (cf. NED.).

The extent of the category of semological changes with which we are here concerned, is very vague and indefinite. We have shown that this is a necessary consequence of the factors that condition the salience of a passive and a reflexive meaning. These factors are such as to make it impossible to draw hard and fast lines between the present category and the other categories of semological change implying the salience of a passive sense, esp. Cat. C. They are also such that it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between our category and the case when the change of meaning involves an oscillation between a reflexive and an intransitive sense or only an intransitive aspect. An examination of the occurrence of the passive sense in the active form has to chronicle the fact that this sense in this morphological dress is generally only an element in an oscillating semological whole that also comprises elements of other semological types. It has to state the vagueness of the dimensions of the categories into which the semological change may be descriptively divided, and it has to indicate the factors that condition this vagueness. It can therefore never claim to be based on an exhaustive material, unless exhaustiveness refers to a basis large enough for studying the semological change in question.

All these facts should be borne in mind when the material is judged of, presented in cat. A and, for the matter of that, also in the other categories. We do not pretend to be free from mistakes in distributing our material among the various categories. Nor do we claim to have exhaustively recorded all such verbs given in NED. as may be considered to imply the semological change we are concerned with. To stick to cat. A, they are certainly more numerous than is indicated by our material. But an exhaustive enumeration of them (in itself scarcely possible) would have considerably increased the dimensions of our material without adding anything to the knowledge of the nature of the semological phenomenon it involves. Lastly, we admit that our choice of verbs is to some extent arbitrary, though, if so, this has generally been unintentional. But in spite of these shortcomings — chiefly conditioned by the nature of our subject — our material is no doubt sufficient for an examination of the semological phenomenon itself and perhaps also for giving a fairly approximate idea of its relative extent in the various periods of the English language.



An examination of our material will show that the frequency of the semological change represented by category A. was different in different epochs. The vast majority of our examples are from the NE. period. The largest number of these constitute such verbs as have originated in the NE. period or such whose correlative and primary transitive sense sprang into existence in that epoch. The instances are: *amalgamate, berth, bisect, clean* (15th c.), *clench, combine* (15th c.), *commix* (15th c.), *concorporate, cut* (in card-playing), *disclose* (15th c.), *disentangle, distort, drill, empty, engage, entangle, erect, estrange, evacuate, exhibit, fix* (15th c.), *incorporate, inoculate, intermingle* (15th c.), *intermix, invalid, keep (away), lay* (15th c.), *materialize, matriculate, mix* (15th c.), *moor, outfit, reinforce, reopen*. A considerable number is represented by such verbs as either originated in the ME. epoch (before c 1450) or else at that time assumed the transitive sense that is the starting-point for the origination of the oscillating non-transitive sense in NE. The instances are: *arm, arrange, bind, cement, conjoin, divide, draw, embattle, exercise, form, frounce, join, knit, lap, mingle, reconcile, tow*. Our material does not offer any example of the case when the primary transitive sense is of OE. date, but the correlative non-transitive sense of NE. origin.

Examples of the same semological change taking place in the ME. period are not very numerous in our material. We may here distinguish between such verbs as originated in the ME. period or then assumed the primary transitive sense and such whose transitive sense is of OE. date. Examples of the former case are: *bend, cast, close, convert, depart, dissever, hurt, meddle, mell, redress*. Examples of the latter case are: *blend*,<sup>1</sup> *cleave, fold*.

Lastly, as OE. examples of the semological change in question we have adduced only five verbs, *i. e. chare, iwende, louk, meng, open*. But here belongs also *beye*, though in NED. its secondary non-transitive sense is not recorded until the ME. epoch. As example: *Hml.* 3, 12, 226 (B.-T Suppl.) *Se ord biġde upp tō þām hiltum*.

<sup>1</sup> We adopt the etymology of *blend* given by E. EKVALL *Shakspeare's Vocabulary*, Upsala Universitets årsskrift, 1903, p. 6. He considers the verb to be a continuation of OE. *(ge)blandan*, the strong preterite (ME. *blend*) being turned into *blende* (weak form), which then gave rise to the infinitive *blenden* and pa. pple. *blend* on the analogy of such verbs as *senden, sende, send; wenden, wende, wend*.

However, a closer examination of the OE. vocabulary will show that the verbs presenting the change of meaning under consideration are more numerous. We do not then refer to the synonyms of *chare* and *iwende* (OE. *cerran*, *gewendan*) such as OE. *gecyrran*, *oncerran*, *ymbcyrran*, *āwendan*, *bewendan*, *forhwyrfan*, *onhwyrfan*, etc., which all, in addition to the original transitive sense, present a secondary non-transitive meaning that sometimes may oscillate between a reflexive, a passive, and an intransitive aspect (cf. Bosw.-TOLLER, *An Anglo-Saxon Dic.*). We refer rather to the following verbs: *ǣgēotan*, (1) trans., to pour out, shed, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be shed, to discharge itself, to flow, run out, *Andr.* 1441 *Geseoh nū seolfes swæðe, swā þin swāt āgēt þurh bāngbrec blōdige stige, lic lælan*; *gēotan*, the same senses, *Gūðlāc* 1029 *hē hāte lēt tēaras gēotan*; *ætiewan* (-*ēowian*, etc.), (1) trans., to show, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be seen, to show itself, appear, *Chron.* 729 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Hēr atēwoden twēȝen comētan*; *opiewan*, the same senses: *Chron.* 678 (B.-T.) *Hēr opiewde comēta se steorra*; *bemīðan*, (1) trans., to conceal, hide, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be hidden, to hide itself, to lie hid, *Scint.* 32, 18 (B.-T. Suppl.) *þēah sēo stefn mannum bemīþe (lateat), Gode hēo bemīþan (latere) ne mæg*; *bregðan*, (1) trans., to change, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be changed, to transform oneself, to turn into, e. g. *Gūðlāc* 882 *hwilum brugdon eft āwyrge wærlogan on wyrmes blēo*; *bræðan*, (1) trans., to broaden, extend, enlarge, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be increased, extended, to spread itself, to increase (intr.), *Wulfstān* 83, 14 (B.-T. Suppl.) *þā yfelan oferlice swýðe brædað on worulde*; *Ibid.* 89, 18 *Licceteras ārisað and brædað to swýðe*; *tōbræðan*, about the same senses, *Wulfstān* 68, 17 *Of ðyson eahta dēofles cræftum ealle unþēawes ūp ā-springaþ and syþþan tōbrædaþ ealles to wīde*; *gedælan*, (1) trans., to divide, separate, distribute, (2) pass., or refl. (or intr.): to be separated, to separate itself (to come into disassociation with), *Exon. (Th.)* 124, 25 (B.-T.) *Ne mæg mīn lichoma wīþ dēaþ gedælan [= my body cannot be separated or separate itself from (i. e. avoid) death]*; *tōdælan*, about the same senses, *Chron.* 885 (B.-T.) *Hēr tōdælde se foresprecena here on tū*, *Wulfstān* 149, 8 *Swā tōdæleþ se lichoma and sēo sāwul*; *onhieldan*, (1) trans., to incline, bend down, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be inclined, to sink, *Exon. (Th.)* 174, 32 *Heofones gym west onhylde*; *onhlīdan*, (1) trans., to open, disclose, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be seen, to show itself, to appear, *Andreas* 1268 *oð þæt wuldres gim heofontorhit onhlād*; *seccādan*, (1) trans., to separate, divide, (2) pass.,



refl., or intr. sense: to be separated, to separate itself, to part, scatter: *The Ruin*, 30 Forþon þās hofu drēorgiað and þæs tēafor gēapu, tigelum sceādeð hrōst bēages hrōf (= the woodwork of the roof parts, is separated from the tiles), *Leechdm.* ii, 38, 4 þonne sceādaþ ðā wyrmas on ðæt wæter; *þīedan* (-ēo-), (1) trans., to join, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be joined, to bring oneself (itself), come, enter into connexion with, *Bd.* 3, 19 (B.-T.), þā wēoxan ðā fȳr swȳþe and hī tōgædere þēoddon and samnedon oþ þæt ðe hī wæron on ænne unmætne lēg; *þrāwan*, (1) trans., to twist, torture, (2) pass. refl., or intr. sense, *Homl.* (Th.) ii, 510, 8, Se līg sōna ðrēow ðwȳres wið ðæs windes (= the flame at once was turned, turned (itself) round in a contrary direction towards the wind); *twāman*, (1) trans., to divide, separate, part, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be separated, separate oneself, to abandon, *Homl.* (Skt) i, II, 169 Wē nellaþ, Drihten, nāfre fram ðē twāman. A few OE. verbs that may be referred to the present category will be dealt with under cat. C.

The great superiority in number presented by the NE. period in the case of verbs with the semological change under consideration, is to a large extent due to the enormous increase of vocabulary and also of literary productivity that took place in the ME. and NE. epochs. But, nevertheless, we are no doubt entitled to infer that the semological change in question was more frequent in NE. times than in the preceding periods. As to the ME. epoch, the change of meaning was certainly more frequent than in OE., though this inference can scarcely be drawn from our material. Concerning the OE. period we have stated that the semological extension in question, though not oft-occurring, cannot be indicated as rare. It should, however, be observed that, apart from the verbs *cerran*, *gewendan*, and their synonyms, the examples of this phenomenon as occurring in individual verbs are generally very few. We may therefore safely maintain that the phenomenon was only incipient in the OE. period, as compared to the state of things in the NE. epoch.

If we turn to Gothic, the earliest recorded descendant of the OTeut. parent language, we shall find only few traces of the semological change in question. As such may be considered the following instances: *biugan*, (1) trans., to bend, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be bent, to bend itself, to make the movement involved in bending, *Rom.* 14, 11, liba ik, qipīþ frauja, þatei mis all kniwe biugiþ jah andhaitīþ all razdo guda = As I live, saith the Lord, to me every knee shall bow And every tongue shall con-

fess to God (Engl. Bib.); *gawandjan*, (1) trans., to turn, cause to come back, (2) pass., refl., or intr. sense: to be turned or converted, to turn oneself, convert oneself, to turn again, return, embrace another faith, *Lu.* 10, 6, jah jabai sijai jainar sunus gawairpjis, gahweilaiþ sik ana imma gawairpi izwar, iþ jabai ni, du izwis gawandjai = and if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him, but if not, it shall turn to you again (Engl. Bib.); *Jo.* 12, 40, gablindida ize augona jah gadaubida ize hairtona, ei ni gaumidedeina augam jah froþeina hairtin jah gawandidedeina jah ganasidedjau ins = he has blinded their eyes, and he hardened their heart; Lest they should see with their eyes and perceive with their heart, And should turn And I should heal them (Eng. Bib.). Here belong also the verbs *daupjan* and *bimaitan* when occurring in a non-transitive function: *daupjan*, (1) trans., to baptize, (2) pass. or refl.: to be baptized, to cause oneself to be baptized, 1 *Cor.* 15, 29, aipþau hwa waurkjand þai daupjandans faur daupans, jabai allis daupans ni urreisand? duhwe þau daupjand faur ins? = Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for them? *bimaitan*, (1) trans., circumcise, (2) pass. or refl. sense: to be circumcised, to cause oneself to be circumcised, 1 *Cor.* 7, 18, miþ faurafillja galapops warþ hwas, ni bimaitai = hath any one been called in uncircumcision (orig. with a foreskin), let him not be circumcised. *Gal.* 5, 2, sai, ik Pawlus qiþa izwis patei jabai bimaitiþ, Kristus izwis nist du botai = Behold, I, Paul say unto you, that, if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing.

An examination of the ultimate origin of the passive sense of the verbs here considered involves at the same time an indication of the ultimate origin of the collateral reflexive and intransitive senses or in short of the use of the active form in a secondary intransitive construction, presenting this threefold predication oscillation. But since the salience of the passive sense is entirely due to the context and the primary trans. meaning, this examination involves at the same time an explanation of the origin of secondary intrans. constructions oscillating only between an intrans. and a refl. sense.

*Ultimate  
origin of the  
passive  
sense.*

From what has been previously adduced it is evident that, if we consider the reflexive sense as theoretically the earlier, i. e. as the idea meant to be expressed by the speaker (writer), then it is easy to account for the origination of the passival and the intransitive sense. The former is due to an oscillation in the idea of the agential element. The latter is principally due to the suggestive influence of the active form. Thus, if we start from the reflexive sense as the original



one, then we have only to account for the fact that the reflexive sense is here dressed in the active form. We may call this mode of explanation the reflexive interpretation. But when using it, we must account for the circumstances under which it is applicable.

On the other hand, let us assume that the intransitive sense is theoretically the earlier, *i. e.* the idea meant to be expressed by the speaker (writer). In this case it is equally easy to explain the origination of the passive and reflexive senses in the hearer's (reader's) consciousness. As already shown, their genesis is then chiefly due to the vitality of the primary transitive meaning. Thus, if we start from the intransitive sense, we must explain how verbs with a primary transitive meaning have come to be employed intransitively. But if so, the explanation becomes identical with the one regarding the exceedingly common phenomenon that primary transitive verbs assume a secondary intransitive meaning, no matter whether this sense is oscillating towards a passival aspect or not. If the secondary intransitive sense is correlative to the transitive signification, *i. e.* if the latter stands out as causative as compared with the former, then this fact in itself is at least in later English a sufficient cause for using the transitive verb also in a correlative intransitive meaning. We may therefore call this mode of explanation the causative interpretation. But a use of this principle presupposes an account of the facts and the factors that originally brought about that a verb with a primary transitive sense presenting a causative aspect, generally can be used in the correlative intransitive sense.

The two explanatory principles mentioned, though certainly the most important, are not applicable to all the cases when a primary transitive verb is employed in a secondary intransitive meaning oscillating towards a passival aspect. There are also other modes of explanation, but, apart from analogy due to semological affinity, they have only a restricted sphere of application as regards the cases presented in our first four categories.

Let us now consider which explanations should be applied in the case of the present category of semological change.

Gothic.

If we turn to the Gothic language, there is little doubt that the reflexive interpretation should be applied. For in that language we scarcely meet with examples — note however *ananiujan*, *gafulljan*, *ustiuhan*, and *ufarassjan* — where a primary transitive

verb has adopted a correlative intransitive sense, destitute of a collateral reflexive meaning. This semological contrast was here expressed by different formative principles, and in view of the scarcity of examples where they were expressed by the same verb, this principle must have been a living law of considerable force. Thus in Gothic we have only to account for the omission of the reflexive pronoun in point of the verbs here concerned. This suppression was no doubt caused by the joint operation of *lex parci-moniæ* existing in every language and of the associative influence from the form of intransitive verbs, since the import of the reflexive form, no doubt, oscillated towards an intransitive meaning. We may state several transitive verbs in Gothic where a similar suppression has taken place, but where the sense oscillates between a reflexive and an intransitive aspect, the context not favouring the origination of a collateral passive sense. Here belong the verbs: *gahamon*, (1) trans., to dress, (2) refl. or intr. sense, to dress oneself, to put on clothes, Rom. 13, 14; 1 Cor. 5, 53, etc.; (*ga*)*wasjan*, (1) trans., to dress, (2) refl. or intr. sense: to dress oneself, to put on clothes, Rom. 13, 12; *haftjan*, (1) trans., to cleave, fix, (2) refl. or intr. sense, to give oneself to continually, to cleave to, *e. g.* Rom. 12, 9; *skaidan*, (1) trans., to sever, separate, put asunder, set at variance, (2) refl. or intr. sense, to separate oneself, to depart, 1 Cor. 7, 11; *þwahan*, (1) trans., to wash, (2) refl. or intr. sense, to wash oneself, Jo. 9, 7. Here belong, no doubt, also the following verbs recorded in a non-transitive function only, which in view of the scantiness of the Gothic literature is nothing remarkable: *blundan*, refl. sense, to mix oneself with = 'to communicate with', 'keep company with', 1 Cor. 5, 9, 11, II Thess. 3, 14; *gasibjon*, refl. sense, 'to reconcile oneself with', Mt. 5, 24. (cf. OE *sibbian* trans., to reconcile).

The verb *galaugnjan* is recorded in the sense 'to be or lie hid'. If the verb had also the transitive sense 'to hide', then a sentence such as the following would evidently present an import oscillating between a reflexive, an intransitive, and a passive aspect: *Mk*, 7, 24, *jah galeiþans in gard ni wilda witan mannan jah ni mahta galaugnjan* = and he entered into a house, and would have no man know it; and he could not be (lie) hid (or hide himself). But there is no such oscillation in the following example: *Lu*. 8, 47 *gasaihwandei þan so qino þatei ni galaugnida, reirandi gam jah . .* = and when the woman saw that she was not hid, she came trembling and . . (Eng. Bib.) The context is here



such that the verb cannot have a reflexive sense, unless this is combined with a modal modification, *i. e.* 'could not hide herself'. But such a modal sense involved in the predicate-verb is — as far as we know — destitute of analogies in the Gothic language. Therefore the sense of the verb is evidently intransitive, *i. e.* 'to lie hid', and this meaning suits very well also the first example. In view of this fact we may doubt that the verb ever had the transitive sense 'to hide'. The verb is a translation of Greek. *λανθάνω*, intr. 'to escape notice', 'to be unknown'. If the intr. sense 'to lie hid' is the primary one, then we are concerned with a rare example of a deadjectival *ja*-formation (\**laugns* in *analaugns*, a. hidden, secret) that presents an intr. durative sense of attribution (or state) (cf. Goth. *balþjan*, *bleiþjan*, etc.). In this case we may suppose that the formation of the verb has been suggested by the Greek original. Again, if there existed a primary transitive sense 'to hide', then we are concerned with a rare example of the case that in Gothic a verb presents the semological contrast between a trans. meaning and an intr. sense of attribution (cf. *ana-niuþjan* *ufarassjan*, *ufarfulljan*, *ustiuhan*). Since in these verbs the intr. sense is due to Greek influence (cf. below), we may safely assume that the same is the case with the sense 'to lie hid'. However, although we meet with the reflex. form *galaugnjān sik* 'to hide oneself', we need not necessarily assume that the verb ever had the trans. sense to hide. For the refl. form may be entirely due to influence from the Greek original, *i. e.* *περικρύβεν ἑαυτὴν*.

Several of the Gothic verbs, in which we have assumed an oscillating reflexive sense, have actually been recorded in the reflexive form, *viz.* *blandan sik* (according to FEIST<sup>1</sup>), *gawandjan sik*, Lu. 14, 25, Lu. 7, 44, etc.; *gahamon sik*, Rom. 13, 14; *gawasjan sik*, Mt. 6, 29; *haftjan sik*, Col. 4, 2; *skaidan sik*, 2 Cor. 7, 15. Some of them have a corresponding *n*-formation, which favours the opinion that their primary sense was transitive, *viz.*, *ga-haftnan*, *skaidnan*.

The non-transitive use of the verbs *daupjan* and *bimaitan* is by STREITBERG described as 'auffällig'.<sup>2</sup> This is justified in as much as, if we assume the existence of an alternative reflexive sense, the latter must have a causative aspect, *i. e.* 'to cause one-

<sup>1</sup> S. FEIST *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, Halle, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> W. STREITBERG *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1906, 182.

self to be baptized or circumcised'. True, we cannot adduce any other verbs employed in the active form with this import; nor can we give records of a reflexive form of the verbs. But the fact remains that an alternative reflexive sense is distinctly salient, which is also recognized by GABELENTZ and LOEBE.<sup>1</sup> The reflexive sense is even the only one salient in the following quotations of *bimaitan*, since in them this verb is governed by a verb involving 'to compel': *Gal.* 2, 3 *akei nih Teitus, sa miþ mis, Kreks wisands, baidiþs was bimaitan* = but not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised (Eng. Bib.: = to allow himself to be circumcised); *Gal.* 6, 12, *swa managai swe wileina 'samjam sis in leika þai naudjand izwis bimaitan* = as many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised (Eng. Bib.: = to allow yourselves to be circumcised). It is not impossible to realize how the two verbs acquired their intransitive use. The verb *daupjan* is by UHLENBECK<sup>2</sup>, FEIST<sup>3</sup>, and KLUGE<sup>4</sup> described as a causative formation from the adjective *diups* 'deep', *i. e.* with a change of ablaut grade. If so, the sense was originally transitive, *i. e.* 'to immerse'. It is evident that the verb in this sense could be employed in the reflexive form, and, if the reflexive pronoun was suppressed, a sense would originate oscillating between a reflexive and an intransitive meaning, *i. e.* 'to immerse oneself', 'to dive', or even 'to wash (oneself)'. The latter sense, *i. e.* 'to wash (oneself)', is recorded in point of the active form of the verb: *Mk.* 7, 4 *jah af maþla niba daupjand ni matjand* = and (when they come) from the market-place, except they wash themselves, they eat not. Since the notion of 'baptize' was expressed by *daupjan*, it is manifest that this ceremony consisted in immersion, *i. e.* the latter concept was the predominant element of the former. Now, if the verb was predicated of the neophyte and if the latter made the immersion of his own accord, then this performance would naturally be described by employing the active (or reflexive) form, since the verb in its original sense could be used intransitively (or reflexively). But in view of the circumstances under which this self-immersion took place, *i. e.* owing

<sup>1</sup> H. C. GABELENTZ and J. LOEBE *Ulfilas*, II, 2, 1846, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> C. UHLENBECK *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1896.

<sup>3</sup> S. FEIST, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> F. KLUGE *Faktitiva adjektivischer Herkunft* in *Zs. f. d. Wortf.* 7, 168 sqq.



to what WUNDT calls 'Verwendungsassociation', the verb would then get the sense 'to receive baptism', 'to be baptized', 'to suffer (cause) oneself to be baptized'. In other words, we mean that it is very intelligible if the procedure of baptism predicated of the neophyte, was expressed by the active (or the reflexive) form, since the notion was expressed by a verb whose import constituted the predominant element of the new concept, and therefore was not likely to suffer any restriction in its sphere of application also in the new sense, *i. e.* it did not lose its intransitive or its reflexive use. If this is true — which is likely enough —, then we can easily explain the intransitive use of the verb *bimaitan* as due to influence from *daupjan*, both being ritual verbs.

The OE.  
period.

The tendency, only incipient in Gothic, to eke out the semological sphere of transitive verbs with a correlative intransitive sense, is also met with in Old English. We have adduced several examples where this intransitive sense oscillates towards a reflexive or a passive meaning. But there are also instances where only a collateral reflexive sense is salient, which sometimes may be the case also with verbs presenting the former kind of oscillation, since it is here the context that conditions the salience of a passive meaning. As examples: *gedælan*, *Guðl.* 710 *Swā þæt milde mōd wið moncynnes drēamum gedæelde*, *dryhtne þēowde*, etc. (= thus this sweet mind separated itself from the joy of the world, served God, etc.); *a-hildan*, *Ps. Srt.* 26, 9 (B.-T., Supplem). 26, 9, *Ne ahæld ðū from ðiowe ðīnum* (= ne declines a servo tuo); *ōphȳdan*, *Ors.* 2, 8 (B.-T.) *Unēaðe mehte ænig ðām Gallium ōþflēon oððe ōðhȳdan* (= hardly could any one escape or hide from the Gauls); *bestelan*, *Homl. S.* 21, 417 (B.-T. Suppl). *Hē bestæl ūt mid his stæfe hoppegende* (cf. *Past.* 197, 21 (B.-T.), *Hē īrās, und bestæl hine tō him*); *þennan*, *Homl. Skt.* ii, 23 b, 186 (B.-T) *þæt geswinc his sȳðsættes ne understandende mid hrædestan rylene þenigende arn*, (= he exerted himself in running; cf. Goth. *sik ufþanjan*, se extendere, *Phil.* 3, 14).

Moreover, there are in OE. several examples where the secondary non-transitive use implies only a correlative intransitive sense, *i. e.* a meaning destitute of oscillating alternatives. We refer to examples given in connexion with our examination of cats. B, C, D. These instances do not generally admit of a reflexive mode of explanation. But, if so, are we always justified in assuming a reflexive interpretation when the non-transitive construction implies also an oscillating intransitive sense? Methodologically speaking, we are entitled to do so, since the reflexive way of origin meets the semological facts, and, no doubt, is



often instrumental in bringing about secondary intransitive constructions. But we should confine this means of explanation to such cases where another way of origin is not likely, and we must also state the instances where another explanation is possible. As to our examples from the OE period, a reflexive interpretation should generally be applied. This involves that the verbs here concerned were originally used in the reflexive form when they were meant to give expression to the secondary non-transitive sense, but that later the reflexive pronoun was omitted, and for reasons already mentioned in the case of Gothic. It should be noticed, however, that also association between the passive form and the intr. conjugation with *bēon*, etc. may sometimes have caused the intr. construction (cf. cat. C.).

As a corroboration of the reflexive origin may in some measure be considered the fact that the verbs have also been recorded in a reflexive form. As examples: *bēgan* (-īe, -ȳ-), *Exon.* 110 (B.-T.) *Bȳgdest* ðū ðē for *hæleðum*; *bregðan*, *Homl.* S. 11, 222 (B.-T. Suppl.), *þā bræd se sceocca hine sylfne tō menn*; *Ibid.* 31, 718 *On manegum oþerum hīwum hine bræd se dēofol*; *bræðan*, *Bd.* 2, 7 (B.-T.) *se wallenda lēg hine brædde tō ðām biscope* (= spread itself); *cerran*, *Cd.*, 228 *Cer ðē on bæcling* (= turn thee behind), *gedælan*, *Blickl. Hom.* 97, 21. (B.-T.) *Hē sceole wiþ dām lichoman hine gedælan* (= he must separate himself from the body); *Ibid.* 125, 11 *Hē hine wiþ ðās world gedæleþ*; *onhyldan*, *Bd.* 3, 17 (B.-T.), *se biscop hine onhylde to ānre dære studa* (= the bishop leant himself against one of the pillars (posts)); *ætiewan*, *Past.* 42, 29 (B.-T.) *Hē hiene ætiewde æfter dære æriste*; *þeodan*, *Blickl. Hom.* 115, 21 (B.-T.) *þæt wē ūs georne tō Gode þȳdan* (= attach ourselves to God); *(ge)wendan*, *Bt. Met.*, *Fox* 22, 113, *Hē cwæþ ðætte æghwiic ungemyndig rihtwīsnesse hine hræðe sceolde eft gewendan in tō sīnum mōdes gemyndo*; *Gen.* 42, 24 (B.-T.) *Hē wende hine lȳthwōn from him and wēop*.

In other cases such as OE. *openian*, *lūcan*, *onhlīdan*, *bemīpan*, *scēadan* *twæman*, *þrāwan*, no reflexive form has been recorded, which, however, especially in view of the comparative scantiness of the OE. literature, is no reliable proof against a reflexive origin of their intransitive constructions.

There are in OE. a few instances of the semological change here concerned where an explanation other than the reflexive is possible or even likely. Thus the non-transitive construction may have been induced by the form of the verb. This is probably the case with OE. *openian* (< W Germ. *\*opanōjan* < *\*opan* OTeut. *\*upono-* open). We may assume that the transitive sense is here the original one (cf. OHG. *offanôn* trans., OSax. *opanôn*, trans.),



more especially as this sense is a notion of greater frequency than its correlative intransitive meaning. The verb had a form that was the particular expression for verbs with an inchoative intransitive sense. Therefore, this form may have suggested the intransitive use, all the more as, if there was a need to let a correlative intransitive verb express the sense involved in the non-transitive construction (cf. Goth. *uslūkan*, to open, *usluknan*, to become open or be opened), this expression must be formally identical with the transitive verb. In other words, we may look upon the verb with the intransitive sense as a new formation. If so, this accounts for the absence of a reflexive form in the numerous records of this OE. verb. An equivalent case is presented by OE. *samnian* formed from the OTeut. adverb *\*saman-*. In OE. it presents not only a transitive sense, but very often also a correlative intransitive meaning, *i. e.* 'to come together', which, if the transitive sense is predominant, may oscillate towards a reflexive meaning and perhaps even towards a passive aspect (though we have not met with such examples). If we assume that the transitive sense is the original, which is possible (cf. OHG. *samanôn*, trans. (*sik samenôn*)<sup>1</sup> and OSax. *samnôn*, trans. and intr.), then a particular expression for the correlative intr. sense, a notion of great currency, would get the same form as that of the transitive sense. The assumption of such a new formation accounts here, too, for the absence of a reflexive form in the OE. records. Again, the intransitive sense of the synonymous verb *(ge)gaderian* formed from the adverb *\*yadurī*, is in OE. rarely recorded and should perhaps therefore be explained as due to influence from *samnian*.

In the last example we have supposed that association due to semological affinity has occasioned the intransitive construction of the verb. The same is most probably the case with the non-transitive use of OE. *lūcan* and *onhlīdan*, if this use was later than the intransitive function of OE. *openian*, their semological relative. Another case of associative influence is when the construction of a foreign original (being translated) has determined the construction of a native verb. This is perhaps the case when OE. *bemīpan* is used intransitively to render the Lat. forms *lateat* and *latere* (cf. above).

<sup>1</sup> cf. E. G. GRAFF *Ahd. Sprachschatz*, Berlin 1842, 6, 38.

In the examples of a non-transitive use of OE. *gedælan* (and *tōdælan*) given above, a reflexive mode of explanation is, no doubt, indispensable. But this is not so in the case of the following example seemingly equivalent to the former: *Elene* 1286, þonne on þrēo dæleð in fýres feng folc ānra gehwylc þāra þe gewurdon on wīdan fēore ofer sīdne grund. The form *dæleð* was by GREIN<sup>1</sup> conceived passively (= 'geteilt, verteilt werden'); but, if so, we must also recognize the existence of an oscillating reflexive sense, since the subject is capable of the reflexivity implied in the predicate-verb. This is no doubt correct from a descriptive point of view. But, etymologically speaking, POGATSCHER<sup>2</sup> is justified in maintaining that we are here concerned with the transitive sense of the verb and that the subject should be supplied from the context (*i. e.* *dēma* taken from the preceding *þurh þæs dēman mūþ*). The oft-occurring phenomenon of a non-expressed subject in OE. sentences is by POGATSCHER<sup>2</sup> employed to explain the apparent use of the active form in a reflexive or a reciprocal sense (in 2nd quot. oscillating towards a passival aspect). As examples: *Andr.* 1012 Arās þā tōgēnes, gode þancode, þæs þe hīe onsunde æfre mōston *gesēon* under sunnan; *Andr.* 5 nō hira (*i. e.* the Apostles) þrym ālæg camprædenne, þonne cumbol hnēotan, syððan hīe *gedældon*, swā him dryhten sylf, heofona hēahcýning hlyt getæhte, *Bēow.* 1875 him wæs bēga wēn, ealdum in-frōdum, oþres swīðor, þæt hī seoððan *gesēon* mōston mōdige on meðle. In these examples he conceives *hīe* as accusatives and consequently the form of the verbs as reflexive or reciprocal (quots. 1, 3). We admit the possibility of this interpretation, but it is also likely, nay certain, that these and similar cases could be conceived as active forms with a reflexive or a reciprocal sense, which is advocated by KLUGE<sup>3</sup>. This is particularly true of the verb *gedælan*, which we have recorded above in the active form with a reflexive sense that cannot be explained by the omission of the subject. Any way it should be stated that Pogatscher's explanation involves a particular cause (other than the usual) of the appearance of a reflexive or a reciprocal sense in the active form.

<sup>1</sup> C. W. M. GREIN *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, Cassel & Göttingen, 1864 s. v. *gedælan*.

<sup>2</sup> A. POGATSCHER *Unausgedrücktes Subject im Altenglischen in Anglia* XXIII, 275, 273.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *P. B. Beitr.* IX, 190, cf. also *Anglia* XIII, 341 (Schröder); XIV, 141 (Sievers).



*The ME.  
period.*

If we turn to our examples from the ME. period, a reflexive explanation is in itself possible. But it is natural that the power of analogy may be at work and chiefly bring about a non-transitive use of a primary transitive verb. The intransitive use of the verbs *mell* and *meddle*, of OF. descent, not recorded intransitively in OF. in the sense here referred to, may be explained as due to associative influence from the native *meng*, already in OE. occurring in a secondary intransitive meaning. The same is true of the synonymous verb *blend*, of native origin. The non-transitive use of the loan-word *convert*, not recorded intransitively in OF., may be due to influence from *chare*, its native correspondent, which already in early ME. was employed in the active form to express the non-transitive meaning correlative to the transitive sense 'convert'. Again, this secondary function of *chare* may have been conditioned by its intransitive function, when the correlative transitive sense was 'to turn'.

In the case of loan-words the non-transitive use may be due to the fact that already in their native language they were so employed. This — no doubt secondary — intransitive use is by GODEFROI<sup>1</sup> recorded in the case of *dissever* (OF. *dessevrer*), *hurt* (OF. *hurter*), *redress* (OF. *redrecier*), e. g. *Aymeri de Narbonne* 1948, *Maint en i font verser et trebuchier, Qui n'orent puis pooir de redrecier*. He also records it in the case of *depart* (OF. *departir*), but only predicated of persons, but not of a way (as in our Engl. quot.); in the latter case he states the reflexive form, e. g., *Lancelot* (Ms. Fribourg f<sup>o</sup>. 108<sup>c</sup>). *Il viendrent a i chemin qui se departoit en ii*. Lastly, he also states an intr. use in OF. in the case of *close* (OF. *clore*), but the only example given shows a predominant passive sense of the verb, which owing to intemporal sense is a specimen of category F, viz. GARNIER *Hippol.* *Il La porte y est ouverte et ne clost nuict ne jour*. In all these cases we may assume that the non-trans. use of the verbs is due to French influence. But it should be observed that this use did not disagree with the constructive habits of the English language or else it would not so easily have been naturalized. Thus, the intransitive use of *close* was supported or perhaps even induced by the corresponding function of the verbs *louw* and *open*. Moreover, there is the possibility that foreign verbs could be na-

<sup>1</sup> GODEFROI *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle), Paris 1880—1902.

turalized in their transitive sense and that a non-transitive use was exclusively (or chiefly) brought about by English influences. But it is scarcely possible to decide when this is the case, unless perhaps a considerable chronological gap between the transitive sense and its non-transitive correlative may be taken as a criterion. Thus, for instance, the fact that the intransitive use of *close* (c 1385) is in NED. recorded nearly two centuries later than the corresponding transitive function (c 1205), no doubt favours the assumption that English influences have conditioned the intr. use.

Let us turn to the NE. period. There is no doubt that also in this epoch secondary non-transitive constructions involving the semological aspect under consideration could originate in the reflexive way and that this mode of explanation covers all the semological and morphological facts presented by such verbs (yet, in some measure, apart from the oft-occurring want of a reflexive form). It is, however, evident that here, too, individual association due to semological affinity with individual verbs plays an important part. Thus the intransitive construction of the semologically allied group of verbs *mingle*, *intermingle*, *mix*, *commix*, *intermix* was no doubt essentially conditioned by their synonyms *meng*, *mell*, *meddle*, *blend*, employed also intransitively already in ME. The intransitive construction of the verbs *depart* (1387), *dissever* (c 1430), *join* (1481) must have largely contributed to the same function of such allied verbs as *divide* (1526), *incorporate* (1594), *conjoin* (1578, or 1611) (OF. *conjoindre* not recorded intr. by Godefroi), *cement* (1660), *inoculate* (1646), *bind* (1647), *concorporate* (1691), *combine* (1768), *amalgamate* (1804), *bisect* (1870). The primary transitive verb *empty*, recorded intransitively since 1682, no doubt induced the non-transitive construction of *evacuate* (1817), its synonym. The non-transitive use of *reopen* was occasioned by the same function of the simplex *open* occurring intransitively since OE. times. In the same way the verb *redress* employed intransitively since 1480, no doubt induced the intransitive function of the verb *erect*, its semological relative. Moreover, the intransitive construction of the verb *moor*, recorded since 1697, most probably induced the same function in point of its synonym *berth*, recorded in 1868. The intransitive use of the verb *arrange* 1523 (predicated of troops) must have influenced the non-transitive use of the verbs *embattle* (1597) and *form* (1722), predicated of equivalent subjects. The verb *exercise*, formed from the

*The NE.  
period.*



substantive 'exercise' may have its secondary non-transitive use essentially conditioned by the earlier *exerce* employed intransitively, or else it may also be explained as due to denominative new formation (cf. below). And the still later recorded *drill* (as a military term) had its intransitive use most probably conditioned by its synonym *exercise*. The non-transitive construction of *cleave* (which perhaps should rather be referred to cat. B), was probably influenced by its semological affinity to the verb *open* employed transitively and intransitively. The same is decidedly the case with *disclose* in a material sense (< OF. *desclore*, not recorded intransitively by Godefroi). Also the figurative use of *disclose* (1494) may be due to the same association, though *open* in its figurative sense is recorded later (1708). Likewise *exhibit* may owe its intransitive use (1656) to *disclose*.

In short, we must assume that the network of associations existing between semologically related verbs have played an important part for the origination of secondary non-transitive senses involving the predication oscillation we are dealing with. We must even consider this factor as equally powerful as the reflexive factor, and there is no doubt that in individual cases it may be the predominant or even the sole cause of the non-transitive function. Though it is very precarious to point out such cases with any amount of certainty, we may, for instance, assume that the intransitive use of *reopen* is entirely due to the same function of the simplex *open*. We have previously shown that many verbs of the present category have not been recorded by NED. in a reflexive form. Though this may be due to chance (in some measure at least), yet the principal cause is, no doubt, to be sought in the associative fact mentioned and also in another fact of associative nature that will soon be discussed. We have also shown that sometimes the reflexive form has been recorded later than the intransitive function. When so, it is the reflexive sense of the intransitive construction, or, if we so will, the capability of reflexivity on the part of the subject that has got formal expression. But in view of the associative facts mentioned above, this discrepancy in chronology is only natural.

Another kind of associative influence, *i. e.* association through syntactical contiguity, has perhaps sometimes induced the intransitive construction of a primary transitive verb. It is not impossible that such is the case with the following example, the only

record given in NED. as regards the intransitive function of the verb *distort*: 1680 Old Ancharius . . was so violent . . That his beard *bristled* and his face *distorted*.

However, in the case of the NE. period we have to consider another analogical influence, so important that it may be described as a semological or a constructive law. This law did not operate in the OE. period or in the earlier stages of the ME. epoch. As will be shown in the sequel, the semological contrast between a causative (transitive) verb and its correlative intransitive meaning was in English in process of time more and more often expressed by the same verb. Already at the end of the ME. period, the number of such verbs was so considerable that they must necessarily have exercised a powerful inducing influence on such transitive verbs whose sense had or could have a causative aspect. In other words, the former verbs must have tended to induce the origination of a correlative intransitive function also in the case of the latter. And this theoretical conclusion is so fully borne out by the actual state of things in the NE. period that in our opinion we are entitled to establish the constructive or semological law that in the NE. epoch or even already at the end of the ME. period, a verb with a primary transitive sense presenting a causative aspect can (could) be employed also in the correlative intrans. sense without implying a conspicuous deviation from the linguistic usage of the time. Therefore, the more distinctly the primary transitive sense of a verb of the present category stands out as causative, the more likely it is that the intransitive construction, if of NE. or late ME. date, is essentially due to the semological or constructive law mentioned. The salience of an oscillating reflexive or passive sense in addition to the intransitive meaning cannot be adduced as an argument against this assumption. For these senses are salient from the hearer's (reader's) point of view, but the causative explanation involves that from the speaker's (writer's) point of view the intransitive sense is meant to be expressed. We have previously indicated those verbs of the present category whose transitive sense presents a causative aspect, and it turned out that such was the case with the vast majority of them (cf. p. 223 sqq.). Therefore, if the secondary intransitive construction of such verbs belongs to the NE. epoch or to late ME. we may apply the causative mode of explanation. In itself this explanation is no doubt sufficient to account for the semological and morpholo-



gical facts offered by the present category. But the question is if we are entitled to say that the causative aspect has been the sole operating factor. From a methodological point of view we must decidedly answer in the negative, even when the causative aspect is particularly prominent. In the first place, all instances must be excluded where individual association, *i. e.* associative influence from individual words, has played a part. For the latter factor may be assumed to be more powerful than even the causative factor. Next, in view of the enormous English vocabulary, it is difficult to know (or at least very troublesome to ascertain) whether, in those cases where individual association is not likely to have taken place, this factor has nevertheless been at work. Further, it is self-evident that denominative new formation and the reflexive mode of origin continued to operate in the NE. epoch. Lastly, the force of the causative factor is proportional to the salience of the causative sense. But this salience varies in the verbs here concerned. Under such circumstances it is next to impossible to indicate with certainty such examples (of cat. A) where the causative aspect has been the sole operating factor. We must confine ourselves to maintaining that in the NE. period the causative aspect of a primary transitive verb has essentially contributed to the origination of its secondary intransitive construction with a reflexive and passival aspect and that in the case of many NE. verbs this aspect has essentially conditioned the occasional or permanent omission of the reflexive pronoun in spite of the salience of a reflexive sense. We may also safely maintain that in many instances of the present category the causative aspect of the primary sense of a verb has exclusively conditioned its non-transitive function though it is precarious or impossible to give particular instances. Perhaps *draw* and *knit* (predicated of brows) and *distort* (predicated of face), are examples in point. Yet this likelihood is perhaps counterbalanced by the possibility of a particular kind of reflexive interpretation (cf. p. 259).

We have not yet exhaustively indicated the factors that may bring about the semological change under consideration. This change may also be due to the desubstantival origin of a verb. An examination of desubstantival verbs in English will show that the semological relation between the substantival element and the verbal element may be multifarious and that the same is the case with the import of the latter. The verb *outfit* is formed on the

corresponding substantive, and its primary transitive sense involves 'to provide with an outfit, to fit out'. In the secondary intransitive construction the intransitive meaning 'to buy (procure) an outfit' struggles for salience. But this sense does by no means contrast with the import which a desubstantial verb may imply. We may therefore assume that the non-transitive use of *outfit* is a new formation on the corresponding substantive. This involves that the intransitive meaning 'to buy (procure) an outfit' is meant to be expressed, though, owing to the primary transitive sense, it oscillates towards a passive or a reflexive aspect. The correctness of this etymological interpretation is supported by the fact that the transitive sense does *not* stand out as causative and also perhaps by the circumstance that a reflexive form has not been recorded. But nevertheless a reflexive mode of interpretation is possible (cf. below). Another example in point is afforded by the desubstantial verb *exercise*.

The secondary intransitive construction may sometimes be due to an absolute use of the transitive sense. Such may be the origin of the intransitive function of the verb *moor*. In early NE. this verb could be predicated of a ship (or of persons) and at the same time govern a direct object, *i. e.* 'anchor', *e. g.* 1600 HAKLUYT *Voy.* III, 66. The Michael moored ancker vpon this great yce. 1621 T. WILLIAMSON tr. *Goulart's Wise Vieillard* 179 Who has commaunded you to moor your anchor of hope in such a little lump of dust as man is? 1647 WARD *Simp. Cobler* 20 Those men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme soile of Heaven. In spite of the reflexive form (one record) it is by no means impossible to consider the intransitive function of *moor* as an absolute use of this transitive construction, which implies the omission of the object 'anchor'. But, on the other hand, also a reflexive, nay even a causative, mode of explanation is here equally possible.

A use of the reflexive manner of interpretation involves the assumption that the reflexive form was originally employed to express the import contained in the secondary intransitive construction and that later on the reflexive pronoun was omitted. But as in course of time the reflexive sense was very often expressed by the active form, *e. g.* *to dress, wash, show*, we may ask whether in the NE. period (at least in its latest stage), this form could directly (*i. e.* without an intermediate reflexive form) be employed to express a reflexive sense. It is not unlikely that such was occasionally the case and that this kind of reflexive interpretation



should be applied in several instances. This is perhaps possible in the case of *draw*, *knit*, *distort*, *outfit*, which also admit of other explanations. The explanation is even likely in the case of the non-transitive function of *arm out* (predicated of ships), *cut* (as a term in card-playing, formerly only recorded in the passive form), *list*, *invalid*, and *matriculate*. As to these verbs (their intransitive function is very late) the transitive sense has no causative aspect, and a reflexive form has not been recorded.

Especially in the NE. period it is precarious or even impossible to determine with certainty which explanatory factor should be applied in the case of the semological change presented by cat. A. In most cases we are no doubt concerned with a co-operation of factors, *i. e.* the reflexive way of origin, individual association, and the causative aspect of the transitive sense. The last factor is as a rule probably the predominant or even the sole cause. But as this is impossible to prove and as the reflexive way of origin is always possible when a refl. sense is distinguishable, we may in such cases consider the reflexive factor as a contributing source.

Lastly, we have to consider whether the non-transitive use of loan-words adduced in our material may be due to an equivalent function in their native language. Though we have mostly avoided such instances, yet we can give the following French loan-words as examples of this case<sup>1</sup>: *arrange* (OF. *arengier*), *e. g.* *Vrais croyance*, Puis fit le pueple soir et arengier; *Aumont et Agrav.*, Vont s'en les oz, onques plus n'i atendent, De Paris issent, chevauchent et arangient; *estrangle* (OF. *estrangier*, also intr. in sense, 's'éloigner, se changer, s'écarter'; in the sense 'aliéner' the verb occurs only trans. or refl. in French, but in Engl. also intr.); *frounce* (OF. *froncir*, -chir), *e. g.* *Rose*, Quant mon vis effachié remir Et voi que fronchir le convient; *form* (OF. *former*, -ou-, also intr. 'se métamorphoser' but not recorded intr. in reference to troops as in Engl.); *join* (OF. *joindre*, also intr. in the senses 'toucher par l'effet d'un choc' (in a combat), 'arriver tout près (au sens moral)', 'être très voisin', *e. g.* CHREST. *Clig.* 3767 Si qu'anbedeus a un seul poindre Les a fait a la terre joindre. At least in the case of *arrange*, *frounce*, and *join* we may attribute their intransitive use in English to French influence. This origin does by no means involve the non-salience of an oscillating reflexive and passive sense. For as will be remembered this is

<sup>1</sup> cf. GODEFROY *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) Paris 1880—1902.

principally dependent on the vitality of the transitive meaning. We repeat what has been said in the case of such French loan-words in the ME. period, *viz.* that their intransitive function, though existing in their native language, may nevertheless be of English origin, but that it is difficult to actually prove it.

We have now discussed a category of semological change that involves not only an oscillating passive and reflexive sense, but generally an intransitive meaning. LEON KELLNER proclaims apodictically:<sup>1</sup> 'Das häufigste Mittel, durch welches eine Sprache die transitiven Verba zu intransitiven umgestaltet, ist das *verbum reflexivum*'. He maintains that this is true of also the English language. But we have seen that already in the case of the present category, the reflexive interpretation is not the only mode of explanation though we admit that as regards OE. and ME. it may be considered as the chief explanatory principle. But this is not so in point of the other categories which we have distinguished from a descriptive point of view. And as the verbs of these categories together with those verbs with a secondary intr. function where no oscillating passive or reflexive sense is salient, enormously outnumber the verbs of the present category, we must as far as English is concerned emphatically deny the correctness of Kellner's opinion.

What does the application of the reflexive explanatory principle involve in the case of the other categories (*i. e.* cats. B, C, D, E, F) where we have not assumed the salience of a reflexive sense? It involves generally that the grammatical subjects are incapable of the kind of reflexivity conditioned by the predicate-verbs. But, if so, the assumption of a reflexive origin of the intransitive construction implies that in English the function of the reflexive form has been extended. It means that this form, from having only been employed to express true reflexivity, has also become an intransitive and a passival formative. We do not then refer to cases where, owing to a certain amount of frequency, the reflexive form of a verb has analogically been predicated of subjects incapable of this reflexivity and therefore has assumed the aspect of an intransitive formative. For in this oft-occurring case the subjects may be metaphorically conceived as capable of reflexivity, which gives salience to a collateral reflexive sense, *e. g.* 1863 GEO. ELIOT *Romola* III 405 *It blent itself as an exalting memory with all her daily*

*The applicability of a reflexive interpretation.*

<sup>1</sup> LEON KELLNER *Zur Syntax des Englischen Verbums*, Wien 1885, 27.



labours. We refer rather to such cases where a verb only rarely or not at all is employed in a truly reflexive sense, but nevertheless occurs in the reflexive form, predicated of subjects incapable of this reflexivity. The former cases are the intermediate stages of the latter. This extension of the employment of the reflexive form is meant to lend the verb an intransitive sense (that may oscillate towards a passival aspect), or else a chiefly passive meaning, or else the dualistic import that conditions a *predicatio objecti & attributionis*. In several continental languages this function of the reflexive form is by no means rare.

The function of the refl. form as an intransitive formative (whether the sense occasionally oscillates towards a passive aspect or not) is for instance met with in German and in French. As examples where the intransitive sense implies state or attribution (= cat. B) may be adduced: German: MHG. *Klage*, (Blatz<sup>1</sup> 492) *Dô mërte sich* Dietriche sin ungevüege hërzen sêr; *Opitz*, 2, 8 (Grimm, Wb.), *dir grünet berg und thal, dir lüutert sich* die luft; UHLAND *Gedichte* 460 (Grimm, Wb.), *zwar längern schon sich* ihres lebens schatten, doch löst sie gerne noch den witwenschleier; French: LITTRÉ, *Sa taille s'épaissit*; *Ibid.* *Le couteau s'ébrécherà* si vous coupez un corps si dur; BOSS. *Hist.* II, 1 (Littré) *Leur état allait s'empirant*; LITTRÉ, *La vue s'obscurcit*. As examples where the intransitive sense implies activity (= cat. C.) may be quoted the following French examples (this case with the restrictions made above seems to be rare in German): LITTRÉ, *Ce blé est trop mûr, il s'égrène*; *Ibid.*, *Les cloches s'ébranlaient*. As instances where the intransitive sense denotes existence (= cat. D.) may be given: German: WERDER *Av.* 11, 27 (Grimm, Wb.), *ach wie viel helden werden durch dich noch untergehen, eh'dieser krieg sich end?*; GOETHE 17, 246 (Grimm, Wb.), *eine wahre bitterheit hatte sich* in ihrem verhältniss zu Ottilien erzeugt. SCHILLER 407 (Grimm, Wb.), *bei diesen schriften findet sich* ein brief, bestimmt für manche königliche schwester; French: LITTRÉ, *Les vers s'engendrent* dans les cadavres; LAMARTINE *Médit.*, 1, 9 (Littré), *Tes yeux où s'éteignait* la vie Rayonnent d'immortalité; VOLT. *Louis XIV.* 32 (Littré), *Ce temps ne se trouvera plus où un duc de la Rochefoucauld . . . allait au théâtre de Corneille*.

The function of the reflexive form as a purely passive formative (= cat. E) is instanced by the Scandinavian languages. For their passive formation in *-s* is of reflexive origin. This function is fairly rare in German, but it is particularly common in French and Italian, or on the whole in Romance languages, though,

<sup>1</sup> FR. BLATZ *Nhd. Grammatik*, Karlsruhe 1896, II 492.

according to KÖRTING,<sup>1</sup> this fact is not duly emphasized by grammarians. As examples: German: PLATEN (Blatz,<sup>2</sup> ii, 492), *Dort leert sich* mancher Becher *aus* bei frohen Hochzeitstänzen; French: RAYNAL *Hist. phil.* xii, 7 (Littré s. v. *entamer*), C'est ainsi que tout *s'entame* et que rien ne *s'achève* par un fol orgueil, dont l'influence fatale se répand sur toutes les branches de l'administration; LITTRÉ, Tandis que le temple *s'édifiait*; *Ibid.*, les discours qui *se sont tenus* en cette occasion; *Ibid.*, Cette maison *se vend* aujourd'hui; *Ibid.*, La voie par où les eaux s'écoulaient, *s'est* tout à fait *bouchée*. Italian: A. CARCANO 1, 4 (Vockeradt<sup>3</sup> i, 203) *Si lasciano* le case, dov e entrata la morte, *si chiudono* a chiave le camere del caro defunto, *si spediscono* cento lettere dolorose coll'orliccio vero, . . *si recevon* le visite d'una monotona e ceremoniosa condoglianza, etc.

Lastly, the dualistic verbal sense that conditions what we have called a *prædicatio objecti & attributionis* is not only in French and Italian, but in German exceedingly often expressed by the reflexive form. We then refer to the species of this sense that implies that the grammatical subject is of such a nature that it *admits* of being the object of a specified action. As examples: German:<sup>4</sup> HEINR. v. KLEIST, Das Drängen verwirrter Kriegerhaufen *nimmt sich wahr*; SCHILLER, Ein üppig lastervolles Leben *büsst sich* in Mangel und Erniedrigung allein; *Ibid.*, Leicht und erquicklich *atmet sich* die Luft; *Ibid.*, Schwere Thaten sind geschehen die *sich* nie *vergeben* und *vergessen*; GOETHE, Dergleichen Leut *packen sich* nicht wie ein flüchtiger Dieb; WIELAND, Ein holderer Ort *lässt* kaum *sich träumen*; *Mod.*, Weidenruten *lassen sich* leicht *biegen*; French: LITTRÉ, Les pêches de vignes *ne se pèlent* pas facilement; *Ibid.*, Des écritures qui *ne se déchiffrent* pas; *Ibid.*, Cette marchandise *se débite* très-bien; *Ibid.*, Cette marchandise *ne se vend* pas; *Ibid.*, Cette montagne *se voit* de loin; *Mod.*, Ce vin *ne se boit* pas bien; Italian:<sup>5</sup> GIUSTI, *Proverbi*, Dagli effetti *si conoscono* gli affetti; PETRÒCCHI:<sup>6</sup> L'affezione non *si vende* ne *si compra*.

If we return to the English language, we are confronted with the question as to whether, with the restriction made above, the reflexive form is or has been employed as an intransitive or a passive formative. An examination of the material presented in the categories B, C, D, E, F, will show that this question is by NED. unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative. It belongs to a

<sup>1</sup> G. KÖRTING *Dissertatio patrio sermone scripta de enuntiati et notione et partibus*, Kiliae 1905, 24.

<sup>2</sup> FR. BLATZ, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> H. VOCKERADT *Lehrbuch der Italienischen Sprache*, Berlin 1878.

<sup>4</sup> All these German examples are taken from FR. BLATZ *op. cit.*, ii, 492.

<sup>5</sup> cf. PETRÒCCHI *Novo Dizionario Universale della Lingua Italiana*, Milano 1891 s. v. *vendere*.



particular investigation of the reflexive verbs to give a detailed answer to this question. Yet, as far as we know — our opinion is founded on a fairly close examination of the English vocabulary, and of modern English literature — the answer should on the whole decidedly be in the negative<sup>1</sup>. This is only natural in view of the powerful factors, that in English have brought about the intransitive use of so many transitive verbs, and that highly contribute to the suppression of the reflexive pronoun, when the verbal sense is truly reflexive. But we admit that in English there are several examples of the intransitive and the passive function of the reflexive form and that in modern times (after c. 1850) there is a tendency to enlarge the function of this form, most probably due to foreign, chiefly French, influence.

As to the material presented by cats. B, C, D, E, F, it is, therefore, from a methodological point of view indispensable not to assume a reflexive mode of interpretation, unless a reflexive form has previously been recorded or at least unless the import tends towards a reflexive aspect. As already pointed out, we are perhaps concerned with the latter alternative in some instances of our material illustrating these categories. But, as appears from the present category, even in this case the assumption of a reflexive origin need not be the correct etymological interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup> cf. also E. BECKMANN, *Über das reflexive Verb im Englischen*, in *Herr. Arch.* LIX, 205—238.

## B. Predications of direct object or of state and attribution.

The semological change implied in the verbs of the present category consists in the fact that primary transitive verbs have adopted a meaning oscillating between a passive aspect and an intransitive sense of state or attribution.

The salience of the intransitive sense is due to the same factors as have been stated in the case of the preceding category of verbs, *i. e.* the active form of the verb and the causative aspect of the primary transitive sense. *Salience of an intr. sense.*

The number of verbs where the secondary intransitive meaning implies a sense of state is in our material fairly considerable. The intransitive sense is then always of inchoative nature and means 'to come into a (specified) state'. We have previously (Essay I p. 74) — rightly or wrongly — delimited the notion of state so as to regard the psychical condition of animate things or, when referring to the physical sphere, only the integrity or constitutive form of a thing.

As is to be expected, the majority of our examples have reference to the physical sphere. This is the case with the intr. function of verbs such as *batter, blow in* (predicated of a window) *break, consume, corrode, corrugate, crash, crush, disjoint, dissolve, ditch, flat, fret, fur, indent, outwear, rend, resolve, rip, rive*. Their intransitive sense implies 'to come into a battered, broken, consumed, corroded, etc. state'. Here belong also *fire* and *inflamm*, meaning 'to come into a burning state'. Other verbs such as *digest, distill, mineralize, petrify, macerate, mortify* refer to a specified mode of existence or kind of consistency, qualities which in fact regard integrity or form. Also the secondary non-transitive sense of the verbs *disorder* and *array* may be said to refer to the integrity and form of the subject, though the latter is here a collective notion. The verbs *infect* and *gravel* regard the physical state of animate (or, in the case of the former verb, also inanimate) things and may justly be apprehended as having reference to the integrity of the thing. Such verbs as *evolve, improve, fortify, ruin, shend*, regard a change in the general state or condition of a thing with respect to its constitutive integrity or form, but they may



also regard things of the non-physical sphere, which owing to transference is not rarely the case also with several of the other verbs mentioned. Of much the same nature is the non-transitive sense of the verb *to cure* involving 'to be cured' or 'to come into a better (or the former) physical or psychical state'.

Considerably inferior in number are such verbs as exclusively (or principally) refer to the psychical state of animate things. Here belong verbs such as *discourage*, *enkindle* (since regularly used figuratively), *fill* (in the sense 'to become satisfied') *inebriate*, *liberalize*, *nettle*. The verb *invert*, when used in a secondary non-transitive sense, is in our material predicated of immaterial things such as 'joy', 'nature'. The oscillating intransitive sense 'to change to the opposite' should be considered to involve a sense of state (and not of attribution as is indicated in our material), since it implies a change in the constitutive nature of the subject.

In our material there are also a great many verbs where the secondary intransitive sense implies an intransitive sense of attribution. The import involves then often 'to be or become such (as is indicated by the import of the verb)'. This is the case when the sense of attribution refers to a change in the impression on our senses made by the subject. Here belong such verbs as *arefy*, *dry* (to become dry), *blanch*, *bleach* (to become white or pale), *clarify* (to become clear), *patch* (to become patchy or mottled), *illumine* (to become light or bright), *stain*, *tarnish* (to become sullied or dull). An intermediate position between a sense of attribution and a sense of state as here conceived, is held by verbs such as *Americanize*, *Anglicize*, *Frenchify*. For their intransitive sense implies 'to become American, English, French', not only in manners and habits, which refers to 'attribution', but also in ideas and character, which refers to 'state'.

The inchoative sense 'to become such (as is specified by the verb)' is also met with in verbs where the attribution refers to a change in size, number, dimensions, speed, local position, or else such qualities as price, validity, immortality, which are perceptible by the intellect and not by the senses. Such verbs are: *approximate* (to come nearer to), *dwarf* (to become dwarfish), *eche* (to become quicker (of pace)), *enhance* (to become higher (of price)), *anhigh* (to become greater (of sin)), *reduce* (to become less or limited), *cancel* (to become null and void), *immortalize* (to become

inmortal). The intransitive sense of the verb *awend* implies the elementary verb of inchoativity or of perfectivity, *i. e.* 'to become', and consequently the predication aspect of the sentence depends upon the complement of the predicate-verb.

In our material there are some verbs where the oscillating intransitive sense involves that the grammatical subject is coming into or losing co-existence with a thing implied in the predicate-verb which therefore generally is a desubstantival derivative. Such is the case with *feather* (to get feathers), *film* (to get a film), *people* (to get people, to grow populous), *hull* (to lose the hull). The predication element in this intransitive sense is here also of inchoative nature, *i. e.* 'to get'. We may describe *to get* as the elementary verb of inchoativity employed to indicate the grammatical subject as coming into co-existence with a thing, just as, in the case of predications of co-existence, the verb *to have* may be considered as the elementary verb of the durative tense-aspect. The secondary intransitive sense of the verbs *attach* and *knit* may be said to involve an inchoative sense of co-existence, though the thing with which the subject comes into co-existence is here not involved in the verb but expressed by a particular morphem. But here this sense is not of an elementary nature, since it implies particular connotations. The same is the case with the intransitive sense of the verb *fill* whose connotative elements refer not only to the quantity in which the thing occurs when coming into co-existence with the subject (*i. e.* a quantity sufficient for filling the subject), but to the mode of their co-existence, in as much as the subject is indicated as the receptacle of the former.

In some verbs of our material the secondary intransitive sense implies a sense of attribution that has a durative and not an inchoative tense-aspect. Such is the case with the verbs *to feel*, 'to produce a certain impression on the senses (esp. that of touch) or the sensibilities', *to hight*, 'to have or bear the name', *to anhang*, 'to be suspended', 'to hang' in an intr. sense. The same is the case with the verb *rid* (away, apace). The intransitive sense of this verb as well as of the verb *retard* implies a sense of existence. But this import is in both cases bound up with a temporal connotation (other than that lent by tenses) that lends the whole meaning the import of an intransitive sense of attribution. The former verb seems to imply a durative tense-aspect, *i. e.* 'to proceed quickly', the latter verb involves an inchoative sense, *i. e.* 'to happen later'.



It is not always possible to keep distinctly apart an intransitive sense of attribution from an intransitive sense of state such as the latter notion has been delimited by us. The same verb may oscillate between these senses. We have seen that such is the case with *Americanize*, *Anglicize*, and *Frenchify*. Such is also the case with *gravel* and *fur*, according as the idea is predominant or not that the gravel or the coating comes into co-existence with the subject or affects its integrity. The same is true of *stain* and *tarnish*, according as we consider that the phenomenon involved in these verbs regards the integrity of the subject or that it does not. Again in the case of the verbs *fortify* and *ruin*, the intransitive sense may involve either a sense of state, *i. e.* 'to grow strong', 'to come to ruin', 'deteriorate', or a sense of attribution, *i. e.* 'to increase', 'to come to financial ruin', 'become poor'.

The intransitive sense of state or attribution may have connotations that make the import oscillate towards other intransitive senses. Thus *corrugate* implies a sense of state if the idea is predominant that the form of its subject is changed, *i. e.* 'to get furrows or wrinkles'. But it involves a sense of action if the motion involved in corrugation becomes salient, *i. e.* 'to contract'. The same reasoning is applicable to the verb *ditch*, *i. e.* 'to become ditchy', 'to open up in furrows or chasms', perhaps also to the intransitive sense of *rend*. The intransitive meaning of *distill* implies evidently a sense of state, if the idea of the transforming process becomes predominant, *i. e.* 'to become vaporized and then condensed into liquid', but it represents a meaning of action, if the import 'to drop from the still' is salient. The verbs *accumulate*, *heap*, and *pile* contain in their secondary intransitive senses such connotations as render their predication import vague and oscillating. They refer to the appearance of a thing in great quantities and imply thus a sense of existence (origination). But the connotation of quantity is strongly salient and tends to lend the whole import the aspect of a sense of attribution. Besides a connotation of motion is generally salient, which involves a sense of action.

In some cases the intransitive sense of attribution is bound up with an element referring to existence. Thus the intransitive sense of the verb *retard* when predicated of a 'nomen actionis', involves a sense of existence; but since this meaning is combined with a

temporal connotation (other than that lent by tenses) which is more emphasized than the existential element, the whole meaning (*i. e.* to happen later) gets the aspect of a sense of attribution, *e. g.* 1646 Putrefaction . . shall retard or accelerate according to the subject and season of the year. The same is true of the verb *rid* (apace, away), *e. g.* 1626 Now . . with quicke hands, worke rids apace; 1751 It is impossible to imagine how this work rids away. Again, when *retard* in an intransitive sense is predicated of persons, it implies only semological elements conditioning a sense of attribution, *i. e.* 'to come (arrive) later'<sup>1</sup>. The intransitive sense of the verbs *dissolve*, *resolve* present a sense of state, since the idea of 'coming into disintegration' may involve 'coming into another mode of existence.' But if the notion of desintegration becomes particularly prominent, it conveys the idea of loss of existence. The intransitive sense of the verb *consume* as exemplified in our material denotes generally only a sense of state, *i. e.* 'to rot', 'decay', 'waste away (with disease or grief)', 'to burn away'. But in a couple of examples the nature of the subject is such that the verbal import essentially implies a loss of existence (= 'to pass away'), *viz.*, 1526 To lye vnoccupied . . and so to peryshe, consume and waste. 1611 Their beauty shall consume in the graue. 1749 Alas! thou fading flower How fast thy sweets consume!

Thus we find that intransitive verbs may sometimes have such connotations as condition different predicational aspects and therefore may render their semological classification precarious.

The semological relation between the secondary intransitive sense and the primary transitive meaning in the verbs here considered, is mostly the one between a causative sense and its cor-<sup>Relation be-  
tween the  
intr. and  
trans. senses.</sup>relative intransitive meaning. In all cases where the secondary intransitive sense implies an inchoative sense of state, *i. e.* 'to come into a specified state', the corresponding transitive sense may be said to present a causal aspect. *e. g.* *batter*, *blow in*, *break*, *consume*, *corrode*, *corrugate*, *crash*, *crush*, *cure*, *discourage*, *disjoint*, *disorder*, *digest*, *dissolve*, *distill*, *ditch*, *enkindle*, *evolve*, *fire*, *flat*, *fortify*, *fret*, *fur*, *improve*, *indent*, *incbriate*, *infect*, *inflamm*, *libe-*

<sup>1</sup> But if the intr. construction may be apprehended as an absolute use of the trans. sense, *e. g.* *retard* = 'r. one's journey' (which is dubious), then the non-trans. sense oscillates also towards a sense of action (*i. e.* = not travel (until later)).



*ralize*, etc. The causative sense is always distinctly salient when the grammatical subject may be apprehended as merely the cause of the verbal phenomenon or when the element of activity is not particularly salient. But whenever the import of the transitive sense is such as to presuppose a fairly conspicuous activity on the part of the subject, the causative aspect is less prominent. Therefore such verbs as *rend*, *rip*, and *rive*, which generally involve a connotation of energetic activity do not so readily appear as causative. But when such verbs are predicated of subjects incapable of activity, this connotation is discarded, and the subject appears as merely the cause of the verbal process, *e. g.* 1645 HOWELL *Twelve Treat.* 331 The graue Venerable Bishop . . fetcht such a *sigh*, that would haue *rended* a rock asunder. *c.* 1380 WYCLIF *Sel. Wks.* I. 103 *ȝif rycheſſe* liken þe fleiſhe, neþeles þei *ryven* þe soule. — Thus we mean that also such primary trans. verbs whose secondary intransitive sense implies an inchoative sense of state, but whose trans. import generally involves also a particularly salient connotation of activity, may be looked upon as causative.

If we turn to those verbs whose secondary intransitive sense implies an inchoative sense of attribution, *i. e.* 'to become such (as is specified by the predicate-verb)', 'to get the quality involved in the predicate-verb', then it will turn out that the correlative transitive sense stands out as distinctly causative, *i. e.* 'to make (to cause to become) such (as is specified)', 'to provide with the quality involved in the predicate-verb'. This is the case with the vast majority of the verbs here concerned: *Americanize*, *Anglicize*, *anhigh*, *approximate*, *arefy*, *blanch*, *bleach*, *calefy*, *cancel*, *clarify*, *complicate*, *dry*, *dwarf*, *eche*, *enhance*, *fire*, *illumine*, *immortalize*, *lower*, *patch*, *reduce*, *replenish*, *stain*. True, the transitive meaning of these verbs generally implies a sense of activity on the part of a personal (animate) subject, but this is not always the case. Again when the subject is inanimate — and such is often, sometimes mostly the case with the verbs quoted — then the subject stands out as merely the cause of the verbal phenomenon. The transitive sense of these and similar verbs may therefore unhesitatingly be described as causative. Also such verbs where the secondary intransitive sense involves the kind of attribution we have called co-existence, may in their primary transitive meaning generally be considered as causative, though they mostly imply a connotation of activity, *e. g.* *attach*, *feather*, *fill*, *film*, *hull*, *knit*, *people*.

We have quoted a few verbs where the secondary intransitive sense of attribution implies a durative and not an inchoative tense-aspect, *i. e.* *feel*, *hight*, *anhang*, *rid* ('away', 'apace'). The transitive sense of *feel* and *hight* does not stand out as causative when compared with the intransitive meaning (as to *feel*, see cat. D). Again the transitive sense of *anhang* admits only with difficulty of being interpreted as causative, *i. e.* 'to cause to hang', the verb *rid* ('away', 'apace'), assumes somewhat more readily a causative aspect (*i. e.* 'to cause to proceed or take place'). As to *retard*, this verb easily stands out as causative, and the correlative intransitive sense may be apprehended as an inchoative correspondent to the durative *rid* ('away', 'apace').

Thus we can state that in cat. B. the semological relation between the secondary intransitive sense and the primary transitive meaning almost always involves the relation between a causative verb and its correlative intransitive meaning.

The salience of a passive sense in the secondary non-transitive use of the verbs here considered is dependent on the same factors as in the case of cat. A., *i. e.* the vitality of the transitive sense and the context. In other words, the proximate origin of the passive sense is principally brought about by the associative influence exercised by the primary transitive meaning. In the present category of verbal senses as well as in all our descriptive categories that principle holds good that the more predominant the transitive sense is, the more perceptible is the passive meaning when the active form of the verb is used in a secondary intransitive construction.

*Salience of  
a passive  
sense = its  
proximate  
origin.*

When the transitive sense may be apprehended as causative, we are in fact concerned with only a slight semological difference between the passive sense and its oscillating alternative, *i. e.* the intransitive meaning. For it will be remembered that an intransitive sense constitutes an element of the correlative causative (= transitive) signification, which besides implies a transitive element indicating the grammatical subject as the cause that makes the intrans. sense qualify the object. The intr. sense means here, 'to come into a specified state', 'to become such as is specified by the predicate-verb or to get the attribute involved in the predicate-verb'. The passive sense means 'to be brought into a specified state', 'to be made such as is specified by the predicate-verb or to



be provided with the attribution implied in the predicate-verb'. But the result of the action implied in the passive form, is that the grammatical subject 'comes into a specified state', 'becomes such as is specified by the predicate-verb or gets the attribution involved in the predicate-verb'. Thus, in one case the verbal-action (process) itself and its agency are emphasized, in the other case the resulting state or attribution is the predominant notion. Again, when the transitive sense cannot be apprehended as causative, the intr. meaning does not constitute an element of it, *e. g. hight, fecl.* Therefore the discrepancy between the passive and the correlative intr. sense is here larger, and the oscillating intransitive sense originates with greater difficulty than in the former case.

The passive sense, *i. e.* the agential element, may become salient whether the agency is expressed by a particular morphem or not. In the latter case the agency is indefinite, but its nature is generally limited in as much as it belongs to a particular class of agents such as persons, natural forces, etc. (cf. cat. A.), *e. g.* 1823 Where does the taint stop? Do you *bleach* in three or four generations? 1610 The great Globe itselfe, Yea, all which it inherit, shall *dissolue* . . . 1644 How each envious pace Vies to be first, and *eches* for the place. 1665 The substance of it *feels* . . . exactly like a very fine piece . . . of Chamois leather. 1710 The Lottery for two Millions of Florins *fills* with great Success. In other cases the agency may be of very indefinite nature, *e. g.* 1604 Women are flax, and will *fire* in a moment.

When the agency is expressed by a particular morphem, it may have the same morphological dress as an agential adjunct, *i. e.* the adjunct meant to denote the logical subject in a converted (passive) predication. This dress is in mod. Eng. the prep. *by*, in earlier Engl. also *of*, *e. g.* 1658 Soils, which *calify* and indurate *by* the Sun's reflection. 1737 *By* such injudicious Practice the Horse often *gravels*. 1805 Their situation *improves by* a communication with the whites. 1812 *By* the friction of solids . . . the axle trees of carriages sometimes *inflame*. 1833 *By* him great Pompey *dwarfs* and suffers pain. 1494 Corne the yere folowyng was scant, whereof the pryce this yere began to *enhaunce*. 1500—20 All the houss *illumynit of* hir lemys. 1500—20 Quhill all the air *infeck of* thair pvsoun. We believe that in these and similar examples the salience of the passive sense is somewhat favoured by the expression of an adjunct in the dress of an agential adjunct. Yet this adjunct does by no means prevent the origination of an oscillating intr. sense. For it may also be

apprehended as an instrumental or a causal adjunct (note that nowadays *of* denotes scarcely an instrumental or an agential adjunct), both of which are often combined with intr. verbs.

The affinity between the agential adjunct and the instrumental and causal adjuncts is so close that in a secondary intransitive construction the latter may be apprehended as agencies, as logical subjects and thus contribute to the salience of the passive sense, *e. g.* c. 1230 þat ha ne *merren* ne formealten þurh licomliche lustes i flesche fulðe. 1523 The batayle of the marshals began to *dysorder*, *by reason of* the shot of the archers. a 1529 Nowe *with* sondry sectes The world sore *infectes*. 1535 *For* very inwarde grefe, I *consume awaye*. 1653 His countenance had *indented with* Age before he was old. 1685 Like Niobe we marble grow And *petrify with* grief. 1702 While I *consume with* more than Æthna's fires! a 1706 *For* too much Meat the Bowels *fur*. 1774 Gunpowder will readily *fire with* a spark. As agencies may be apprehended also expressions which have the form of a local or a temporal adjunct, but which oscillate towards an instrumental or a causal sense. As examples: 1515 *Betwene* thy tethe oft time the coles *crashes*. 1589 Pleusidippus eyes *at* this speech *resolved* into fire. 1749 The parson . . *fired at* this information. 1768 If wax *blanches in* the sun. 1803 *At* the first blow his head *crashed*. 1810 Milford . . began to *nettle at* the fidgets of his visitor. 1820 Some minds *corrode* and grow inactive *under* the loss of personal liberty. 1853 The elastic material *corrugated before* the enormous pressure. 1863 As when the rolling breakers boom and *blanch on* the precipices. 1875 He was *Americanizing in* that good lady's hands. In other cases a subordinate clause or a contracted sentence (causal, conditional, temporal, etc.) involves the agential element, *e. g.* 1625 His Wits and Vnderstanding doe *clarifie* and breake vp, *in . . discoursing with Another*. 1638 The fruit [banana] *put into your mouth*, *dissolves* and yeelds a most incomparable relish. 1873 Effects which *as they diffuse complicate* incalculably. 1890 Neither will the great scheme of things *disjoint, because your lover has left you*.

The existence of a morphem that may be apprehended as an agency of the passive sense does not in every case favour the salience of this sense. A strengthening of this salience may be assumed only when the expression is dressed in the form of the grammatical agent, perhaps also when it has the ordinary form of a causal or an instrumental adjunct.

Since the salience of an agential element is the distinctive feature of the passive sense, it is evident that, if in the case of a secondary intransitive construction the context does not favour the origination of the notion of an agency, a passive sense does



not become salient in spite of the vitality of the correlative transitive meaning. But it is difficult to give a general indication as to when the context is of this nature. Yet, we may proclaim that a passive sense originates with greater difficulty than usual when the primary transitive sense has a particularly conspicuous causative character and no agential, causal, or instrumental adjunct has been expressed (cf. p. 219).

In the vast majority of the numerous cases where a primary transitive verb has adopted a correlative intr. sense, the latter scarcely oscillates towards a passival meaning. And, apart from the many cases where the primary trans. sense has slight vitality or presents only a slight priority to the intr. sense, the cause of this fact is principally due to the strong causative aspect of the primary transitive meaning and in some measure also to the oft-occurring absence of a causal or an instrumental adjunct. In the case of denominative verbs, it is also due to the fact that the secondary intr. function may be apprehended as a new formation on the nominal basis. As examples of such cases may be adduced: 1779 MISS BURNEY *Diary* She . . alternately softens and *animates* just like her. 1660 FAIRFAX *Tasso*, Strait was the way at first . . But further in did further *amplify*. a 1735 ARBUTHNOT (J.) If a person of a firm constitution begin to *bloat*. c 1374 CHAUCER *Boeth.* Whan it forletip to ben oone, it mot nedis dien and *corrumpe* to-gidre. 1622 R. HAWKINS *Voy. S. Sea* Thwart Cape Froward, the wind *larged* with us. c 1400 tr. *Secreta Secret., Gor. Lordsh.* In þat tyme þe nyht *lengthys*, þe days *shorten*. 1673 J. CARYL *Nat. & Princ. Love.* If you do not daily sweep your houses, they will *defile*. a 1734 NORTH *Exam.* The Plot . . began to *languify* . . 1509 HOWES *Past. Pleas.* My dolorous herte began to *pacify*.

From what precedes it is evident that the collateral passive sense may be more or less distinctly salient. In the case of our material we readily admit that there are instances where, in the examples given, the passive sense is not very salient, *e. g.* *Anglicize*, *approximate*, *arefy*. As to *hight*, a passive sense was scarcely distinguishable after the OE. period, since in the ME. epoch the intransitive function of the verb had increased in frequency. It should however be remembered that the salience of the passive sense is often a matter of individual linguistic consciousness and that those cases where the salience is questionable are in other respects on a par with those instances where it is more prominent.

If we examine the attitude assumed by NED. as to the salience of a collateral passive sense in the instances adduced in

our material, it will turn out that this sense is very seldom recognized in the general descriptive account of the non-transitive sense. The latter is mostly described as 'intr.' or else as 'intr. for refl.' It is only in a few cases that the sense has been indicated as 'intr. for passive', a description recognizing the salience of a passival meaning. These verbs are: *crash*, *feel*, *heap*, *macerate*, *mortify*, *petrify*, *pile*. But just as *heap* and *pile* are designated as passival, so their synonym *accumulate*, described as 'intr.', should have been designated in the same way. And as the secondary non-trans. sense of *crash* is considered to be passival, the same should have been the case with *crush*, which however is indicated as 'intr. for refl.' It is also impossible to realize why the secondary sense of *macerate*, *mortify*, and *petrify* should have the privilege of being considered as passival in preference to many other verbs whose secondary non-transitive sense implies a collateral intransitive meaning of state or attribution. However, this inconsistency shows on the one hand that the verbs of cat. B. present an oscillating passival aspect, on the other hand that the salience of this sense is often diminutive or questionable.

We have seen that the semological contrast between a causative sense and a correlative intransitive meaning of state or attribution is in English very often expressed by the same morphem and that this very fact tends to make the intr. sense, if secondary, oscillate towards a passival aspect. It is evident that, if the causal and the intransitive sense are expressed by different morphems, the latter cannot tend to assume a passival aspect. True, there is generally an etymological affinity between the transitive and the correlative intransitive morphems so as to make the two verbs easily associable with each other. But this associability cannot be strong enough to expose the intransitive sense to influence from the transitive meaning, so as to make the former sense oscillate towards a passival aspect.

This truism, however, is not always recognized in the case of Gothic. In this language the semological contrast between a causative sense and its correlative intransitive meaning of inchoative aspect had been turned into a grammatical category, i. e. the two senses were expressed by different morphems, formed on the same stem (or on allied stems), but differing in formative principles. The characteristic feature of the causative transitive verb is a *ja*-suffix and a particular inflexion (= 1<sup>st</sup> weak conjugation).



The distinctive feature of the inceptive intransitive sense is an *n*-suffix and a particular inflexion (= 4<sup>th</sup> weak conjugation). As examples: *ga-dauþjan* to kill, *ga-dauþnan* to die (< *dauþs*, adj. dead); *ga-qiujan* to make alive, *ga-quinan* to become alive (< *qius*, adj. alive); *ga-hailjan* to heal, *ga-hailnan* to get well, recover (< *hails*, adj. whole); *ga-daubjan*, to make deaf, to harden, *af-daubnan*, to become deaf, grow dull (< *daufs*, adj., deaf); *ga-swinþjan*, to strengthen, *ga-swinþnan*, to become strong (< *swinþs*, adj. strong). In these and similar *n*-verbs there is no cause for the origination of an oscillating passive sense. And yet the *n*-verbs are by BRAUNE<sup>1</sup> described as passival. EGGE<sup>2</sup> is on the whole justified in his opposition to this term, though he fails to substantiate his opinion by such arguments as those given above. He justly maintains that the verb *ga-dauþnan*, should be interpreted not as 'to be put to death' (Braune), but as 'to die'. We may add that also BALG<sup>3</sup> is in the wrong when interpreting *ga-qiunan*, and *ga-hailnan* as 'to be made alive', 'to be healed.' They imply, no doubt, 'to become alive', 'to become hale and sound', *e. g.* Lu. 15, 24, *unte sa sunus meins dauþs was jah gaqiunoda* = for this my son was dead and became alive again (Engl. Bible: is alive again). Lu. 7, 7, *ak qiþ waurda, jah gahailnid sa þiumagus meins* = but say the word and my son shall become hale and sound (Engl. Bible: shall be healed). Again in the case of other verbs such as *afdaubnan*, *swinþnan* Balg justly gives only the inceptive intransitive senses 'to grow dull', 'to grow or become strong'; *e. g.* Cor. II 3, 4 *ak af-daubnodedun fraþja ize* = but their minds grew dull (Engl. Bible: were hardened). Lu. 1, 80 *iþ þata barn wohs jah swinþnoda ahmin* = and the child grew and waxed strong in spirit.

In all these examples the semological relation between the transitive *ja*-verb and the intransitive *n*-verb is the one existing between a causative sense and a correlative intransitive meaning of inchoative tense-aspect. The *n*-verbs are therefore by Egge described as 'inchoative', but he should have added that they generally involve an intransitive sense of state or attribution, rarely one of action or of existence. Whenever the *ja*-verbs have a distinctly causative aspect, we may safely proclaim that the correlative *n*-verbs have no trace of a passival sense. They are in this

<sup>1</sup> BRAUNE *Gotische Grammatik*, Halle 1893, 75.

<sup>2</sup> *The American Journal of Philology* VII (1886), 37 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> G. U. BALG *A Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language* 1887-89.

case entirely on a par with Scandinavian *n*-verbs, which only present an inceptive intransitive meaning, *e. g.* Swed. *mörkna* (< *mörk*, a.), to become dark, *svartna* (< *svart*, a.), to become black, *kallna* (< *kall*, a.), to become cold, *tillfriskna* (< *frisk*, a.), to become hale and sound, to recover; etc.

There are, however, several *n*-verbs whose corresponding *ja*-verbs either not at all or else with difficulty may be apprehended as causative. When so, we may ask if it is impossible to trace a passival sense in the correlative *n*-verb. For it is evident that, if the import of the transitive *ja*-verb is not causative, then its morphologically correlative *n*-verb cannot be also its semological correlative, unless it assumes a passive aspect. Therefore it is a priori not improbable that the semological correspondence between the majority of the *ja*- and the *n*-verbs should tend to induce a correlative relation also in the present case. Or, to put the matter in another way, it is likely that also in the present case the *ja*- and the *n*-formation are formative principles which manifest a correlative relation between two semological categories. But as such is actually the case, it involves that such *n*-verbs have a passival import, yet with preservation of the inchoative tense-aspect, *i. e.* the distinctive feature of the *n*-verbs. Again this implies that the passive sense is the one involved in the inchoative verb of predication, *i. e.* 'to become' + the pa. pple of the trans. verb, consequently a sense that has a great proximity to an inchoative sense of state or attribution. As examples in point should, for instance, be considered such *n*-verbs as have been formed on the pa. pple stem of strong transitive verbs. For when so, we may expect their senses to present the same passival aspect as the inchoative verb of predication + the pa. pple of the transitive verb. But just as the latter expression generally oscillates towards an intransitive sense, so the same oscillation may be expected to take place in the case of the *n*-verbs. The salience of the passive sense of such *n*-verbs is proportional to the degree of difficulty with which the correlative transitive verb, be it a strong root-verb or a weak *ja*-verb, may be apprehended as causative. But even if the correlative transitive verb has no trace of a causal aspect, the passival import of the corresponding *n*-verb must in this case tend towards an intransitive sense. And this oscillation is due not only to the associative influence exercised by the ordinary intransitive import of the *n*-verbs, but also to the fact that any



- import involving 'to become + a pa. pple of a trans. vb' tends to oscillate towards an intr. meaning. Thus there are instances where the *n*-verbs may be described as passival. Only, this indication should be confined to the case where the correlative transitive verb either with difficulty or else not at all may be apprehended as causal. But even in this case a collateral intransitive sense is always struggling for salience.

Even EGGE<sup>1</sup> admits that 'it is not always easy to see the difference in meaning between the passive of a transitive verb and an *n*-verb formed from the same stem'. And to substantiate this opinion he quotes GABELENTZ and LOEBE<sup>2</sup>: 'Oft kommt das Passivum neben diesen Wörtern dritter Conjugation von demselben Stamm vor, ohne dass ein wesentlicher Unterschied nachgewiesen werden könnte, so: *vaurda meina usfulljanda in mela seinamma*. Luk. 1, 20, neben *usfulnoda þata gamelido*. Mth. 8, 17; *sis hauhjada sunus quþs þairh þata*, Joh. 11, 4, neben *ushauhniþ namo frauþins*. Thess. 2, 1, 12; *ni uslukaindau daurons* Neh. 7, 3, neben *haurds mis usluknoda*. Cor. 1, 16, 9; *all gaveihada*. Tim. 1, 4, 5, neben *veihnai namo þein*. Mth. 6, 9; *so afdaupjada*. Mc. 7, 10, neben *ga-daupnan*; *fraletada*, Luk. 6, 32 [7, 47 is evidently meant], neben *undletnan*; *merjada* Cor. I, 15, 12, neben *usmernan*; *gatairada* Joh. 7, 23, neben *gataurnan*; *mikiljada* Phil. I, 20, neben *mikilnan*. Yet, Egge means — and justly — that to the speaker's (hearer's) consciousness there was in Gothic also in these cases a distinct semological difference between the *n*-verb and the passive expression. He says (p. 43), 'So, in regard to the second example above, I can easily feel the difference between 'to be glorified' (passive of *háuhjan*) and 'to become glorified' (*usháuhnan*). The same distinction may be made in regard to the other examples. Thus, *Xristus mērjada* (I Cor. XV 12) means ›Christ is preached, proclaimed‹, while *usmērnoda thata waurd bi ina* (Luke V 15) means ›his fame became known, got abroad‹, there being no reference to *who* or *what* noised it abroad'. Under these circumstances it is surprising that Egge admits that two such expressions as the first pair of examples may be looked upon as synonymous. For here also it is possible to make the same semological distinction as in the other cases. The sentence *waurda meina usfuljanda in mela seinamma*, means, 'my words shall be brought into fulfilment in their season' (= præd. obj.). Again,

<sup>1</sup> cf. *op. cit.* p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> H. C. DE GABELENTZ et J. LOEBE *Ulfilas*, Lipsiæ 1846, ii, 138.

the predication *usfulnoda þata gamelido* implies 'that which was spoken came into fulfilment, took place' (= præd. exist.).

If we examine the above verbs adduced by GABELENTZ and LOEBE it will turn out that some of the transitive correspondents of the *n*-verbs readily stand out as causatives. Such is the case with *usfulljan* 'to bring (= to cause to come) into fulfilment', *weihjan* 'to make (= to cause to become) holy'; *afdaupjan* 'to kill', 'to bring to death (= to cause to die)'. Therefore their correlative *n*-verbs have only an inchoative intransitive sense and no oscillating passival import, i. e. *usfullnan* 'to come into fulfilment', *weihnan* 'to become holy' (Feist<sup>1</sup> wrongly 'geheiligt werden'), *gadaupnan* 'to die'. As to the other *n*-verbs quoted by G. and L. their transitive correspondents cannot very readily be apprehended as causative. Thus, if we admit that the verbs *mikiljan* and *hauhjan* have lost their original sense 'to make great, high' and instead assumed the import 'to praise, to glorify', then we must also admit that they have such connotations as prevent the salience of a causative meaning. The same is true in the case of *merjan* 'to preach' (orig. 'to make *mers*, i. e. renowned, known). Again, the verbs *gatairan* 'to tear' (asunder, to pieces), *fraletan* 'to release', *uslukan* 'to open', adduced by GABELENTZ and LOEBE, and we may add such verbs as *giutan* 'to pour out', *andbindan* 'to release' have such connotations as do not entirely prevent them from being apprehended as causatives. But this aspect is not very salient. Therefore the *n*-verbs correlative with all these transitive verbs, present no doubt a passival aspect, though it should be admitted that also a collateral intransitive sense is salient or at least struggling for salience. The import of this passive sense is 'to become + the import of the pa. pple. of the correlative transitive verb'. Therefore, we concur in EGGE's opinion that the passive of *hauhjan* means 'to be glorified, exalted' and that *ushauhnan* involves 'to become glorified' as in the following examples: Thess. 2, 1, 12 *ei ushauhnnai namo frauþins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus in izwis jah jus in imma* = that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may become [Eng. Bib.: may be] glorified in you and ye in him; Joh. 11, 4 *ei hauhjaidau sunus gudis þairh þata* = that the Son of God may be glorified thereby. But we also admit that the passive sense of *ushauhnan* oscillates towards an intransitive sense, i. e. 'to become famous, renowned'. The same interpretations

<sup>1</sup> cf. S. FEIST *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, Halle 1909.



are applicable to the synonymous verb *mikilnan*, *i. e.* 'to become glorified', 'to become famous' (cf. BALG: to be enlarged, to be magnified) and also to *usmernan*. We have seen that the latter verb is by EGGE explained as 'to become known', 'get abroad', but, in our opinion, also a collateral passive sense is salient, *i. e.* 'to become preached' (cf. BALG: to be made known, be proclaimed; to get noised abroad, become known).

The same oscillation between a passival and an intransitive sense is also presented by the verbs *andletnan*<sup>1</sup> 'to become released or free', 'to depart', 'to die'. (BALG: to get oneself free, to depart); *usgutnan* 'to become poured out', 'to flow' (BALG: to be poured out, be spilled), *aftaurnan* 'to become torn away' (a collateral intrans. sense implies 'come off by tearing'), *usluknan* 'to become opened or open' (BALG: to become unlocked, to be opened, open), *andbundnan* 'to become released or free' (BALG: to be unbound, to be loosened). As examples: *Math.* 9, 17 *biþeh þan jah wein usgutniþ jah balgeis fraqistnand* = and the wine is spilled and the skins perish. *Lu.* 5, 37 *aiþþau distairid þata niujo wein þans balgins jah silbo usgutniþ* = else the new wine will burst the skins, and itself will be spilled'. — *Lu.* 5, 36 *qapuh þan jah gajukon du im, þatei ainshun plat snagins niujis ni laggid ana snagan fairnjana, aiþþau jah sa niuja aftaurnid, jah þamma fairnjin ni gatimid þata af þamma niujin* = And he spake also a parable unto them that no man putteth a piece from a new garment upon an old garment; else the new will be rent and also the piece from the new will not agree with the old. — *Mc.* 7, 35 *jah sunsaiw usluknodedun imma hliumans, jah andbundnoda bandi tuggons is jah rodida raihtaba* = and his ears were immediately opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain.

Thus the Gothic *n*-verbs corroborate our principle that the easier the correlative transitive sense stands out as causative, the less readily does the correlative intr. function assume a passival aspect and *vice versa*. When the *n*-verb is of later formation than its corresponding transitive verb and the latter cannot easily be apprehended as causal, then we must admit that in Gothic the verbal *n*-suffix is to some extent also a passive formative. But it should be observed that this passive sense always oscillates towards an intr. sense and that in Gothic there is not a single example of an

<sup>1</sup> This verb may be disregarded, since in the only quot. recorded, *i. e.* Phil. I, 23, its etymological sense, '*i. e.* to become released or free', has been obscured by the collateral intr. sense 'to depart', 'to die'.

*n*-verb where a logical subject, i. e. an agential adjunct, has been expressed<sup>1</sup>.

The extent of cat. B is very considerable. True, this inference cannot be drawn from our material. But it may be drawn from the fact that the cases of a secondary non-transitive meaning where the latter involves only an intr. sense of state or attribution represent the most common change of verbal meaning. We admit that our material illustrating the present category is far from exhaustive (cf. p. 106). But we would accentuate on the one hand that the salience of an oscillating passive sense is dependent on the context and the vitality of the primary transitive meaning so that the limits of the category cannot be drawn hard and fast, and on the other hand that, both descriptively and etymologically speaking, the cases omitted are of exactly the same nature as those adduced. Therefore a larger material would have added nothing of importance to our knowledge of cat. B. *Extent and chronology.*

The extent of cat. B was different in different epochs. The vast majority of our examples are from the NE. period. We have here to notice such verbs whose correlative trans. sense originated in the NE. period, i. e. after c. 1500 (or 1450), viz. *accumulate, Americanize, Anglicize, approximate, arefy, attach, bleach, blow, calefy, cancel, complicate, corrugate, dissarray, disorder, digest, dwarf, enkindle, evolve, fill up* (and *fill*, naut.), *film, flat, Frenchify, fur, gravel, immortalize, improve, invert, liberalize, lower, macerate, mineralize, mortify, nettle, outwear, patch, people, petrify, pulverize, reduce, retard, rip, ruin, tarnish* (= 43). We have also to notice such verbs whose correlative trans. sense came into existence in the ME. period, viz: *anhigh, batter, blanch, blow, clarify, consume, corrode, crash, crush, cure, disjoint, fill* (I, 3), *fire, fortify, illumine, indent, intoxicate, inflame, knit* (sense I, 3), *pile, replenish, rive, stain* (= 23). There are also a few verbs whose correlative trans. sense dates from the OE. period, but whose secondary intr. construction is as late as the NE. epoch, viz. *break, eche, feel, fill* (sense I, 1), *knit* (sense I, 1). (= 5).

Examples of the semological change taking place in the ME. period are far less numerous in our material. We have to notice such examples where the primary trans. sense originated in the ME. epoch: *consume, dissolve, distill, ditch, enhance, fret, hull, in-*

<sup>1</sup> cf. EGGE. *op. cit* p. 40.



*fect, resolve, rive* (= 10). In the following instances the primary transitive verb is of OE. date: *anhang* (OE. *āhōn*), *dry, feather, heap, rend, mar, shend*.

As to the OE. period our material presents only two examples illustrating the semological change in question, *i. e. awende* (which rather belongs to category A) and *hight*. But a particular investigation of the OE. vocabulary will show that already at that time many primary transitive verbs presented also an intransitive sense of state or attribution. Yet, in the examples met with, the context is rarely such as to make the intr. sense oscillate towards a passive aspect. As examples of this oscillation may be adduced: (a) str. root-verb: *slītan* (1) trans., to tear, rend, (2) intr. or pass., to tear (intr.), to be torn, *CYNEWULF Crīst* 1139 *þæs temples segl wundorblēom geworht tō wlite þæs hūses sylf slāt on tū, swylce hit seaxes ecg scearp þurhwōde*. — (b) wk. root-verbs (causative): *miltan* (< *\*maltjan*, causal of OE. *meltan* str. v. intr.) (1) trans., to melt, (2) intr. or pass., to become or be made liquid, also *fig. Ps. Th.* 70, 8 (B.-T.) *þonne mē mægen and mōd mylte; mis-wendan* (< *\*wandjan*, causal of OE. *windan*, intr.) (1) trans., to pervert, apply to a wrong use, (2) intr. or pass., to turn in a wrong direction, to be perverted. *Homl. Skt.* I 102 (B.-T.) *Gif sēo gewylnung miswent ðonne ācenþ hē[o] gýfernesse and forlygr and gītsunge; sprengan* (< *\*spranyjan*, causal of OE. *springan*, intr., to leap, burst forth, spirt) (1) trans., to burst, scatter, sprinkle, (2) intr., to burst, crack. *Byrthn.* 137 *He scēaf þā mid ðam scylde, ðæt se sceaft tōbærst, and þæt spere sprengde, ðæt hit sprang ongēan*. — (c) denominative *ja*-verbs: *ge-cēlan* (1) trans., to make cold, to cool, allay, (2) intr. or pass., to become cold, to be refreshed, *Ps. Spl.* 38, 18 (B.-T.), *Forlæt mē ðæt ic gecēle ærðam ðe ic gang = remitte mihi ut refrigerer priusquam abeam. cf. Ps. Surt.* 38, 14, *Forlētaþ mē þæt ic sīe gecēled ærðon ic gewīte; hlīewan* (-ēo-) (1) trans., to make warm, cherish, protect, shelter, (2) intr. or pass., to become or be made warm, to be heated, *L. Ath.* IV, 7 (B.-T.) *Gif hit wæter sý hæte man hit oþ hit hlēowe tō wylme; lengan* (1) trans., to make long, protract, extend, (2) intr. or pass., to spread, extend, to be extended, *Exon.* 86 a (B.-T.) *Hyre lof lengde geond londa fela = her praise extended (was extended) over many lands; stillan*, (1) trans., to make still or calm, pacify, (2) intr. or pass., to become (to be made) still or calm, *e. g. Shrn.* 147, 9 (B.-T.), *Þā stylde se storm sōna, and sēo sǣ wearð*

<sup>1</sup> The verb is a denominative verb rather than a causal formation on the strong verb *calan*, pret. *cōl*, to be cold.

eft smylte. When we are concerned with denominative *ō*-verbs, devoid of a correlative transitive *ja*-verb, but presenting both a transitive and a correlative intransitive meaning, we have generally no criterion for deciding which sense is the earlier. But perhaps we may consider as such the relative frequency of the notions involved in the transitive and the intransitive senses. It is therefore precarious (except when the intr. sense is rarely recorded as compared with the trans. one) to decide upon the degree of vitality of the two senses and consequently upon the existence of an oscillating passival sense. Yet, such a sense should perhaps be recognized in examples such as the following: *lýtlian*, (1) trans., to make little, to diminish, weaken, (2) intr. or pass., to become little, to be weakened, *L, Eth. ix, 37 (B.-T.)*, Crístes lage wanedon and cyninges lage lýtledon = Christ's laws waned and the king's laws were weakened; *gemetgian* (1) trans., to measure, moderate, temper, (2) intr. or pass. (perhaps also a refl. sense), to become moderate, to be moderated (only one record), *Elene 1293*, Him gemetgaþ eall ældes lēoma, swā him ēðost bið sylfum gesēftost; *sweotolian*, (-u-, -y-) (1) trans., to make dear or manifest, to show, (2) intr. or pass., to become manifest, to be manifested (one record), *Hy. 9, 32 (B.-T.)* þīn mycele miht manegum swutelaþ; *ā-þēostrian* (1) trans., to eclipse, obscure, (2) intr. or pass., to become dark, to be eclipsed, *Lch., III, 242, 21 (B.-T. Supplem.)*. Sēo sunne eall ā-þēostrað.

Thus our material points to the fact that the semological change characteristic of cat. B increases in frequency in course of time. The NE. superiority in respect of the number of the verbs presenting this change is in some measure due to the great increase as regards vocabulary and literary productivity characteristic of the NE. epoch. But it is principally due to the fact that this period represents the height of the semological development in question. In other words, this development has then resulted in a constructive or, if we so will, a semological law to the effect that, if a verb with a primary transitive sense has a causative aspect, this is a sufficient cause for employing the verb also in the correlative intr. sense. But the oscillation of the latter towards a passive meaning is a phenomenon only dependent on the context and the vitality and the nature of the primary trans. sense.

In Gothic the semological contrast between a transitive causal sense and a correlative intransitive meaning of state or attribution is very rarely represented by the same verb. Apart from the cases where a collateral intr. sense oscillates towards a reflexive



import, we can only adduce the following verbs as examples in point: *ufarassjan* (< *ufarassus*, sb. overflow, superfluity), (1) trans., to cause to abound, to increase excessively, II *Cor.* 4, 15, II *Cor.* 9, 8, (2) intr., to abound, overflow, redound, *e. g.*, II *Cor.* 9, 8 *aþþan mahteigs ist guþ alla anst ufarassjan in izwis, ei in allamma sinteino allis ganauhan habandans ufarassjaiþ in allamma waurstwe godaize*, = And God is able to make all grace abound unto you; that ye, having always all sufficiency in everything may abound unto every good work; *ufarfulljan* (1) trans., to fill to overflowing; in pass. II *Cor.* 7, 4 (2) intr., to abound in, I *Cor.* 15, 58, *swaei nu, broþrjus meinai liubans, tulgjai wairþiþ, ungawagidai, ufarfulljandans in waurstwa frauþins sinteino*, = wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; *ustiuhan* (1) trans., to lead out, put forth, to perform, finish, accomplish, perfect, end (*τελεῖν*), (2) intr., end: *ustauh* = here ends (*ἐτελέσθη*) = lat. explicit, *e. g.* *Rom.* I., Du Rumonim ustauh: *Cor.* II du Kaurinþaium anþara ustauh. Be it noticed, however, that in all these examples the intr. sense does not oscillate towards a passive meaning. As previously shown, such an oscillation is met with in several Gothic *n*-verbs. But these do not then illustrate the case that a primary trans. verb has adopted a meaning involving the oscillation between a passive sense and an intr. sense of state or attribution.

The verb *ana-niujan* is by Streiberg<sup>1</sup> described as implying not only the primary trans. meaning 'to renew', but also the passive or reflexive senses 'to be renewed', 'to renew oneself', which oscillates towards the intr. sense 'to become new again', *viz.* Eph. 4, 23 *an-uþþan-niujaiþ ahmin fraþjis izwaris* = Engl. Bible: and that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind'. The form *ana-niujaiþ* is a rendering of the Greek medial infinitive *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* and has here undoubtedly reflexive sense, though oscillating towards a passive or an intr. meaning. But, if so, the secondary sense of *ana-niujan* is a specimen of cat. A rather than of cat. B.

Ultimate  
origin of the  
passive sense.

If we want to explain the ultimate origin of the passive sense under consideration, then this involves at the same time an indication of the ultimate origin of the collateral intransitive sense of state or attribution. But as the salience of the passive sense is exclusively due to the context and the vitality and the nature of the primary transitive meaning, our examination is in fact equivalent to indicating why verbs with a primary trans. sense have adopted a correlative intransitive sense of state or attribution, no matter whether the

<sup>1</sup> cf. W. STREITBERG, *Die Gotische Bibel*, II (s. v. *ana-niujan*), Halle 1910.

latter is oscillating towards a passive meaning or not. Again, this question implies the solution of the problem why in English the semological contrast between a causative meaning and a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution so often is expressed by the same verb.

In Gothic the semological contrast mentioned was expressed by different formative principles. The normal state of things was that the transitive sense was expressed by a denominative *ja*-verb and the correlative intr. sense (of inchoative-perfective tense-aspect), by a corresponding *n*-verb, *e. g.* *fulljan* (< *fulls*, a.) to make full, *fullnan* to become full; *gabigjan* (< *gabigs*, a.) to make rich, *gabignan* to become rich. Let it be noticed, however, that the semological uniformity of denominative *ja*-verbs was broken in as much as some of them involve a durative intransitive sense of state or attribution. As examples: *balþjan* (< *balþs*, a. bold) to be bold, to dare; *bleiþjan* (< *bleiþs*, a. merciful) to be merciful, kind, to have mercy, pity; *usdaudjan* (< *usdaufs*, a. diligent) to be diligent, to endeavour, to strive; *faurhtjan* (< *faurhts*, a. fearful), to be fearful, to fear; *flautjan* (< *flauts*, a. boasting), to be boasting, to boast, to vaunt oneself; *gairnjan* (< *gairns*, a. desirous, eager), to be desirous, to desire, long for; *riqizjan* (< *riqiz*, sb. darkness) to become dark.

The trans. sense is sometimes expressed by a strong verb and the correlative intr. sense is represented by an *n*-verb formed on the pa. pple stem of the former. As examples: *dishniupan*, to tear or break to pieces, to break, *dishnupnan*, to get broken into pieces; *dis-skreitan* to shred, tear asunder, *dis-skritnan* to become torn to shreds; *distairan* to tear asunder, *distaurnan* to become torn asunder.

Again, in some other instances the intransitive sense of state or attribution is expressed by a strong verb, and the correlative transitive sense, by a weak verb formed on the verbal stem-vowel as met with in the preterite sing. of the former. As examples: *brinnan*, intr., to burn, *gabrannjan* trans., to burn; *ligan* intr., to lie, *lagjan* trans., to lay, put down (cause to lie); *sitan*, intr., to sit, *satjan*, trans., to set, place, put (cause to sit); *ganisan*, to become whole, be whole, to recover, *(gu)nasjan*, trans., to make whole, to heal, save.

In view of these different formative principles — the *ja*- and the *n*-formation were undoubtedly fertile in Gothic times — it is only natural that Gothic should be destitute of any noteworthy number of verbs presenting the semological contrast in question. In the three instances we have adduced, the intr. sense of



state or attribution (with durative tense-aspect) does not oscillate towards a reflexive aspect, and the intr. sense cannot therefore have originated in the reflexive way. We are in fact concerned with Greek influence on the semological structure of the Gothic vocabulary. The Greek verb *περισσεύω* means (1) intr., to abound, (2) trans., to make to abound. Now Gothic *ufarassjan* and *ufarfulljan* are both employed to translate this Greek verb, and they present therefore the semological contrast in question. Again *ustiuhan* in the intr. sense 'to end' is met with only in the form *ustáuh* as a rendering of Gr. *ἐτελέσθη*, aorist = 'here ends', or Lat. *explicit* (< *explicitum est*).

The OE.  
period.

If we turn to the OE. language, we shall find that the semological contrast between intransitive senses denoting state or attribution (of inchoative (perfective) or durative tense-aspect) and their correlative causative senses is to a large extent revealed in different morphological principles. The former sense may sometimes also in this language be expressed by a strong verb and the correlative trans. sense, by a weak *ja*-verb formed on the stem of the pret. sing. of the strong verb. As examples: *belgan*, str. vb. intrans., to be angry, to swell with anger, *gebylgan* -e- (< \**balyjan*), wk. vb, trans., to cause to swell, to make angry; *beornan* (*birnan*) to burn (intr.), *bærnan* (< O Teut. *brannjan*) to burn (trans.); *licgan*, str. vb., intr. to lie, *lecgan*, wk. vb. trans., to lay (cause to lie); *meltan* str. vb., intr., to melt, be dissolved, consumed, *mi(e)ltan*, wk. vb., trans. to melt, dissolve; *sittan*, str. vb., intr., to sit, *settan*, wk. vb., to put, set, to cause to sit, *springan*, intr., to leap, spring back, burst forth, *sprengan*, trans., to scatter, intr., burst; *swincan*, intr., to labour, be in pain or distress, *swencan*, trans., to torment, afflict, bring into trouble, mortify (flesh.). The correlative trans. sense is sometimes formed on the stem of the pret. plur. of the strong verb, viz. *swelan* str. vb, intr., to burn, *swælan*, wk. vb, trans., to burn. But the normal expression for the semological contrast mentioned is represented by denominative verbs. The intr. meaning, whether of inchoative or durative tense-aspect, is rendered by an *ō*-verb (2<sup>nd</sup> weak conjugation), and the correlative transitive sense is represented by a *ja*-verb (1<sup>st</sup> weak conjugation), which therefore, if possible, shows *i*-mutation of the stem-vowel. However, the *n*-conjugation so numerously represented in Gothic is not met with in OE. or in the other West Germ. languages. Yet they are not entirely destitute of traces of the inchoative *n*-formation.

As such should no doubt be considered: OE. *druncnian*, intr. (1) to get drunk, (2) to become drowned [formed on *druncen* pa. pple. of *drincan*, cf. OHG. *trunkanên*, to be or become drunk, ON. *drukna* Sw. *drunkna*, to be drowned; cf. OE. *on-drincan* to drink, *on-druncnian* to get drunk]; OE. *weosnian* (*weor-*, *wis-*), intr., to wither [formed on an old pa. pple. OHG. *wësan*, ON. *visenn*, Sw. *vissen*; cf. OHG. *wësanên*, ON. *visna*, Sw. *vissna*, to wither dry up., intr.]; OE. *ēacnian*, intr. to increase, to be or become pregnant [formed on pa. pple *ēacen* = Goth. *aukans* (< *aukan*, str. vb); cf. Goth. *(bi-)auknan* = increase]. Note also OHG. *storkanên* to become hard or stiff [formed on a pa. pple. = ON *storkenn*, pa. pple. a., stiffened; cf. Goth. *ga-staurknan* to dry up (intr.), ON. *storkna* stiffen (Sw. *storkna*), adopted in Engl. dialects., i. e. *storken*]. These OE. verbs are most probably inherited from OTeut. times, since we meet with corresponding verbs in East Germanic and Scandinavian languages. But, if so, they are undoubtedly remnants of the OTeut. inchoative *n*-formation<sup>1</sup>. Those OTeut. *n*-verbs which have the appearance to be formed on strong pa. pples. seem to constitute the earliest layer of the inchoative *n*-verbs, which, on account of the association with the pa. pples, were subsequently analogically formed also on adjectives and substantives. It is very probable that before the dialectal differentiation of

<sup>1</sup> Thus we cannot entirely agree with C. PALMGREN when he says ('De NE. *en-verben* i historisk belysning, in *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi*, Tredie Række 1909, p. 33): »Det förtjänar emellertid att uttryckligen framhållas, att intet i de vestgermanska (här speciellt engelska) verbens framträdande berättigar att uppställa något sammanhang mellan dem och de gotiska verben på *-nan*». This denial of a connection between the OE. and the Goth. *n*-verbs is not true in the case of such verbs as those given above. But it is no doubt true in point of other OE. *n*-verbs where *n* is an independent verbal formative [and not belonging to the denominative stem as for inst. in OE. *fægenian* (< *fægen*, a.), *fæstnian* (< OTeut. *\*fastin-*, OHG. *festina* sb. cf. OHG. *festinôn*, vb. though in OE. the verb is associated with *fæst*, a.)] Also the semology of the latter indicates generally (but cf. *molsnian*, *gebrehtnia*) that there is no connexion between them and the inchoative Gothic *n*-verbs. As examples: *drohtnian* (also *drothian*) (< *droht*, sb.) to pass life, dwell; *lācnian* (< *lāce*, sb.) to treat medically, dress (wound); *wicnian* (< *wice*, sb.) to attend upon; *molsnian* (< *mols*, sb.) to become mouldy, to decay; *gebrehtnia* late North. (< *beorht* a.) to become bright; *costnian* (also *costian* = OHG., OS *kostôn* (< *cost* pple.a. tried, chosen, excellent), to try, test, tempt, afflict; *clāensnian* (also *clāensian*) (< *clāene*, a.) to cleanse, clear, purge; *ā-swāernian* (< *swære*, a.) to be confounded or ashamed. As to the origin of this formative *n*, see CLAUS SCHULDT *Die Bildung der schwachen Verba im Altenglischen*, Kiel 1905, p. 61.



the Old Teut. parent language, this extension had not taken place to any considerable extent. But, if so, this accounts for the different expression of inchoative intr. sense in the W. Germ. languages as compared with Gothic and Scandinavian languages.

For our present purpose it is immaterial to know why in OE. the inchoative sense of state or attribution came to be expressed by the *ō*-declension<sup>1</sup>. We have only to chronicle the fact that the semological contrast between a causative sense and its correlative intransitive meaning involving mostly inchoative tense-aspect and denoting state or attribution, was in OE. to a large extent indicated by a morphological and, in respect of the stem-vowel, generally also a phonological discrepancy. As examples of such correlative denominative verbs may be adduced the following instances<sup>2</sup>:

(1) Transitive <i>ja</i> -verbs:	(2) Intransitive <i>ō</i> -verbs:
<i>bētan</i> (< <i>bōt</i> , sb.), to make good, put right, restore, mend, atone for;	<i>bōtian</i> , to get better, recover from illness;
<i>bieldan</i> (< <i>beald</i> , a.), to make bold, encourage;	<i>bealdian</i> , to be brave.
<i>gebierhtan</i> (< <i>beorht</i> , a.), (1) to make bright, clear, famous, celebrate, (2) intr., to be bright, shine;	<i>beorhtian</i> , to be bright, sound clear or loud; <i>beorhtnan</i> , to grow bright; <i>gebrehtnia</i> (North.), to become bright;
<i>ā-blindan</i> (< <i>blind</i> , a.), to make blind;	<i>ā-blindian</i> , to become blind;
<i>blācan</i> (< <i>blāc</i> , a.), to make pale;	<i>blācian</i> , to become pale.
<i>brādan</i> (< <i>brād</i> , a.), (1) to broaden, extend, increase, (2) intr. and refl., to extend, grow (of trees).	<i>brādian</i> , (1) to be broad, extend, (2) trans. to spread.
<i>cēlan</i> (< <i>cōl</i> , a.), to make cold, to cool (trans.);	<i>cōlian</i> , to become cold, to cool (intr.);
<i>cūþan</i> (< <i>cūþ</i> , a.), to make known, announce, etc.	<i>cūþian</i> , to become known (cf. B.-T. Suppl.) (to be known, Sweet).
<i>(ā)-dīedan</i> (< <i>dēad</i> , a.), to put to death;	<i>ā-dēadian</i> , to become dead or torpid, decay;
<i>ā-dīefan</i> (< <i>dēaf</i> , a.), to deafen, surpass in sound;	<i>ā-dēafian</i> , to become deaf;

<sup>1</sup> The general opinion is that in West Germ. this sense was originally expressed by *ē*-verbs (= OTeut. *ai*-class) as is the case with corresponding OHG. verbs (cf. OHG. *altên*, *fûlên*, *heilên*, etc. = OE. *ō*-verbs: *ealdian*, *fûlian*, *hālian*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> The verbs are given in their West-Saxon forms.

*drȳgean* (< *drȳge*, a. < W. Germ. \**drūyjo-*) (1) trans., to dry, wipe off, (2) intr., to become dry, (one record);

(*ge*)-*fȳlan* (< *fūl*, a.), to defile;

*fyrhtan* (< *forht*, a.), (1) trans., to frighten, (2) intr. to fear (late North.);

*gremman*, *gremian* (< *gram*, a. angry, unkind), to irritate, provoke;

*ā-gālan* (< *gāl*, a.), to make 'gāl', to profane, hinder, impede (B.-T. Suppl.);

*hāelan* (< *hāl*, a.), to heal, cure, save;

*hāetan* (< *hāt*, a.), to heat, to make hot;

*ā-hierdan* (< *heard*, a.), to harden, encourage, strengthen;

*hlȳttran*, -*ian* (< *hlūt(t)or*, a.), to purify;

*hwītan*, (< *hwīt*, a.), to whiten, polish;

[*ieldan*<sup>1</sup>, (< *eald*, a.), to delay, dissimulate; also absol.];

*īecan* (< *ēac*), to increase, add;

*iergan* (< *earg*, a.), to dishearten;

[*ierman*<sup>2</sup> (< *earm*, a.), to ill-treat, harass, to make miserable];

*lengan* (< *long*, a.), to prolong (action), delay;

*lettan* (< *let*, a.), to hinder, procrastinate (orig. to make slow);

*liehtan* (< *lēoht*, a. bright) to shine, give light to;

*līfan* (< *līfe*, a.), to soften, mitigate;

*māeran* (< *māre*, a.), to make known, proclaim, celebrate;

*drūgian*, to become dry, dry up;

*ā-fūlian*, to become foul or impure, to decay; *fūlian*, to decay;

*forhtian*, to be afraid or frightened, tremble;

*gramian*, to be angry, to rage;

*ā-gālian*, to become remiss;

*hālian*, intr., to heal;

*hātian*, to become hot, be eager (of desire);

*ā-heardian*, to become hard, firm, hardy; etc.; *heardian*, to harden (intr. and trans., Sweet);

*hlūttrian*, (1) intr., to become clear, (2) trans., to make clear, purify;

*hwītian*, to become (be) white;

[*ealdian*<sup>1</sup>, to grow old, to be old];

*ēacian*, to increase (intr.);

*eargian*, to grow timid, turn coward, lose heart (B.-T., Suppl.); (Sweet, *be* slothful or remiss, lose heart, *be* cowardly);

[*earmian*<sup>2</sup>, to be pitiful to (a person), to cause pity in a person];

*langian*, to grow long (of days);

*latian*, to be slow, sluggish or torpid;

*lēohtian*, to become light; (also = shine, give light, Sweet);

*līpian*, to become alleviated, to be kind, gracious;

*mārian*, to become famous;

<sup>1</sup> The senses of *ieldan* and *ealdian* are in OE. not correlative, though perhaps originally so.

<sup>2</sup> The trans. and intr. senses cannot be said to be correlative.



[*nierwan*, -ian<sup>1</sup> (< *nearo*, a.), to constrain, repress, blame];

*ge-un-rētan* (< *rōt* glad a.), to sadden, to make sorrowful; *un-rētan*, to make sad. cf. *rētan*, to make glad, to cheer;

*rȳman* (< *rūm*, a.), to clear (road), make clear space, enlarge; retire;

*scyrtan* (< *sceort*, a.), (1) trans., to shorten, (2) intr., to run short (late North.);

*sēpan* (< *sōþ*, a.), to prove; assert, protest;

*sleccan* (< *slæc*, a.), to weaken;

*ge-strengan* (< *strang*, a.), to strengthen (late North.);

*swēran* (< *swēr(e)*, a.), to make heavy, to oppress;

*swētan* (< *swēte*, a.), to sweeten, to make pleasant;

*swīpan* (< *swīþe*, a.), to make strong, to support;

*sylian*<sup>3</sup> (< *sol*, sb. mud), to make muddy or dirty, to pollute;

*trymman*, *trym(m)ian* (< *trum*, a.), to make strong, arrange, array;

*þānan* (< *þān*<sup>4</sup>, a.), to moisten;

*wierman* (< *wearm*, a.), to warm, keep warm;

[*nearwian*<sup>1</sup>, (1) intr., to become narrow, be diminished, (2) trans., to confine, compress, afflict];

*ge-un-rōtsian* (1) intr. to become troubled or discontented, (2) trans., to make sorrowful, to offend: Sweet<sup>2</sup> adduces, *un-rōtian* (1) intr., to be sad, (2) trans., to make sad. This verb is also given by B.-T., but without records.

*rūmian*, to become free from obstruction (of body);

*scortian*, to become shorter (of days); to run short, fail;

[*sōþian*, to prove true (B.-T.), to justify (Sweet). The verb has perhaps only trans. sense];

*slacian*, to relax efforts, to slacken (intr.);

*strangian*, (1) intr., to become (or be) strong, (2) trans., to strengthen, confirm, comfort;

*ǣ-swāernian*, to be afflicted or ashamed (cf. *geswāere* a. afflicted, and *swāere*, a., heavy, grievous, sad);

*swētian*, to be sweet;

*swīþian* (1) intr., to become (be) strong, to prevail, (2) to make firm, to fix;

*solian*, (1) intr., to become foul, (2) trans.?, to make foul. (B.-T.);

*trumian*, to become strong, recover from illness;

*þānian*, to become (or be) moist;

*wearmian*, to become warm;

<sup>1</sup> The trans. and intr. senses cannot be said to be correlative.

<sup>2</sup> *The Student's Dic. of Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> The i-mutation shows that the *ō*-inflection of the verb is secondary, cf. *temian*, *lemian*, *trymian*, *hlyttrian*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The vb. may also be a causative formation on the str. vb. *þinan*, to get moist or damp.

*wleccan* (< *wlæc*, a.), to make tepid;

(ǣ-)*wlencan* (< *wlanc*, a.), to make proud, adorn, exalt;

*wācan* (< *wāc*, a.), to weaken, afflict;

*wātan* (< *wāt*, a.), to wet, moisten;

*wlacian*, to become lukewarm;

(ǣ-)*wlancian*, to become proud, exultare (Sweet: *wlancian* = be proud);

*wācian*, to become weak, torpid, or cowardly;

*wātian*, to be wet.

We have made a fairly exhaustive (perhaps even a complete) list of those OE. transitive *ja*-verbs which have a correlative intransitive *ō*-verb. The tense-aspect of the latter is, as a rule, inchoative, but in some cases it is durative or both. We need not assume that in these cases the durative tense-aspect has developed from the inchoative one though this may occasionally have been the case, *e. g. forhtian, swīþian*. (The operating factor is then the circumstance that the context sometimes favours an oscillation between both tense-aspects). For the durative intransitive sense involves a notion of such importance that it is not surprising that this, too, has been expressed by a denominative verb.

However, a transitive denominative *ja*-verb has not always a correlative intransitive *ō*-verb or *vice versâ*. This fact should scarcely (or only exceptionally) be ascribed to the comparative scantiness of the OE. literature. It is rather due to another circumstance. The transitive sense of such *ja*-verbs constitute as a rule a notion of greater currency than the correlative intransitive sense. Besides, the latter, if needing expression, may be expressed by the nominal element and the predication elements *bēon*, *wesan*, or *weorþan*, or else by the passive form of the *ja*-verb, since the passive sense of this form often oscillates towards an intransitive aspect. In the case of the intransitive *ō*-verbs devoid of a correlative *ja*-verb it is particularly true that the intransitive sense is a notion of far greater frequency than the correlative transitive sense, *i. e.* the need of an expression for the latter is not often met with and may be satisfied by using the elementary verb of causality (OE. *dōn*) and the nominal element.

As examples of denominative transitive *ja*-verbs destitute of correlative intransitive *ō*-verbs denoting state or attribution, may be adduced:

*collenferðan* (< *collenferhð* a. bold), to make empty, to exhaust.

(ge)*dæftan* (< *gedæfte*, a. meek, gentle), to make smooth, put in order.



*dīeglan*, -ian (< *dīegle*, a. hidden, secret), (1) trans., to hide, (2) intr., to lie hid.

*dyrnan* (< *dierne*, a. secret, hidden), to hide, to keep secret.

*drēfan* (< *drōf*, a. turbid, muddy), to make turbid, stir up (water), trouble (in mind).

*fæstan* (< *fæst*, a. firm), to make firm.

*frēfran*, -ian (< *frōfor*, sb.), to comfort, console.

*fūhtan* (< *fūht*, a. damp), to moisten.

*fyllan* (< *full*, a.), to fill, fulfil etc.

*gierwan* (< *gearu*, a.) to make ready, to prepare, cook (food), adorn, clothe.

*hīenan* (< *hēan*, a.) to strike down, humiliate, etc.

*hwettan* (< *hwæt*, a.) to sharpen, incite.

*īeþan* (< *īeþe*, a. desolate, waste) to lay waste, ravage, kill.

*ǣlēfan*, -ian (< *lēf*, a. infirm; also sb. damage), to injure, maim, weaken.

*lemian* (< *lam*, a.) to lame, cripple, tame, break (horse).

*liehtan* (< *lēoht*, a. light) to alleviate, release.

*līesan* (< *lēas*, a.) release, deliver, redeem.

*manigfeldan* (< *manigfeald*, a.), to multiply, increase.

*rētan* (< *rōt*, a.), to cheer, gladden, comfort.

*rihtan* (< *reoht*, a.) to direct, put upright, make straight, restore, correct, rule.

*scierdan* (< *sceard*, a. notched), injure, destroy.

*scierpan* (< *scearp*, a.) to sharpen, incite.

*scīran* (< *scīr*, a. clear) (1) trans., to make clear (what is hidden or obscure), to tell, make known, to distinguish, etc., (2) intr. or refl., to get, make oneself, clear (of obligation, trouble).

*gesmyltan* (< *smylte*, a. serene, calm, mild) to appease.

*stiēpan* (< *stēap*, a.) to raise, build, exalt, make illustrious.

*stillan* < *stille*, a. (1) trans., to make calm, assuage, (2) intr., to become calm (of storm).

*ǣ-styntan* (< *stunt*, a.) to make dull, stupid; confute; *styntan* stupefy.

*temian* (< *tam*, a.) to tame, subdue.

*tīenan*, also *tēonīan* (< *tēona*, sb.) to annoy, irritate, revile.

*tūnan* (< *tūn*, sb. enclosure) to enclose, fence; to shut, close.

*þyrran* (< *þyrre*, a. dry, withered), to dry (once).

*wēstan* (< *wēste*, a. waste, uninhabited) to ravage.

*wēþan* (< *wēþe*, a. sweet, gentle, mild) to make calm, gentle (B.-T.; not in Sweet's A.-S. Dic.).

As examples of denominative intransitive *ō*-verbs denoting state or attribution but destitute of a correlative transitive *ja*-verb, may be adduced:

*ādlian* (< *ādli*, sb.) to be sick, ill, become infirm or weak.

*batian* (prob. OTeut. stem *bata* in Goth. *batiza*, better; cf. OE.

*bet*, comp. adv. < *\*batiz*) to be in good condition or health, grow fat; *wæs gebatod* = healed (of wounds).

*blātian* (< *blāt* a. pale, livid), to be pale.

*blīpsian* (< *blīps*, sb.), to be glad, rejoice.

*ceuldian* (< *ceald*, a.) to become cold, torpid.

*cielian* (< *ciele*, sb.) to be cold.

(*ǣ*)*deorcian* (< *deorc*, a.) to become dark, to grow dim.

(*ǣ*)*dimmian* (< *dim*, a.) to become dim; *dimmian* also = to be dim (cf. B.-T. Supplem.).

*ǣ-dumbian* (< *dumb*, a.) to become silent, dumb.

*dunnian* (< *dunn*, a.), to grow dark, become invisible. (cf. B.-T. Supplem.),

*dicāesian* (< *dicāes*, a.) to become stupid.

*dyrstigian* (< *dyrstig*, a. bold, daring) to be bold, to dare, presume.

*dysigian* (< *dysig*, a.) to be foolish, act foolishly, blaspheme.

*ellenwōdian* (< *ellenwōd*, a. furious), to be zealous, emulate.

*fāmigian* (< *fāmig*, a. foamy), to foam.

*fægenian* (< *fægen*, a.) to be pleased with, rejoice.

*fealwian* (< *fealo*, a.) to grow yellow, change colour, ripen, wither.

*frefelian* (< *frefel*, sb. cunning or *frefele*, a. cunning), to be cunning.

*fynigian* (< *fynig*, a. mouldy), to become mouldy.

*gamelian* (< *gamol* a. old), to grow old.

(*ǣ*)*geolucian* (< *geolu*, a. yellow) to become yellow.

*gerisnian* (< *gerisne*, a. proper, suitable), to be suitable, to suit, accord.

*grēatian* (< *grēat*, a.) to become thick or big.

*grēnian* (< *grēne*, a.) to become green.

*hārian* (< *hār*, a. grey, old) to become grey.

*hāsian* (< *hās*, a. hoarse) to become hoarse.

*ǣ-hrēofian* (< *hrēof*, a. leprous, rough), to become leprous.

*īdlīan* (< *īdel*, a.), to come to nothing, be useless.

*lēasian* (< *lēas*, a. untruthful, false; *lēas*, sb. falsehood) to tell lies.

*lēofian* (< *lēof*, a.) to be pleasant or dear.

*lytigian* (< *lytig*, a. cunning) to act cunningly.

*mēdian* (< *mēde*, a. weary) to grow weary.

*mildian* (< *milde*, a.) to become mild.

*miliscian* (< *milisc*, a.) to become sweet or mellow.

*mōd(i)gian* (< *mōdig*, a.) to become proud, be proud, exult, be impetuous, to rage, be indignant, to disdain.

*oferhygdigian* (< *oferhygdig*, a.) to be proud.

*rēadian*, (< *rēad*, a.) to be or become red.

*rēþian* (< *rēþe*, a.), to be fierce (cf. Sweet Dic., not in B.-T.).

*rēþigian* (< *rēþig*, a. fierce), to rage, be furious.

*rīpian* (< *rīpe*, a.) to become ripe.

*rotian* [< WGerm. *rot(a)-*, a., cf. Du. *rot*, decayed; cf. OSax. *rotōn*, 'rot, mit Rost beschlagen werden',<sup>1</sup> OHG. *rozēn*, decay, and its corresponding causative, i. e. MHG. *roezēn* to cause to decay], to decay, suppurate, ulcerate.

*sadian* (< *sæd*, a.), to become satiated or weary, but *gesadian*, trans., to satiate.

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. HORTLING *Studien über die ō-verba im Altsächsischen*, Helsingfors 1907, 61.



*sārian* (< *sār*, a.), to be painful (of wound); be sad.

*sēarian* (< *sēar*, a. dry, withered, barren) to wither, pine away.

*singalian* (< *singal*, a. continuous, lasting), to continue.

*smalian* (< *smæl*, a.), to become slender.

*snyt(t)rian* (< OTeut. *snutro*-, OE. *snotor*, a.), to be wise, to be a philosopher (Sweet, Dic.); also to become wise (B.-T.).

*stearcian* (< *stearc*, a.) to become stiff or hard.

*stīfian* (< *stif*, a.), to be or become rigid; *ǣ-stīfian*, to become rigid.

*ge-stīþian* (< *stīþ*, a.) to become strong or hard; to grow up; *ǣ-stīþian*, to become strong, grow up; dry up (intr.), but *on-stīþian*, trans., to make hard.

*sweartian* (< *sweart*, a.), to become black (Sweet, Dic.); accord. to B.-T. also to make black, but only quot. *gesweartode* = denigratos.

*swīþrian* (< *swīþ*, a.), to be or become stronger, prevail, avail.

*tealtian* (< *tealt*, a.) to be unsteady, not stand firm.

*tiedrian* (< *tiedre*, a.), to become weak or infirm, be perishable, decay.

*þristian* (< *þrist(e)*, a. bold, brave, shameless) to dare, presume.

*þūfian* (< *þūf*, sb. tuft, cf. *þūfig* a. leafy), to become leafy.

*wædlian* (< *wædl*, sb. poverty), to be poor.

*wīdian* (< *wīd* a.) to become wider.

*ǣ-wildian* (< *wilde*, a.) to become wild or fierce.

Thus we have proved that the semological contrast between a causative sense and its correlative intransitive meaning denoting state or attribution was in OE. to a very large extent expressed by a particular morphological principle. In other words, the semological contrast mentioned involving a psychological category was in OE. also a grammatical category. In this morphological system however there were many flaws indicating an incipient demolition of the grammatical category in question.

Let us first consider the flaws in the case of the *ja*-verbs. To begin with we can state that several transitive causative *ja*-verbs have to some extent adopted a collateral *ō*-inflection, the specific inflectional type of intransitive denominative verbs. As examples: *dieglan* hide > *dieglian*, *hlýttran* purify > *hlyttrian*, *frēfran* comfort > *frēfrian*, *gremman* irritate > *gremian*, *ǣ-lēfan* injure, maim > *ǣ-lēfian*, *nierwan* narrow, confine > *nierwian*; *trymman* make strong, arrange, etc. > *trym(m)ian*.<sup>1</sup> In some cases this secondary *ō*-inflection has entirely displaced the primary *ja*-

<sup>1</sup> As regards the extent to which these and other *ja*-verbs have adopted *ō*-inflection, see SIEVERS, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. p. 226 sqq. *PBB*. VI, 27, IX, 289 sqq. *Kuhns Zs.* 24, 437.

inflection whose priority is proved by the *i*-mutation of the stem-vowel (but the doubled consonant is generally simplified) and the transitive sense of the verb. As examples: *lemian*, to lame, cripple, tame (< WGerm. \**lammjan* < *lam*, a.), *sylian* (< WGerm. \**sulljan*, f. *sol*, sb. mud), *temian* tame, subdue (< WGerm. \**tammjan*, f. *tam*, a.).

Next, we can state that in OE. several *ja*-verbs with a primary transitive sense also show a correlative intransitive sense of state or attribution. This may be the case whether a correlative intr. *ō*-verb exists or not. As examples of the former case: *gebierhtan*, (1) trans., to make bright, clear, famous, (2) intr., to be bright, shine = *beorhtian*; *brēdan* (1) trans., to broaden, extend, (2) intr., to extend, grow = *brāðian*; *ge-cēlan* (1) trans., to make cold, to cool, (2) intr., to become cold, to be refreshed = *cōlian*; *drȳgean* (1) trans., to dry, wipe off, (2) intr., to become dry = *drūgian*; *fyrhtan* (1) trans., to frighten, (2) intr., to be afraid, fear (in late North.) = *forthian*; *lengan* (1) trans. to make long, protract, delay, extend, (2) intr., to become long, to extend; cf. *longian* to become long (of days only); *scyrtn* (1) trans., to shorten, (2) intr., to run short (late North.) = *scortian*. To these examples we may add the non-denominative verbs *mieltan* (causal of *meltan*) (1) trans., to melt, (2) intr. to melt = *meltan* str. vb.; *sprengan* (causal of *springan*) (1) trans., to scatter, sprinkle, etc. (2) intr., to break, burst = *springan* str. vb. As examples of the latter case we can quote only *stillan* (1) trans., to make calm, assuage, (2) intr., to become calm (of a storm).

Lastly we have to record a few denominative *ja*-verbs presenting only an intransitive sense of state or attribution (sometimes passed into a trans. meaning). This sense has then generally durative tense-aspect. As examples: *bierhtan*, -*co*-, (< *beorht*, a. or *bierhto*, f. brightness), to shine; *frēdan* (< *frōd*, a. wise) be sensible of, feel, perceive (cf. *frōðian* to be wise); *giernan*, -*ian* (< *georn*, a. desirous) to be desirous, desire, demand (Goth. *gairnjan* to wish); *hlȳdan* (< *hlūd*, a.), (to be loud =), to make loud sound or noise, resound, shout; *stȳltan* (< Lat. *stultus*), late North., to be stupefied, astonished, to be at a loss, to be doubtful; [*swāsan* (< *swæs*, a. dear, familiar), to be dear]<sup>1</sup>; *wēdan* (< *wōd*, a. mad, frenzied), to be mad, to rage; *gewrēpan* (<

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of the verb is uncertain. It is given by SWEET (without indicating a sense) and by C. SCHULDT (*op. cit.* p. 37), who gives the sense 'lieb sein.'



*wrāþ*, a. angry), to be wroth, savage; *wiswyrdan* (< *wiswyrde*, a.) to be wise in speech = philosophari, Anglia XIII 38, 301. Inchoative tense-aspect is met with only in the following verb, whose *ja*-form, however, is uncertain:<sup>1</sup> *werodan* (< *werod*, -ed, a. sweet, sb. sweet drink) to become sweet.

Let us pass on to such flaws in the grammatical category mentioned above as are revealed in denominative *ō*-verbs. This is equivalent to examining as to whether in OE. such verbs could present also a transitive (causative) meaning. Already a cursory glance at the OE. vocabulary will show that such was actually the case. For, to begin with, we can state a considerable number of *ō*-verbs, which have not only an intr. sense of state or attribution, but also a correlative transitive meaning. This may be the case whether a correlative transitive *ja*-verb exists or not. In the former case the trans. sense is undoubtedly the secondary one, in the latter case it is often difficult to decide which sense is the primary one.

As examples of *ō*-verbs presenting the semological contrast in question, though possessed of a correlative *ja*-verb, may be adduced:

*brāðian*, (1) intr., to be broad, extend, (2) trans., to extend = *bræðan*.

*ā-drūgian*, (1) intr., to dry up, (2) trans., to dry up (rare)<sup>2</sup> = *ā-drȳgan*;

*ēacnian*, (1) intr., to increase, to conceive, be pregnant, (2) trans., to add (rare), to produce, bring forth (rare),<sup>2</sup> cf. *īecan* trans., to increase, add, prolong, *eacian*, intr., to increase.

*ēaþmōd(i)gian*, -*ōdi(g)an* (< *ēaþmōd(i)g*, a.) (1) intr. to be humble, deign, (2) trans., to make humble, cf. *ēaþmēðan*, to humble.

*ā-hnescian*, (1) intr., to become weak, (2) trans., to make weak, cf. *gehnyscan* to crush.

*heardian*, (1) intr., to harden, (2) trans., to harden = *hierdan*.

*hlūttrian*, (1) intr., to become clear, (2) trans., to make clear, purify = *hlȳttran*, purify.

*nearwian*, (1) intr., to become narrow, contracted, (2) trans., to make narrow, straighten, compress. cf. *ge-nierwan*, trans., to make narrow, compress, oppress, cf. *ge-nearwian*, only trans., to narrow, straighten, constrain, confine, oppress, afflict.

*smēþian* (1) intr., to become smooth, (2) trans., to make smooth. cf. *smēþan*, trans., to smooth, polish, alleviate.

*solian*, (1) intr., to become foul (B.-T., the verb is not given by Sweet) (2) trans.? to make foul, cf. *sylian*, tr. to sully, soil.

<sup>1</sup> *werodan* is given by SWEET (St's A.-S. Dic.), but in B.-T. we find only *weorodian*.

<sup>2</sup> cf. T. TOLLER, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Supplement, 1908.

*strangian*, (1) intr., to be or become strong, prevail, (2) trans., strengthen, conform, comfort, cf. *ge-strengan* (late North.) to strengthen.

*swiðian*, (1) intr., to be or become strong, (2) trans., to fix, to make firm, cf. *sicðan* to make strong.

*ge-unrōtsian*, (1) intr., to become troubled, discontented, (2) trans., to make sorrowful, cf. *ge-unrētan* to make sorrowful, sadden, trouble.

*wlacian*, (1) intr., to become lukewarm, (2) trans., to make lukewarm (B.-T.; Sweet gives only the intr. sense) = *wleccan*, trans.

As examples of *ō*-verbs presenting the semological contrast in question but destitute of a correlative *ja*-verb may be adduced:

*bet(e)rian*, (1) intr., to become better, (2) trans., to make better.

*ā-biterian*, (1) intr., to grow bitter, (2) trans., to make bitter, exasperate.<sup>1</sup>

*blissian* (1) intr., to rejoice, be glad or merry, (2) trans., to make prosperous, to rejoice, to gladden, delight.

*ā-cwician* (1) intr., to become lively, (2) trans., to make lively.

*geendian* (1) trans., to end, finish, complete, (2) intr., to come to an end.

*gladian*, (1) intr., to be glad, exult, (2) trans., to make glad, cheer.

*gōdian* (1) intr., to become better, improve, (2) trans., to improve, repair, reform, enrich.

*hefigian* (1) trans., to make heavy, oppress, grieve, vex, (2) intr., to become heavy, to be aggravated or increased.

*hīersumian* (< *hīersum*, a. obedient), intr., to obey, (2) trans., to reduce to subjection.

*hlānian* (< *hlāne* a.) (1) trans., to make lean, (2) intr., to become lean.

*ā-īdlian* (1) intr., to become vain; to lose force, to vanish, (2) trans., to make vain, deprive of force (cf. B.-T., Supplem.)

*iersian* (1) intr., to be angry, (2) trans., to make angry.

*līfigian* (1) trans., to make soft or yielding, to assuage, (2) intr., to be mild or gentle.

*lýtlian* (1) trans., to diminish, to make little, (2) intr. or pass., to become little, to be weakened.

*gemetgian* (< *gemet*, sb.) (1) trans., to measure, moderate, temper, (2) intr., or pass., to become moderate, to be moderated.

*micelian* (1) intr. to become great, to increase in size or in quantity, (2) trans., to make great, to increase the size or quantity of.

*minisian* (cf. MND. *minn*) (1) intr., to diminish, (2) trans., to diminish, cf. CL. SCHULDT, *op. cit.* p. 63.

*openian* (1) trans., to open disclose, (2) intr., refl., or passive, to open, become manifest.

*sārgian* (1) trans., to make sad, to grieve, wound, (2) intr., to be or become sad, to grieve (intr.).

*sureotolian* (1) trans., to make clear, manifest, to show, (2) intr. or pass., to become manifest, to be manifested.

*ge-fucērian* (1) trans., to cause to agree, to make accordant, (2) intr., to be or become in accord, to agree, consent.

<sup>1</sup> cf. T. TOLLER, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Supplement, 1908.



*α-þēostrian* (1) trans., to eclipse, obscure, (2) intr. or pass., to become dark, to be eclipsed.

*þiccian* (1) intr. to become thick, (2) trans., to make thick.

*þynnian* (1) intr., to become thin, (2) trans., to make thin.

*untrumian* (< *untrum*, a.) (1) intr., to be or become weak, (2) trans., to make weak.

*unweorþian* (< *unweorþ* a.) (1) trans., to dishonour, disgrace, (2) intr., to become contemptible, Gl.

*unclitigian* (< *unclitig*, a. ugly) (1) trans., to deprive of beauty, (2) intr., to become ugly.

*wlitigian* (< *wlitig*, a.) (1) intr., to become beautiful, (2) trans., to beautify, adorn, fashion.

*geyflian* (1) intr., to become bad, ill, (2) trans., to injure.

In this connection we may quote also a few verbs of non-denominative origin, which have adopted a secondary intr. sense of state or attribution (or else a secondary trans. sense) viz. *tēorian*,<sup>1</sup> (1) intr., to fail not to be up to the mark, to be tired, (2) trans., to tire; *āþracian*<sup>2</sup> (1) intr., to fear, abhor, (2) trans., to frighten; *wanian*, (1) trans., to diminish, curtail, deprive, etc. (2) intr., to diminish, decline.

Moreover, there is a considerable number of denominative *ō*-verbs which present only a transitive sense. The vast majority of these are naturally destitute of a collateral *ja*-verb, but in a few instances such a correspondence is met with.

As examples of the latter case may be adduced:

*barian* (cf. *bær*, a.) to make bare, uncover, depopulate; cf. *berian* (< *bær*, a.) to make bare, clear (benches).

*frōfrian* (cf. *frōfor*, sb.) to console, cf. *frēfran* (< *frōfor*, sb.) to console.

*fullian* (cf. *full*, a.), fulfil, perfect, cf. *fyllan* (< *full*, a.) fill up, etc., also = fulfil, perfect.

*gearwian* (cf. *gearu*, a.), to make ready, cf. *gierwan* (< *gearu*, a.), to make ready.

*manigfealdian*, (< *manigfeald*, a.) to multiply, increase = *manigfealdan*, to multiply, increase.

*(ge)māersian* (cf. *māere*, a.) to make great, known, to proclaim, celebrate, glorify.<sup>3</sup> cf. *māeran* (< *māere*, a.) to make known, proclaim, celebrate.]

*tēonian* (cf. *tēona* sb.) to irritate, calumniate; cf. *tīenan* irritate, calumniate.

<sup>1</sup> As to its etymology, see *Idg. Forsch.* 20, 316—332 (F. Holthausen).

<sup>2</sup> Short stem-vowel is given in B.-T. Supplem., but Claus Schuldt (*op. cit.* 43) gives the form *onþrācian* (cf. *onþrāce*, a. dreadful, repulsive). Also in the former case the verb may be a denominative formation, i. e. formed on *þracu*, sb. pressure, force, violence.

<sup>3</sup> The verb is by SWEET (*St's Dic. of Anglo-Sax.*) indicated to have also intr. sense, i. e. to become known, to be spread (of fame).

As examples of the former case may be adduced:

*āclian* (< *ācol*, a. terrified, excited), to terrify.

*ge-æþelian* (< *ge-æþele*, a. noble, valuable, etc.) to ennoble, make renowned.

*baswian* (< *baso*, a. purple, crimson) to stain purple or red.

*brocian* (< *broc*, sb. affliction), afflict, injure, oppress.

*clānsian*, *-snian*, (< *clāne* a.) to clean(se), clear, purge, purify.

*crīst(e)nian* (< *crīsten*, a. & sb.) to christianize, christen.

*gecræftgian* (*cræftig*, a.), to strengthen, make powerful.

*dunnian* (< *dunn*, a.) to obscure (light of stars).

*ēad(i)gian* (< *ēadig*, a.) to count fortunate, to bless.

*edniwian* (< *edniwe*, a. new, renewed), to renew, restore, reform.

*egesian* (< *egesa*, sb. fear) to terrify.

*fālsian* (< *fāle*, a. faithful, kind), to purify.

*fæstnian* (< WGerm. \**fastin*-, sb. = OHG. *festina*) to fasten, fix, etc.

*fremdian* (< *frem(e)de*, a.) to alienate, estrange.

*hālgian* (< *hālig* a.) to make holy, to hallow (God's name), sanctify, etc.

*hlānsian* (< *hlāne*, a.) to make lean.

*hȳþigian* (< *hȳþig*, a.) to facilitate.

*lācnian* (< *lāce*, sb.) to treat medically, dress (wound), cure.

*mægerian* (< *mæger*, a. lean) to make lean.

*midlian* (< *middel*, a. & sb.) to halve, divide.

*niferian* (< *nif(re)*<sup>1</sup>, adv. below), to humiliate, condemn.

*nīwian* (< *nīwe*, a.) to renew, renovate, restore.

*salwian* (< *salo*, a. dark-coloured), to darken, blacken.

*gesibbsumian* (< (*ge*)*sibbsum*, a. peaceable, pacific) to reconcile.

*sibbian* (< *sibb*, sb. & a.) to reconcile.

*torhtian* (< *torht* a. bright, beautiful) to make clear, to show.

*unsōþian* (*unsōþ*, sb. & a.) to falsify, disprove.

*geunstillian* (< *unstille*, a. not still), to disturb.

*wēr(i)gian* (< *wērig* a. weary), to weary, exhaust.

Thus we have shown that in OE. there was a very large number of exceptions to the principle requiring a different expression for the contrast between a transitive causative sense and its correlative intransitive sense of state or attribution. The growing preponderance of the *ō*-verbs is so obvious that it is questionable whether deadjectival *ja*-formation was a living formative principle in historical OE. In fact we cannot adduce a single pair of correlative deadjectival verbs formed on the principles mentioned and unmistakably belonging to the OE. period. Nor can we point out a particular dehominate *ja*-verb destitute

<sup>1</sup> cf. CLAUS SCHULDT *Die Bildung der schwachen Verba im Altenglischen*, Kiel 1905, p. 45.



of a correlative  $\bar{o}$ -verb, and maintain with certainty that it was formed in historical OE.<sup>1</sup> The chief phonological criterion of such a *ja*-verb would be want of *i*-mutation and of WGerm. consonantal gemination. If we turn to the  $\bar{o}$ -verbs, we cannot point out a particular instance and maintain with certainty that it was coined in the OE. period to serve as the correlative of an already existing transitive *ja*-verb. There are no phonological criteria of such instances. Yet, if the stem of the intransitive  $\bar{o}$ -verb shows *i*-mutation like that of the correlative *ja*-verb, then this stem-vowel is due either to the fact that the  $\bar{o}$ -verb was formed in historical OE., *i. e.* after the *i*-mutation, as the correlative of a transitive verb or else that it is a transformation (due to association with the trans. vb.) of an already existing intr. verb with non-mutated stem-vowel. In fact we can adduce such an  $\bar{o}$ -verb of non-denominative origin *viz. scypian*<sup>2</sup>. The verb is once recorded: *Lchdm.* iii. 146 þonne gelimpp̃ ðæræ manigfeald sār ðonne ðæs byrþres līc on hire innoþe *scypigende biþ*. It is most probable that we are here concerned with a rare trace of the vitality of the grammatical category mentioned above. In other words it is probable that *scypian* originated in historical OE. to serve as the correlative of the trans. *scieppan* (< OTeut. *\*skapjan*, str. vb.) and that therefore it was formed on the stem of the transitive verb. This assumption is very likely, since the verb is not recorded until late OE. (*i. e. Leechdom* c. 1000) and only once and since it is destitute of parallels in the other OTeut. languages. Besides it should be noticed that, out of all correlative intr.  $\bar{o}$ -verbs destitute of a trans. sense, *scypian* has the unique characteristic of oscillating between a passive sense, *i. e.* 'to be shaped, formed', and an intr. sense (in this case a sense of origin, cat D.), *i. e.* 'to originate'. This import is due to the fact that the verb is evidently meant to be the correlative of the transitive verb *scieppan*. But as the latter does not readily appear as causative, its correlative non-transitive import must necessarily oscillate towards a passival aspect. It should however be noticed that in OE. the  $\bar{o}$ -formation was never used to express (like the *n*-formation in Gothic) such correlative senses as might appear as passival. The abnormality of both the phonological and the semological aspect of the verb ob-

<sup>1</sup> Such verbs as *collenferðan*, *stillan* may have been coined in historical OE., but also in proethnic English.

<sup>2</sup> C. SCHULDT is unable to explain the formative principle manifested in *scypian* (cf. *op. cit.* p. 15).

tains a very plausible explanation, if we consider the verb as an OE. nonce-formation suggested by the correlativeness between OE, *ō*-verbs and *ja*-verbs. But, if so, the verb is a rare manifestation of a lingering vitality in the grammatical category here dealt with. The same is the case with a denominative *ō*-verb, viz. *cwielmian* intr. to suffer pain, provided it be formed on its transitive correlative, i. e. *cwielman*, to kill, torment, oppress (< *cwealm*, sb. pain). But the possibility is not precluded that we are concerned with a transformation of a normally formed *\*cwealmian*, occurring in proethnic English. But apart from these instances, certain it is that the vitality of the grammatical category mentioned was in OE. exceedingly weak. In fact, after the *i*-mutation, i. e. after c 600, we may with perfect truth speak of an ever increasing collapse of the principle that requires a different expression for a transitive causative sense and a correlative intransitive sense of state or attribution.

As to the chronology of the many OE. exceptions to the grammatical category in question, they are no doubt mostly of OE. origin. We may however assume that, also in pre-English times, the inflectional fact mentioned below operated and brought about that the same verb could present the semological contrast in question. But such instances were then no doubt scarce. For the OE. *i*-mutation was the factor that chiefly pulled down the grammatical principle mentioned. As exceptions to this principle, we have described the fact that there are primary intransitive *ja*-verbs and primary transitive *ō*-verbs. All the verbs of the former category (cf. p. 295) are undoubtedly of OTeut. or WGerm. origin (cf. intr. *ja*-verbs in Gothic, p. 285). As to the latter category the vast majority of the verbs are no doubt OE. new formations. But a few of them are certainly of earlier date. Such is for instance the case with *fæstnian*, trans., (= OHG. *festinôn* trans.), *openian* (< *open*. a.), trans. and intr., (= OHG. *offanôn*, trans.), *nīwian* (< *nīwe*, a.) (*ge-*, *ed.-*; = OHG. *niuwôn*), trans.; late North. *geefnian* (< *efn* a.) = OHG. *ebanôn*, trans.). It is most likely, that these OE. and OHG. verbs are descendants of the same WGerm. prototypes. But, if so, we can state that, already in WGerm., the *ja*-formation had not exclusively monopolized the causative sense of deadjectival verbs.

Which then were the causes that in OE. brought about the incipient collapse of the grammatical category in question? The occasional phenomenon that a trans. *ja*-verb adopts *ō*-inflection is



of interest in as much as it shows that in OE. the difference between these two inflexional modes was not particularly conspicuous. In all examples adduced above (except *ālēfian*) the cause of the inflectional change should be sought in the inflectional nature of certain *ja*-verbs. For there are such *ja*-verbs as require the endings *-ede* and *-ed* in pret. and pa. pple<sup>1</sup>, and they are therefore easily attracted by *ō*-verbs, which in these verbal forms require *-ode* and *-od*, all the more because in later OE. *-ode* was often weakened into *-ede*. This inflectional confusion is no doubt indicative of an incipient demolition of the morphological difference represented by the 1<sup>st</sup> und 2<sup>nd</sup> weak conjugations. But it does not help to explain why in OE. a verb with a primary transitive or intransitive sense (of state or attribution) has adopted a correlative intransitive or transitive meaning. The decay of the grammatical category under consideration involved in this fact is chiefly brought about by two important factors.

One of these factors is the existence of *i*-mutation in the *ja*-verbs. The phonological process of the *i*-mutation took place already at the end of the 6th century<sup>2</sup> and affected the vast majority of the vowels and diphthongs of proethnic English. The result was that the stem of denominative *ja*-verbs generally differed from that of the nominal element, whereas such was not the case with the corresponding *ō*-verbs, *e. g.* proeth. Eng. *\*hæordian*, (< *\*hardjan*) trans., to make hard (< *\*hard* > *\*hæord* > OE. *heard*, a.) > WSax. *híerdan*, Angl., Kent. *hêrdan*; proethn. Eng. *\*hæordian* (< *\*hardōjan*), intr. to become hard > OE. *hêardian*. Thus in the case of the *ja*-verbs the association between the verbal stem and the nominal element was generally weakened by *i*-mutation, whereas in the case of *ō*-verbs the associative power was unabated. Now, it should be noticed that the faculty of forming denominative verbs survived into historical Old English, *i. e.* after the *i*-mutation and the general loss of the *i*-element. Therefore the stem-vowel of the new formation must in any case become identical with the stem-vowel of the nominal prototype. But as a characteristic feature of the *ja*-conjugation was an *i*-mutated stem-vowel and that of the *ō*-conjugation, a non-mutated stem-vowel, this fact must have been a very strong inducement for assigning the transitive denominative new formations to the 2<sup>nd</sup> weak class. This spontaneous tendency was not counter-

<sup>1</sup> cf. E. SIEVERS *Angelsächsische Grammatik* Halle 1898, p. 226, 228.

<sup>2</sup> cf. K. D. BULBRING *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* Heidelberg 1902, p. 64.

balanced by the intr. nature of the *ō*-verbs. For we have seen that several *ō*-verbs of pre-English date were trans. and that, for particular reasons, trans. *ja*-verbs sometimes adopted secondary *ō*-inflection. Besides, intr. *ō*-verbs may assume a correlative transitive sense owing to an inflectional fact that will be discussed in the sequel. In short, in the case of transitive denominative new formations in OE., all theoretical considerations lead to the conclusion that they would most likely be assigned to the *ō*-conjugation. And, as already stated, we are unable to adduce a single instance of a transitive denominative *ja*-verb undoubtedly formed in the OE. period, *i. e.* after the *i*-mutation. Those transitive denominatives which may be assumed to be OE. new formations are always *ō*-verbs. When *ō*-verbs present both a transitive and a correlative intransitive sense of state or attribution and when they are destitute of correlative transitive *ja*-verbs, we may look upon the transitive sense, if secondary, or on the intransitive meaning, if secondary, as independent new formations, *e. g.* *beterian*, *ǣ-biterian*, etc. Again, in cases where a correlative transitive *ja*-verb exists, *e. g.* *brāðian*, *adrūgian*, etc., the synonymous *ō*-verb may be apprehended either as a refashioning of the *ja*-verb on the pattern of the nominal prototype, or else as due to the mode of forming perfect tenses by means of passive auxiliaries common in point of intransitive verbs of state or attribution.

Thus the factor now discussed accounts only for the existence of *ō*-verbs presenting the semological contrast between a transitive causal sense and its correlative intransitive meaning of state or attribution. But we have seen that in OE. several primary transitive *ja*-verbs present the same contrast. Apart from the operation of analogy, this fact is due to another factor, which, however, with respect to the demolition of the grammatical category dealt with here is of less importance than the one just mentioned.

The factor referred to is of inflectional nature. It will be remembered that in OE. the passive form was expressed periphrastically, *i. e.* by the pa. pple. of the transitive verb + the auxiliaries *wesan*, *bēon*, or *weorþan*. As examples: *Bēow.* 1323 *Sorh is genī-wod* Denigea lēodum. 2064 *þonne bið brocene on bā healfe ǣð-sweord eorla*; 1746 *þonne bið on hreðre under helm drepem biteran stræle*. 490 *þā wæs Gēat-mæcgum geador ætsomne on bēor-sele benc gerȳmed*. 1630 *þā wæs of þæm hrōran helm ond byrne lungre ǣlȳsed*. 413 *siððan ǣfen-lēoht under heofenes haðor beholen weorðeð*. 1438 *Hræðe wearð on*



ȳðum mid eofer-sprēotum heoro-hōcyhtum hearde *genearwod*, nīða *ge-nāged* ond on næs *togen* wundorlic wægþora. On the other hand it should be noticed that in OE. the perfect tenses of intransitive verbs were often (but not always) expressed by the same periphrasis, i. e. by the pa. pple. of the intransitive verb + the auxiliaries *wesan*, *bēon*, or *weorþan*. As examples: *ā-blācian*, intr., to turn pale, to grow faint, to get dark or tarnished: *Past.* 135, 2 (B.-T. Suppl.) þæt fægere hīw ðæs goldes *sīe ā-blācod* (pallescit); *ā-cōlian*, intr., to become cool, cold, chilled: *Lchd.* i, 194, 23 (B.-T. Suppl.). Gif wund on men *ācōlod sȳ*. *Wulfstān* 270, 2 *Wearð* se sōða gelēafa *ācōlad*. *Hml.* Th. ii, 542, 26 *Bið* manna lufu *ācōlod*; *ā-dēadian*, intr. to become dead or paralysed, to lose vitality: *Hml.* S. (B.-T. Suppl.) 31, 489 Hire lima ealle *wurdon ādēadode*; *adeorcian*, intr., to become dark, tarnished: *Past.* 133, 10 (B.-T. Suppl.) Hwȳ is ðis gold *ādeorcad* (obscuratum)? *ā-dimmian*, intr., to become dim.: *Past.* 69, 7 (B.-T. Suppl.). Mid ðæm gewunan ðāra wōna weorca ðæt mōd *bið ādimmod*. *for-drūgian*, intr., to dry up, parch, wither: *Bt. Met.* Fox 20, 207 (B.-T.) Hēo *wære fordrūgod* tō dūste = it would be dried to dust. *ā-dumbian*, intr., to become silent, dumb (Sweet). *Hml.* Th. i. 352, 32 (B.-T. Suppl.) Se fæder *wæs ādumbod*. Ibid. ii, 486 11 Hī ealle *wurdon ādumbode*. *ā-dysigian*, intr., to become foolish: *Wulfstān* 185, 12 (B.-T. Suppl.) Manna mōd *syndon* earmlice *āfȳstrode* and *ādȳsgode*. *ā-heardian*, intr., to become hard, impervious to good: *Past.* 263, 4 (B.-T. Suppl.) þā þe *bēoð āheardode* on unryhtwīsnesse; *H. R.*, 7, 19 (B.-T. Suppl.) Eowre heortan *āheardode siondon*. *ā-fūlian*, intr., to become foul or impure: *Hml.* A. 205, 352 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Wearð* uncer wegnyst *āfūlod*. *gemeltan*, intr., str. vb., to melt, digest: *Ps. Th.* 74, 3 (B.-T.) Eorðe is gemolten; Ibid. 118, 53 Mē *wearþ gemolten* mōd on hrēðre. *ā-stīfian*, intr., to become incapable of motion or action: *Hml.* S. 31, 375 (B.-T. Suppl.) Hī stōdon swilce hī *āstīfode wæron*. *gestyltan*, intr., to be astonished, silent from astonishment: *Mk. Skt. Lind.* 9, 15 (B.-T.) Folc gestylte (gistylted wæs, Rush.) = populus stupefactus est. *gesweorcan*, str. vb., intr., to become dark, saddened, angry: *Ps. Th.* 17, 9 (B.-T.) Sēo eorþe *wæs gesworcen* and *ā-fȳstrode* under his fōtum. *ā-wildian*, intr., to become wild or fierce, *Ll. Th.* ii, 322, 15 (B.-T. Suppl.) Sume *synd* to mǣndæde on dyrnlican gālscepe inne āidlode and ūte *āwildode*.

However, this mode of inflection was confined to a particular category of intransitive verbs. We should in this connexion call to mind the distinction between *verba perfectiva* and *verba imperfectiva*. PAUL says,<sup>1</sup> 'Das Imperfectivum bezeichnet einen Vor-

<sup>1</sup> cf. H. PAUL *Die Umschreibung des Perfektums im Deutschen* in 'Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften', Bd XXII, München 1905, p. 162.

gang in seinem Verlaufe, seiner Dauer. Das Perfektivum enthält die Beziehung auf einen bestimmten Moment. Es drückt entweder den Abschluss eines Vorganges oder das Geraten in einen Zustand aus'. As examples: Germ. *der Ofen hat geraucht* (= imperf. sense), *der Zorn ist verraucht* (= perfective sense). In OE. as well as in the other Old Teutonic languages the leading principle for the use of *to be* and *to have* at the formation of perfect tenses of intr. verbs was that verba perfectiva employed *to be*, and verba imperfectiva, *to have*. It should however be observed that the latter verb did not become an inflectional formative until historical OE. or historical OHG. and that in these periods it was at first very rarely employed. This is easily intelligible in view of the fact that intr. imperfectiva were originally destitute of a pa. pple, since this could only have the same sense as a pres. pple and therefore was superfluous. It was not until trans. verbs had developed the periphrasis with *to have* + pa. pple., a process that may be historically followed in OE. as well as in OHG. (OHG. *ih habên iz funtan* orig. = ich habe es als etwas Gefundenes) that this periphrasis was met with in point of imperfective intransitives. Paul<sup>1</sup> points out that the use of '*to be* + pa. pple' as a means of expressing the passive voice or perfect tenses of intransitive verbs was a natural consequence of the historical development of the use of pa. pples. For these were originally employed only as attributive or predicative adjuncts. In other words, they were pure adjectives which by and by became part and parcel of the verbal system and therefore they became to a certain extent participant of the distinction as to tenses and verbal voice. This development led to the result that pa. pples of trans. verbs assumed a passive sense and pa. pples of intransitives verbs, an active sense.

According to the definition of verba perfectiva given above we must admit that inchoative intransitive verbs denoting state or attribution involve perfective sense. This import was more emphasized if the verb was combined with such prefixes as (originally often expressing direction) had the specific function of expressing perfective sense. Such was in OE. the case with the prefixes *ge-* (< OTeut. *ga-*, *gi-*) and *a-* (< OTeut. *uz-* = Germ. *er-*).<sup>2</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> cf. PAUL, *op. cit.* pp. 165, 166, 162.

<sup>2</sup> cf. HUGO HESSE *Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im Altenglischen*, Münster i. Westf. 1906 (Diss.). cf. WILHELM LEHMANN, *Das Präfix uz- besonders im Altenglischen*, Kiel 1906 (Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie, Neue Folge, Heft 3).



in fact, we find that in the OE. period inchoative intransitive verbs denoting state or attribution are exceedingly often combined with these very prefixes. And, if we examine the instances of intransitive conjugation with *wesan* (*bēon*, *weorþan*) given above, it will turn out that they all are combined with the perfective prefixes mentioned, which, however, in point of *ge-* is nothing remarkable, since this prefix is generally a characteristic of the OE. pa. pples.

The semological difference between the intr. and the trans. periphrasis with *wesan* (*bēon*, *weorþan*) was in fact not very considerable. The intr. pa. pples of perfective verbs denote the result of a process. The trans. pa. pples denote the result of an action. Thus the difference is that the latter always presuppose an agency of the verbal process (implied in the pa. pples), whereas the former pa. pples do not involve this connotation. With respect to tenses the intr. periphrasis signifies perfect or pluperfect, whereas the passive periphrasis as a rule denotes perfect and pluperfect, but, in the case of trans. verbs with durative tense-aspect, present and preterite, e. g. \**Hē is (wæs) gelufod*. As to both the intr. and the passive senses of these perfects (or pluperfects), we may say with Jost<sup>1</sup> that they denote 'den aus einer abgeschlossenen (vollendeten) Handlung resultierenden präsensischen [or preterital] Zustand'. In other words, both the intransitive and the transitive pa. pples have some amount of adjectival import. Therefore the periphrastic constructions oscillate between the meaning involved in the present or preterite of *wesan*, (*bēon*, *weorþan*) + a pure adjective and the sense implied in the present or preterite of *wesan*, etc. + an intr. pa. pple denoting a process or a trans. pa. pple denoting a process or an action performed by an agency. Take the following example: *Bēow. 476 Is mīn flet-werod, wīg-hēap gewanod*. If we consider the periphrasis as passival, which is the general view, then the sense is 'has been made less or smaller', which oscillates towards the sense 'has become less or smaller' or even towards 'is less or smaller'. If we consider the form as intr., which is also possible,<sup>2</sup> then the sense is 'has become less or smaller', which oscillates towards the sense 'is less or smaller'. Thus this example illustrates the small semological discrepancy between the passive and the intransitive peri-

<sup>1</sup> cf. KARL JOST *Bēon und Wesan*, Eine Syntaktische Untersuchung (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 26), Heidelberg 1909, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> JOST, *op. cit.* p. 15 Rem. 'I cannot decide whether the sense is passive or intr.'

phrasis with *wesan* (*bēon*, *weorþan*). It shows that the only divergence is that in the former case but not in the latter an agential element is salient.

It is evident that in OE. the passive form of a causative verb (whose correlative intr. sense denotes state or attribution) may give rise to an intr. use of the verb. For the origination of a collateral intransitive sense in the passive construction must be particularly favoured by the coincidence in formative principle presented by the passive form and inchoative intransitive perfects or pluperfects denoting state or attribution. Moreover, this coincidence may easily lead to a misinterpretation of the passive form, strongly favoured by its oscillating import. And if so, the result is that, also in simple tenses, the verb is employed in a secondary non-transitive sense. In short, we may ascribe the origination of a secondary intr. sense to the morphological ambiguity of the passive form and to its semological ambiguity, *i. e.* its frequent oscillation between an intr. and a passive sense. It is this ambiguity that often makes it difficult, nay even impossible, to decide as to whether an OE. verb has adopted a secondary trans. or intr. sense. Thus, for instance the intr. verb *ge-beornan* (< WGerm. *\*brinnan*) is by Bosworth-Toller described as having also a trans. sense, which is substantiated only by the instance *Oros.* 4, 2 *Sēo eorþe was to axan geburnen*. Yet here the sense of the verb is distinctly perfective, since the result (*i. e.* *tō axan*) of the verbal action is indicated. Therefore the periphrastic form of the verb should be described as intransitive. The verb *ā-cēlan* is by Bosworth-Toller designated as intr., 'to be or become cold', though it evidently is a *ja*-verb formed on *cōl*, a. cool.<sup>1</sup> But this is a wrong interpretation of the only example adduced: *Met. Fox.* 7, 34 *þæs þearfan ne biþ þurst acēled*, which is described as implying 'the thirst of this desire is not become cold'. However, in the 'Supplement'<sup>2</sup> the verb is correctly described as trans., and there we find quotes. of this use in simple tenses. The verb *āpēostrian* is in the 'Supplement' indicated as (1) intr., to become obscure, (2) trans., 'to obscure'. The examples of the trans. sense outnumber those of the intr. meaning, and the former sense is therefore perhaps the primary one. The sense of the

<sup>1</sup> The verb may perhaps also be considered as a causal formation on the str. vb *calan*, pret. *cōl*, intr., but also in this case the sense must be transitive.

<sup>2</sup> cf. I. N. TOLLER, *An Anglo-Saxon Dic.*, Supplement, Oxford, 1908.



verb is described as 'uncertain in the case of past ptcp.', *e. g.* *Ps. Th.* 17, 9 *Sēo eorðe wæs gesworcen and āþýstrad.* *Hml. Th.* ii, 256, 34 *Wearð middaneard āðēostrod.* *Past.* 29, 9 *Sīen hira ēagan āðīstrode.* Take further the verb *ādrūgian*. In the 'Supplement' this verb is generally described as 'intr.', *i. e.* 'to dry up', but one example of its transitive use is also adduced, *i. e.* *Wrt. Voc.* ii, 139, 27 *ādrūgie* 'desiccet'. The following periphrastic form is designated as 'intr.', *Lchd.* ii, 216, 8 *þonne lungena wel ādrūgode synd.* This is no doubt correct, though also a passive interpretation is not impossible. But it is decidedly wrong to class the following periphrastic form as 'intr.', *Anglia* vii, 36, 336 *Ærþan þe þæt flōd mihte bēon ādrūwod* (cf. Supplement). We are here undoubtedly concerned with a passive infinitive. When a verb of the semological type under consideration has been recorded both in a trans. and an intr. sense, it is impossible to decide if the periphrastic form with *wesan* (*bēon*, *weorþan*) is passive or intransitive, *e. g.* *Bēow.* 476 *Is mīn fletwerod, wīg-hēap gewanod.*

The inflectional factor mentioned accounts for the fact that in OE. transitive causative verbs have sometimes adopted a correlative intrans. sense of state or attribution. But the same factor may also have contributed to the phenomenon that primary intr. *ō*-verbs have adopted a correlative trans. sense. For it is obvious that also periphrastic perfects and pluperfects of perfective intr. verbs may be misinterpreted, *i. e.* apprehended as the passive form, and thus give rise to a transitive use of their simple tenses.

Thus we have stated two powerful factors that have brought about the phenomenon that in OE. the semological contrast between a transitive causal sense and its correlative intr. meaning of state or attribution was often represented by the same verb. In the case of *ō*-verbs, whether primarily transitive or intransitive, both these factors have no doubt operated. But in the case of *ja*-verbs, which generally are primary transitives, the inflectional factor alone has been at work. Such is also the case with verbs of non-denominative formation presenting the semological contrast under consideration, viz. *sprengan*, *tēorian*, *āþracian* and *wanian*. Since only perfective intransitives are conjugated with *wesan* (*bēon*, *weorþan*), the inflectional factor may serve as a means of explanation only when the intransitive sense implies inchoative tense-aspect. In other words, this factor cannot as a rule account for the phenomenon that a primary transitive verb has assumed an intransitive sense of *durative* tense-aspect, or *vice versâ*.

In the matter of *ja*-verbs we have recorded only *gebierhtan* and *fyrhtan* with a collateral intransitive sense of durative tense-aspect. The intransitive sense of the former verb, *i. e.* 'to be bright, to shine', has certainly not originated from a passive use of the transitive sense 'to make bright, clear'. Yet it is not entirely impossible to assume that the sense 'to shine' has developed from an absolute use of the sense 'to make bright', since the latter easily becomes equivalent to the meaning 'to shine upon'. Be it noticed, however, that the simplex *bierhtan* (-eo-) is only recorded in an intransitive sense. The intr. verb, therefore, is most probably a parallel formation of WGermanic or even OTeutonic date; cf. OHG. *berahten* 'splendescere', Goth. *balþjan* 'to be bold', etc., where *ja*-derivation is employed to express durative tense-aspect. It is even possible that the intransitive sense is equally early as the transitive meaning already met with in Gothic, *i. e.* *gabairhtjan*, 'to make bright', 'to manifest'. Again in point of *fyrhtan*, late North. *fryhta*, the intr. sense 'to be afraid, to fear' is certainly the primary one. The OTeut. prototype *\*furhtjan* < *\*furhto-* a. (cf. OE. *forht*, a., afraid) represented undoubtedly the intransitive sense 'to be afraid, to fear'. For it is only this sense we meet with in Goth. *faurhtjan*, OHG. *forhten*, *furhten* (MHG. *vürhten*). The factitive sense 'to make afraid' is peculiar to English. It has therefore no doubt originated in this language. In our opinion we are concerned with a new formation on an adj. *\*furht* (collateral form of OE. *forht*, cf. OE. *full*, *wulf*, *wunian*, as compared with Ger. *voll*, *wolf*, *wohnen*). We must then assume that this new formation took place in proethnic English, *i. e.* before the *i*-mutation, when the denominative *ja*-formation was still a living formative principle.

As to the *ō*-verbs whose intr. sense implies durative tense-aspect, this sense generally oscillates towards an inchoative tense-aspect. Therefore, the secondary transitive or intransitive sense of these verbs may be explained not only as new formations, but as due to the inflectional factor. Such is the case with *sārgian*, to be or become sad, *strangian*, to be or become strong, *swīðian*, to be or become strong, *ge-þwārian*, to be or become in accord, *untrumian*, to be or become weak. Here belongs also *iersian* whose intr. sense is described (by Sweet and Bosworth-Toller) as 'to be angry', though it also involves 'to become angry',



*e. g. Num. 31, 14* Moises ðā yrsade and āxade. Also in the case of *gladian* (< *glæd*, a.), to be glad, exult, and *blissian* (< *bliss*, *blīps*, sb.) to be glad, rejoice, *hīersumian* (< *hīersum*, a.) to be obedient, to obey, it is perhaps not impossible to trace an oscillating inchoative sense (*i. e.* 'to become glad', etc.), but it is unnecessary, since the correlative trans. sense, if the secondary one, or the intr. meaning, if the secondary one (cf. the *ō*-verb *wlancian* only = to be proud < *wlanc*) may be explained as new formations.

The most important of the two operating factors is no doubt denominative new formation and not inflectional coincidence. True, new formation cannot explain why in OE. a trans. *ja*-verb adopted a correlative intr. sense, whereas the inflectional factor is applicable not only in this case, but also in the case of *ō*-verbs presenting the semological contrast in question. However, it should be noticed that owing to denominative new formation of transitives, the *i*-umlaut, *i. e.* the characteristic of causative denominatives, lost its importance and that this involved a demolition of the chief distinctive mark between the two modes of denominative formation in proto-English. It should also be noticed that the *ō*-verbs presenting the semological contrast in question considerably outnumber the *ja*-verbs involving this contrast. But this fact can only be due to the operation of new formation.

Are there any other factors that have been instrumental in bringing about the semological phenomenon under consideration? Although, for want of reliable chronological criteria, we cannot adduce examples in point, it is, however, a matter of course that individual association must sometimes have operated. In other words, if a verb has already acquired the semological contrast in question, then this verb may be or rather is the proximate source of the same contrast later on met with in a semologically closely allied verb. In view of the many OE. translations from Latin originals, we may a priori suppose that Latin influence has occasionally caused the origination of a secondary correlative sense (cf. Gothic verbs influenced by a Greek original, p. 286). We have not particularly investigated the OE. verbs from this point of view. But this is a matter of less importance. For we may safely maintain that inflectional coincidence and new formation on the nominal basis are the only factors of any vital importance for bringing about the demolition of the grammatical category implying a different expression for a transitive sense and its intransitive correspondent.

In the present category of verbs we have not assumed the existence of a reflexive sense collateral to the secondary intrans. (or passive) meaning. Therefore, a reflexive mode of interpretation is here inadmissible. For it would involve that in OE. the reflexive form had become an intransitive (or a passive) formative, which is not true. But, on the other hand, we may ask if the inflectional factor has played any part in point of such OE. verbs whose secondary sense oscillated between a reflexive (and a passive) sense and an intr. sense of attribution. OE. verbs of this type are *brædan*, *tōbrædan*, *gedælan*, *tōdælan*, *scēadan*, *twæman*, *þēodan*, *samnian*, *gaderian*. As the passive form of these primary transitive verbs often involved an oscillation between a passive sense and an intransitive sense of attribution, or even of action (if an element of motion was salient), we must admit that association with intransitive verbs conjugated with *bēon*, etc. could easily lead to their use also in intransitive constructions. Though we should perhaps admit that the reflexive factor was here of greater importance than the inflectional one, yet the latter should be considered as having co-operated with the former in bringing about the intransitive constructions of these verbs.

Let us now consider the ultimate origin of the OE. examples of cat. B. adduced above. In the case of denominative *ō*-verbs, i. e. *lýtlian*, *gemetgian*, *sweotolian*, *þēostrian*, the origination of the secondary intrans. construction oscillating towards a passival import, should be explained as due to OE. new formation or to the inflexional coincidence mentioned above. Again, in point of the denominative *ja*-verbs *gecēlan*, *hliewan*, *lengan*, *stillan*, and the weak rootverbs *miltan* (< \**maltjan*) and *sprengan* (< \**spranyjan*) the secondary intransitive construction was no doubt due to the inflectional factor. The same explanation may be given in the case of the rare intransitive construction of *slitan* (one record). But here this construction is more surprising, since the transitive sense implies such connotations of activity as do not so readily admit the primary transitive sense to stand out as causative. But, if so, the import of the passive form of the verb does not so readily oscillate towards an intransitive sense. But this involves that the origination of the intransitive construction is less easily induced than in other cases and also that the passival aspect of the intransitive construction is more conspicuous. Therefore, we should perhaps assume that the only instance of an intrans. use of the verb was to some extent



at least also induced by influence from the intr. preterite *forbærst* co-ordinated with *slāt* or caused by the poetic form of the sentence (cf. *Crist*, 1141). Again, the secondary sense of the verb *awendan* should (as was the case with *gewendan*) have been assigned to cat. A, since the existence of a collateral reflexive sense can scarcely be denied. Therefore, a reflexive explanation is here justified. But the intr. use may also be explained as due to the inflectional factor. The same is true of *miswenden*, though in the example of its secondary intrans. construction mentioned above the verb is used in a figurative sense. As to OE. *hātan*, its primary transitive sense has no causative aspect. Therefore, the correlative intrans. use of the verb involving a passive sense oscillating towards an intransitive meaning would but for the great frequency of the intr. use, imply only a predominant passive sense. In the OE. period this fact would be particularly striking and destitute of parallels. However, as will be remembered, the use of *hätte* and *hätton* in this sense is the only OE. remnant of the OTeut. medio-passive inflection.<sup>1</sup>

The ME.  
period.

We have seen that the collapse of the morphological discrepancy expressing the difference between a transitive sense and its correlative intransitive meaning of state or attribution had already in OE. proceeded very far. This collapse was continued and completed in the ME. period.

To begin with, it should be noticed that, owing to phonological laws, the inflectional divergence between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> weak conjugation became in course of the ME. period so reduced that it could no longer serve as an expression for a semological difference. The infinitive endings *-an* and *-ian* were gradually levelled under *-e(n)* and then dropped altogether. The p.ple endings *-ed* and *-od* were levelled under *-ed*. Even the OE. weak preterite endings, i. e. *-de* and *-ode* were not always kept apart in ME. Thus *-ede* (< *-ode*) was often reduced to *-de* especially in Southern texts whereas in Northern texts it generally appeared as *-ed* (*-id*, *-it*). And as to the ending *-de* of the first weak conjugation, this was sometimes analogically replaced by *-cde*, e. g. *fillede* (c. 1330, R. Brunne) = OE. *fyllde*. From the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries may be adduced examples of the same inflectional change in point of other *ja*-verbs, e. g. *dealede* (OE. *dæalde*), *helede* (OE. *hælde*),

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Kuhns Zs.* XXVI, 43 sq.; *P. B. B.*, VI, 561.

*totwamede* (OE. *tōtwāmede*).<sup>1</sup> At the end of the ME. epoch the ending *-ed* generally became *-d* (except when preceded by certain consonants). This completed the collapse of the distinction between the two weak conjugations.

Moreover, the distinctive feature of transitive denominative verbs, *i. e.* the *i*-mutation, was in ME. obliterated, in as much as most of these *j*-verbs fell into disuse in the ME. epoch or at least in early NE. And this procedure was no doubt principally due to the divergence in stem-vowel between the verb and the nominal basis. For this prevented association between the prototype and the derivative and thus deprived the verb of an associative support necessary for the existence of words whose frequency is not great. As examples: *bete* (< OE. *bātan*), *bielð* (< OE. *bieldan*), *eeke* (< OE. *ēcan*, *īcan*), *keele* (< OE. *cēlan*), *kithe* (OE. *cýþan*). Only a few denominative verbs with *i*-mutation continued to live on with unabated or else increased vitality, *e. g.* *bleach*, *dry*, *defile* (< *de-* + OE. *fýlan*), *fill*, *frighten* (< *fright* vb. + *en*), *heat*, *trim*. Though, apart from *dry*, these are verbs whose adjectival prototype is either lost, *viz.* OE. *forht*, *trum*, *blāc* (*i. e.* *frighten*, *trim*, *bleach*) or else incapable of association with the verb, *viz.* *foul*, *hot* and probably also *full* (*i. e.* *defile*, *heat*, *fill*), they have survived chiefly owing to their great frequency which to some extent is dependent on the currency of the notions embodied. Thus we find that already in ME. there was a complete destruction of the grammatical category that in OE. expressed the semological contrast between a causal sense and its intransitive correspondent. We also find that the causes of the destruction were in ME. of a *direct* nature, *i. e.* they brought about an obliteration of the morphological and phonological characteristics of the category. Again in OE. the demolition of the grammatical category was caused in a roundabout way, in as much as they made the grammatical category incapable of new formations and created numerous exceptions to the principle it represented.

In short, in ME. there existed no longer even the morphological prerequisites for making a morphological distinction between transitive denominatives and their intransitive correspondents. Therefore, in the ME. epoch, transitive and intransitive denomi-

<sup>1</sup> cf. ERNST VOGEL, *Zur Flexion des englischen Verbums in XI. und XII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1903, 37.



native new formations must necessarily be formed on the same principle, unless a new formative mode originated. This principle was the one inherited from OE. and WGerm. times, in as much as the verbal endings were added to the nominal stem without increasing its extent (apart from WGerm. consonantal gemination). When in late ME. the infinitive ending was dropped, then in this form the verbal derivative did not present any deviation from its nominal prototype.

Before giving some instances of ME. new formations we want to point out that occasionally they may have been suggested by corresponding OFrench verbs, *e. g.* *feeble* (cf. OF. *faiblir* and *foibloier*), *freshe(n)* (cf. OF. *freschir*, intr.), *large* (cf. OF. *largir*). It should also be noticed that it may sometimes be precarious to decide as to whether we are concerned with a new formation or with a continuation of an OE. verb whose stem has been assimilated to the nominal prototype. The latter assumption is for instance probably true in the case of *loose* and *full*, which seems to be indicated by their agreement as to sense-varieties and frequency with their ME. correspondents, *i. e.* *lese(n)*, *fill(e)n*. It should also be noticed that in some cases the transitive and the intransitive sense are practically chronologically equivalent.

As examples of primary transitive new formations in ME. may be adduced:

*afflicte(n)* (< *afflict*, pple. a.)  
(1) trans., to dash down, deject,  
humble, 1393— (2) intr., to be-  
come downcast (with trouble), 1393—

*clene(n)* (< *clene*, a. clean)  
trans., to make clean (in various  
senses), c 1450—

*curde(n)*, *crudde(n)* (< *crud*, *curd*,  
sb.) (1) trans., to make into curd,  
1382— (2) intr., to become curd,  
to coagulate, 1398—

*danke(n)*, -o- (< *dank*, -o-, a.)  
(1) trans., to make damp, moisten,  
a 1300—1634, (2) intr., to become  
damp, 1590.

*freshe(n)* (< *fresh*, a. cf. OF.  
*freschir*, intr. in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.) (1)  
trans., to make fresh, etc. a 1366—  
(2) intr., of the wind, to become  
fresh, 1599—

*fulle(n)* (< *full*, a., or perhaps a  
modification of *fill(e)n*) (1) trans., to  
make full, 1362—1647, (2) intr., to  
be or become full, 1362—, *obs.*

*gentle(n)* (< *gentle*, a.) trans.,  
to ennoble, dignify, *obs.*, *rare*;  
1387—1630 to render gentle, mild,  
*rare*, 1651— etc.

*holwe(n)* (< *holice*, a.) (1) trans.,  
to render hollow, etc., c 1450—  
(2) intr., to become hollow or con-  
cave, c 1860—

*lame(n)* (< *lame*, a.; OE. *lemian*  
did not survive into ME.) trans., to  
make lame, to cripple, c 1300—

*large(n)* (< *large*, a.; cf. OF.  
*largir*) (1) trans., to enlarge, in-  
crease, a 1340—1647, (2) intr., ?  
to increase, c 1380; (of the wind),  
to become large, 1622—

*lengthe(n)* (< *lengthe*, sb.) (1) trans., to make longer, a 1300— (2) intr., to become longer, c 1400—

*lose(n)* (< *los*, a. loose) (1) trans., to let loose, a 1225—, to unfasten, a 1300—, to dissolve, 1340—18 . . . (2) intr., to come unfastened, 1760; to crumble away, c 1375—1481.

*meke(n)* (< *mek*, a.) (1) trans., to make meek, etc., c 1200—

1680, (2) intr., to be, become meek, a 1300—c1400.

*milde(n)* (< *milde*, a., OE. had *mildian*, intr., to become mild), trans., to make mild or gentle, 1340—1647.

*more(n)* (< *more*, a.) (1) trans., to increase, augment, a 1300— (2) intr., to become increased, augmented 1412— c. 1430.

*moiste(n)* (< *moist*, a.) trans., to render moist, 1377—

As examples of primary intransitive new formations in ME. may be adduced:

*blacke(n)* (< *black*, a.) (1) intr., to be or become black, a 1225— c 1640, (2) trans., to make black, c 1315—.

*blithe(n)* (< *blithe*, a.) (1) intr., to be merry, rejoice, a 1300—1563, (2) trans., to make blithe, to delight, c 1400—1627.

*broune(n)* (< *broun*, a.) (1) intr., to become brown, c 1300, 1859, (2) trans., to make brown, etc. 1570—

*calme(n)* (< *calm*, a.) (1) intr., to become calm, 1399— (2) trans., to make calm, 1559—

*clere(n)* (< *clere*, a.) (1) intr., to become clear or bright, c 1374— (2) trans., to make clear (in various senses), 1382—

*dulle(n)* (< *dull*, a.) (1) intr., to become dull (in various senses), c 1374— (2) trans., to make dull (in various senses), c 1392—

*dumbe(n)* (< *dumb*, a., or perh. a continuation of OE. *adumbian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become dumb,

a 1300— a 1340, (2) trans., to render dumb, 1608—

*duske(n)* (< *dusk*, a.; OE. had *doxian* < *dox*, a.) (1) intr., to become dusk or dim, c 1230— (2) trans., to make dusky, c 1374—

*fainte(n)* (< *faint*, a.) (1) intr., to be afraid, to become depressed, etc., c 1330— (2) trans., to make faint, or weak, to depress, c 1386—

*feble(n)* (< *feble*, a., cf. OF. *faiblir* and *foibloier*) (1) intr., to become or grow feeble, a 1225—1496, (2) trans., to make feeble, *obs. exc. arch.*, a 1340—

*greye(n)* (< *grey*, a.) (1) intr., to become or grow grey, 13 . . .— (2) trans., to make grey, 1633—

*lesse(n)* (< *lesse*, a.) (1) intr., to become less, a 1225— (2) trans., to make less, a 1300—

*madde(n)* (< *mad*, a.) (1) intr., to be or become mad, a 1366— (2) trans., to make mad, 1399—

Thus the ME. epoch was capable of denominative new formation without giving a different morphological expression to the semological contrast between a trans. sense and its correlative intr. sense of state or attribution. We have also seen that these



new formations often already in ME. adopted a secondary sense correlative to the primary trans. or intrans. meaning. When so, the secondary sense should be explained as due to new formation on the same nominal basis as that of the primary verb.

The same mode of explanation should be applied when in ME. a secondary and correlative trans. or intrans. sense was adopted by denominative verbs of OE. date whose stems did not deviate from their nominal bases. The examples of the former case must considerably outnumber those of the latter case, since primary transitive denominatives were in OE. generally *ja*-verbs with *i*-mutation.

As examples of OE. trans. denominatives having the same stem as the nominal basis and in ME. adopting a correlative intr. sense may be adduced:

*dunne(n)* (< OE. *dunnian*, trans.) (1) trans., to make dun, c 888— (2) intr., to become dun or dull-coloured, c 1300— a 1400.

*fastne(n)* (< OE. *fæstnian* trans.) (1) trans., to make fast (to something else), to attach, fasten, *on*, *upon*, OE.— (2) intr. to become fixed on, a 1225—; *obs.*

*lighte(n)* (< OE. *lihtan*) (1) trans., to make light, etc., c 1000— (2) intr., of the heart: to grow light or cheerful; of sickness: to be alleviated, *obs.*, a 1300— c 1460.

*niwe(n)* (< OE. *nīwian*, trans.) (1) trans., to make new, a 900— (2) intr., to become new again, a 1300—

As examples of OE. intr. denominatives in ME. adopting a correlative trans. sense may be adduced:

*bolden*, (< OE. *bealdian*, intr.) (1) intr., to be or become bold, to grow strong, a 1000—1706, (2) trans., to make bold, c 1205—1605.

*a-colde(n)* (< OE. *ā-cealdian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become cold, c 880—c 1440, (2) trans., to make cold, cool, c 1230.

*colde(n)* (< OE. *cealdian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become cold, a 1000—c 1450, (2) trans., to make cold, c 1385—1598.

*cole(n)* (< OE. *cōlian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become cool, a 1000— (2) trans., to make cool (in various senses), c 1320—

*faine(n)* (< OE. *fæg(e)nian*, intr.) (1) intr., to be delighted, c 888—1596, (2) trans., to make glad, c 1250—1480.

*faire(n)* (< OE. *fægrian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become fair or clean, a 1000—1340; of the weather, 1842— (2) trans., to make fair or clean, c 1175—c 1600.

*foule(n)* (< OE. *fūlian*, intr.) (1) intr., to be or become foul, c 893— (2) trans., to render foul, c 1420—.

*grete(n)* (< OE. *grēatian*) (1) intr., to become great, thick, to increase, c 897— (2) trans., to make great, a 1225—1605.

*hore(n)* (< OE. *hārian*, intr.)  
(1) intr., to become hoary, a 1000—1398, (2) trans., to make hoary, 1591—

*longe(n)* (< OE. *langian*, intr.)  
(1) intr., to grow longer, c 1000—1422, (2) trans., to lengthen, prolong, 1382.

*murge(n)*, *mirie(n)* (< OE. *myrgan* < \**muryjan*) (1) intr., to be merry, c 1000—c1460, (2) trans., to make merry, c 1310—1677.

*rede(n)* (< OE. *rēadian*, intr.)  
(1) intr., to be or become red, to blush, c 975—1422, (2) trans., to make red, a 1225—1736.

There were in OE. some trans. *ja*-verbs and correlative intr. *ō*-verbs of denominative formation whose stems were identical. When so, the phonological and inflexional development in ME. was such that they must needs coincide in form and thus illustrate the origination of the phenomenon that the semological contrast between a trans. sense and its correlative intransitive meaning of state or attribution is often expressed by the same verb. This must be the case with word-pairs such as the following provided they survive into the ME. epoch: OE. *a-blindan*, trans., and *a-blindian*, intr. [ME. *blinde(n)*], *hwītan*, trans., and *hwītian*, intr. [ME. *hwite(n)*], *līpan*, trans., and *līpian*, intr. [ME. *lipe(n)*], *swētan*, trans., and *swētian*, intr. [ME. *swete(n)*], *wātan*, trans., and *wātian*, intr. [ME. *wete(n)*].

An equivalent interpretation should be applied to the existence of a transitive and a correlative intransitive sense in ME. *deden* [(1) trans., to make dead, c 1340— (2) intr., to become dead, c 1384—] and ME. *deven* [(1) trans., to make deaf, deafen, c 1340— (2) intr., to become deaf, *rare*, 13..]. For the Angl.-Kent. *dēdan*, trans. (= WSax. *dīedan*) and the OE. *dēadian*, intr., were in ME. turned into *dēde(n)* and *dēde(n)*. The Angl.-Kent. \**dēfan* (WSax. *ā-dīefan*), trans., and the OE. *ā-dēafian* appeared in ME. as *dēve(n)* and *dēve(n)*. But it is evident that the distinction between an open and a close *ē* cannot here be apprehended as indicating different import, *i. e.* different morphemes, and that this fact must therefore lead to the identification of the forms.

The principle of new formation on the nominal basis cannot be applied to explain the ME. adoption of a secondary intr. sense of state or attribution or of a trans. sense in the case of OE. denominatives whose stems deviated from the nominal basis. As examples:

*greme(n)* (< OE. *gremian*, trans.) c 893—c 1400, (2) intr., to become  
(1) trans., to make angry, to vex, angry, be vexed, c 1400—1460.



*hete(n)* (< OE. *hætan*, trans., not also intr. as is maintained by NED.) (1) trans., to make hot, c 1000— (2) to become hot or warm, a 1225—

*kele(n)* (< OE. *cēlan* trans., to make cool, c 825— (2) intr., to become cool or cold, c 1420—

*lense(n)* (< *hlānsian*, intr.) (1) intr., to become lean, a 1000— (2) trans., to make lean, c 1175.

Nor can the principle of new formation be employed to explain the ME. adoption of a secondary intr. sense of state or attribution or of a correlative transitive sense, when we are concerned with verbs which from an English point of view are of non-denominative origin.

As examples of the adoption of a secondary intr. sense may be adduced:

*au(g)mente* (< OF. *aumenter*, trans.) (1) trans., increase, enlarge, c 1460— (2) intr., to become greater in size, to increase, c 1400—

*chaufe(n)* (< OF. *chaufier* < L. *\*calefacere*) (1) trans., to warm, heat, *fig.* to inflame, c 1325—1716, (2) intr., to become warm or hot, 1393—1581, *fig.* to make warm, 1525—

*corrumpe(n)* (< OF. *corrumpre*) (1) trans., to destroy, spoil, a 1340—1489; to decompose, cause to rot, 1340—c 1525, (2) intr., to become corrupt, to rot, c. 1374—1470.

*cumbere(n)* (etymology uncertain) (1) trans., to overwhelm, rout, 1303—15 . . ., (2) intr., to become overthrown, depressed,? a 1400.

*dismaye(n)* (< OF. or AF. *\*desmaier*) (1) trans., to discourage, daunt, 1297— (2) intr., to become utterly discouraged, a 1375—

*forbraide(n)* (< OE. *forbregdan*) (1) trans., to pervert, corrupt, OE., (2) intr., to become corrupt, decay, c 1250.

*scenen* (< OE. *scēnan*) (1) trans., to break, OE., (2) intr., to break, *e. g.* Lay. 31, 234 Helmes gullen . . . sceldes gunnen scenen.

*toceleve(n)* (< OE. *tōclēofan*) (1) trans., to break, cleave, OE., (2) intr., to cleave, break, *e. g.* Chauc., T. and C. v 613 Mine herte shal toceleve.

*toshuken* (< OE. *tōsceacan*) (1) trans., to shake off, disperse, OE., (2) intr., to disperse, *e. g.* All þe worlde shall toshake (cf. Anglia III, 546, 156).

The cause of the semological change of these verbs may in early ME. be sought in the inflectional factor (as to *gremc(n)* cf. p. 321). For just as perfective intransitives denoting motion were at that time mostly conjugated with *to be*,<sup>1</sup> so in the case of intransitives denoting state or attribution the same was no doubt the case, though the latter category was far earlier than the former

<sup>1</sup> cf. PAUL VISCHERS *Über die Bildung der zusammengesetzten Zeiten der Vergangenheit im frühmittelenglischen*, Kiel, 1889 (Diss.), p. 48.

deprived of this inflectional characteristic. But it is often precarious to state cases of intr. conjugation with *to be*, since they may be apprehended as the passive and consequently as indicative of the transitive sense. The only criterion of their intr. nature is that the simple tenses of the verbs in question never occur transitively. As examples of intransitives conjugated with *to be* may be given: *Lay.* I 94 þa Humber *wæs* dead in Humbre *adrunkn* (= præd. exist.) *Lay.* II 234 þenne ich *wæs* on bedde *iswaued* mit soft mine slepen. *Lay.* II 323 Al ic *æm* *toswollen* . . . nu nan ich wurde dæd. *Lay.* I 383 þis iherde T . . þat his eam *wæs* *idæied* (= præd. exist.). Even in the NE. period there are examples which may be looked upon as instances of intr. conjugation with *to be* in point of verbs denoting state, attribution, or existence, *e. g.* DE FOE *Plague Year* 131 There was not 10 People that died till after August *was expired*. *Ibid.* 283 they answered that the plague *was abated*. *Ibid.* 267 it was three Year after the Plague *was ceas'd* that . . . DE FOE *Rob. Cr.* 210 I *was* now *recovered* from my surprise. It is evident that also individual association between verbs with semological proximity not rarely occasioned the adoption of a secondary intr. or a correlative trans. meaning. However, in ME. the most important factor is the constant increase of denominatives adopting a secondary sense so as to present the semological contrast between a causal meaning and the correlative intr. sense of state or attribution. It is obvious that the number of such verbs as well as of non-denominative verbs presenting the contrast in question must at last be sufficient for inducing the origination of the same contrast in any primary trans. or any primary intr. verb of state or attribution, whether of denominative or non-denominative origin. In other words we mean that this collective associative influence must in lapse of time be so powerful as to grow into a constructive or semological law. The adoption of the new sense due to this law may imply an element of purpose, *i. e.* consciousness, but this need not always be the case. It is evident that the date of this strong inducing power cannot be fixed exactly. Yet, in our opinion we are entitled to consider it to be as early as the end of the ME. period, *i. e.* after c 1400.

Thus in the case of ME. the chief point is to show how the inducing category increased so as to acquire the necessary inducing force. We have already proclaimed that apart from the OE. inheritance, the principal contributing sources were denominative new formation and, esp. in respect of early ME., intr. conjugation with *to be*. We have also pointed out that individual



associative influence has been at work and that ME. phonological laws sometimes levelled OE. correlative formations under the same form. But apart from all these phenomena, there are still a few factors that should be taken into consideration when we have to explain the origin of the inducing category in question.

In some verbs the semological contrast has originated through a misinterpretation of impersonal constructions. There is a category of OE. and ME. impersonal verbs which condition predications of dependency, *i. e.* the (logical) subject is described as having a certain influence on a person or as conditioning a certain psychical state. As examples: OE. *lādian*, intr., to be hateful to a person, *i. e.* to be the cause of a person's aversion (with dative); *langian*, to cause desire or longing (with accusative); *līcian*, intr., to be pleasant to a person, to be the cause of his pleasure (with dative); *hrēowan*, to cause a person's sorrow, to afflict, trouble (with dative or accusative), *e. g.* *Oros.* 148, 13 þā Cassander þæt geāscade þæt hio þām folce *lādade*, . .; *Genes.* 496, *Langað* þē āwuht, Adam? *Bēow.* 646 þām wīfe þā word wel *līcodon*; *Guþlāc* 783 Him þæt ne *hrēowed* æfter hingonge. *Crīst*, 1415, ðū mec ongon *hrēowan* þæt mīn hondgeweorc on fēonda gewæld fēran sceolde. In these examples the object is an indirect (or a direct) one. Now inflectional levellings took place in ME., so that the nominative and the objective cases of nouns coincided. Therefore, as VON DER GAAF<sup>1</sup> truly says, 'whenever the *third pers. sing. present* of any of the verbs and phrases under consideration was accompanied by a *noun in the singular*, confusion was likely to arise, and was inevitable whenever the noun *preceded* the verb', *e. g.* ROB. OF BRUNNE, *Handl. Synne*, 3459 þat pore pryde, god hyt *loþes*; GOWER *Conf. Am.* VI, 2414 *min herte sore longeth* To wite what it wolde mene; CHAUC. *Cant. T.*, G 239, god *lyketh* the requeste. *Cursor M.* 9618 C. & G., Hu *sal oþer reu* of him oght. Through misinterpretation of these and similar sentences (dressed also in other tenses than the present), these verbs have become verbs of perception or of state, *i. e.* 'to feel (or have) disgust, longing, pleasure, grief'. The same interpretation is employed by von der Gaaf in the case of the French loan-words *grieve*, *please*, *repent*, which in OF. conditioned only predications of dependency, *i. e.* 'to cause grief, pleasure, repent', or in other words 'to make grievous, satisfied, repentful', but, which in ME. adopted a sense of perception or of state, *i. e.* 'to feel grief, pleasure, repent' or 'to become grievous, satisfied, repentful'.

<sup>1</sup> cf. W. VON DER GAAF *The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in ME.*, Heidelberg 1904, 25.

However, von der Gaaf does not pay any attention to verbs, whether of OE. or ME. date, which originally only imply that the grammatical subject is the cause of a certain psychical state in a person, but which either rarely or not at all are constructed impersonally with *it* as formal subject (the logical subject being a following infinitive or clause expressed or understood). But they present the same semological change as the impersonal verbs just mentioned, *i. e.* they adopt a sense of perception or of state, and occasionally the cause of this change has been a misinterpretation of an impersonal construction. Such is the case with ME. *greme(n)* (OE. *gremian*). Its original sense was 'to make angry' (< OTeut. \**yramo-* angry), *i. e.* 'to cause a person's anger'. In ME. we meet with the impersonal construction (*It*) *gremes me*, etc., which is quite naturally modelled on impersonal verbs such as *lōthe(n)*, *like(n)*, etc., predicated also of things (like *gremian*), *e. g.* a 1300 in Wright *Lyric P.* x. 36 Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede. 13.. *E. E. Allit. P.* c. 42 Bot lenge where-so-euer hir lyst, lyke or greme. About a century later we come across the intr. sense of state (or of perception), *i. e.* 'to become angry' (to feel anger), recorded c 1400 and c 1460, which may have developed from the impersonal construction. Sometimes the secondary sense is in NED. recorded later than the impersonal construction. Such is the case with ME. *fere(n)* (OE. *fāran*), whose primary sense is 'to inspire with fear', 'to make afraid'. Its impersonal form, *i. e.* *it fears me* (+ an inf. or clause) is recorded between 1503—1813. But already as early as c 1400 we meet with the intr. sense of state or of perception, *i. e.* 'to be afraid, to feel fear'. In this case the intr. sense may very well have originated from association with other verbs denoting cause of a psychical state and presenting a secondary sense of perception or of state (such as *lothe(n)*, *plese(n)*, etc.). For they all constitute a semologically clearly marked category whose members necessarily form a close associative group. The same explanation may be applied to the secondary sense of such verbs as ME. *affraye(n)* < AF. *affrayer*, OF. *effreer*), whose primary meaning 'to startle', 'to frighten' occurs since c 1314, but whose intr. sense 'to be afraid', 'to fear' is met with c 1440; ME. *frete(n)* (< OE. *fretan*), whose trans. sense 'to distress', 'to worry' (*fig.* use of 'to gnaw', 'consume') occurs c 1290, but whose intr. sense of state or of perception (*i. e.* to vex oneself, chafe, worry) is met with as late as 1551. Yet their semological change may also be ascribed to the causative law.



But if this associative theory is correct, then the associative influence is likely to manifest itself also in the way that verbs denoting a sense of perception or of state adopt a meaning denoting the cause of a psychological state (and therefore occasionally presenting also impersonal form). And in fact, such is actually the case. Thus, for instance, ME. *agrise(n)* (OE. *āgrīsan*) originally meaning 'to shudder', 'to feel horror', a 1000—1498, and later on trans. 'to abhor, loathe', c 1374—1468, occurred impersonally between 1205—a 1300 in the sense 'to cause horror', 'to inspire with horror', e. g. c 1205 *LAY.* 13329 *þer vore me agrised*. By particularizing the subject the impersonal construction was turned into a transitive use, c 1314—1647 (= to inspire a person with horror) e. g. c 1314 *Guy Warw.* 49 *Nas ther non that him agros*. Take further ME. *drede(n)* (< *ondrādan*), originally meaning 'to fear greatly' (trans.). In ME. we meet with the causal (and trans.) sense 'to inspire with fear'. In the earliest quotation of this sense the construction is perhaps impersonal (as is pointed out by NED.) viz. c 1220 *Old Kent. Serm.* 32 *Wat dret yw folk of litle beliaue? To take another example of the same associative power, we find that late ME. abhor* (< L. *abhorrēre* to shrink back in dread) whose primary sense is 'to hate utterly', 'to loathe' (trans.), 1444—, is in early NE. recorded in the causal sense 'to make one shudder', 'to cause horror or disgust' (trans.), mostly used impersonally, e. g. 1541 *ELYOT Image of Hor.* 7. *It abhorreth me to expresse his beastly lyuyng*.

Thus we have exemplified a particular category of verbs where a verb with a primary causal sense (referring to a psychological state) has adopted a collateral sense of state or of perception. We have seen that both these senses may sometimes be transitive and that the sense of state or of perception often (but not always) has durative tense-aspect (i. e. to be (afraid, etc.), to feel (fear, etc.)). But it should be noticed that the relation between the senses may be apprehended as implying the semological contrast between a causative verb and its non-causal correlative. Therefore they involve a reinforcement of the category presenting the semological contrast between a causal sense and its correlative intr. sense of state or attribution and consequently a reinforcement of its capability of inducing the origin of this contrast in point of other verbs.

Another and more important reinforcement is presented by such French loan-words where the semological contrast in question is not of English, but of OF., origin. As examples:

*affraye(n)* (< AF. *afroyer*, OF. *esfreer*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to startle, frighten, c 1314—, (2) intr., to be afraid, to fear, c 1400.

*amende(n)* (< OF. *amender*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to correct, reform, c 1220—1705; to cure, heal, c 1305—1804, (2) intr., to reform oneself, 1300—; to recover from illness, 1297—1611.

*amenuse(n)* (< OF. *amenuisier*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to make less, diminish, c 1374—1554, (2) intr., to become less, 1391—1481.

*apese(n)* (< OF. *apeser*, *apaisier*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to bring to peace, to soothe, c 1330— (2) intr., to become quiet, calm, c 1440—1561.

*apeyre(n)* (< OF. *empeirer*, *empirier*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to make worse, 1297—1643, (2) intr., to grow or become worse or less, 1340—1581.

*appale(n)* (< OF. *apal(l)ir*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to cause to fade, to make pale, c 1386—1616, (2) intr., to wax pale, to fade, etc. c 1315—1596.

*assuage* (< OF. *as(s)ouager*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to soften, appease, 1330— (2) intr., to abate, diminish, *obs.* 1330—.

*astone(n)* (< OF. *estoner* trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to stun, to

confound, *obs.*, c. 1340— (2) intr., to become amazed, 1393.

*decrease(n)* (< OF. *descreistre* trans. and intr.) (1) intr., to grow less, 1393— (2) trans., to cause to grow less, c 1470—

*delite(n)* (< OF. *delitier*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to please highly, c 1300— (2) intr., to be hugely pleased, to take great pleasure in, c 1470—.

*encrease(n)* (< OF. *encreistre* intr. and trans.) (1) intr., to become greater in size, amount, etc.; 13..— (2) trans., to cause to wax or grow, to make greater in size, amount, etc., 13..—.

*enlarge* (< OF. *enlarger*, *-ir*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to make larger, c 1380— (2) intr., to become larger, 1481—

*fade(n)* (< OF. *fader*, trans. and intr.) (1) intr., to wither, to decay, 13..— (2) trans., to weaken, to corrupt, taint, c 1400—1775.

*multiplie(n)* (< OF. *multeplier*, trans. and intr.) (1) trans., to cause to become much, many, or more; to augment the number, amount, or quantity of, a 1275— (2) intr., to become of great number or quantity, to be increased, c 1330—.

*pale(n)* (< OF. *palen*, trans. and intr.) (1) intr., to grow pale, 13..— (2) trans., to make pale, c 1374—.

The existence of these and similar French loan-words is by LEON KELLNER<sup>1</sup> considered to be of paramount importance for the origination of the phenomenon that in English the semological contrast in question is so often expressed by the same verb. He says, 'Das Französische, besonders das der älteren Perioden, gebraucht dasselbe Verbum ohne Unterschied der Form transitiver und intransitiver Bedeutung. Vergleichen wir diese französischen Verba mit den gleichbedeutenden der englischen Sprache, so finden

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LEON KELLNER, *Zur Syntax des englischen Verbums*, Wien 1885, p. 27.



wir das romanische Element in der Überzahl, woraus ersichtlich ist, dass der französische Einfluss auch in diesem Punkte von der grössten Bedeutung war'. We can by no means endorse this opinion. True, the number of OF. loan-words presenting the semological contrast under consideration was in ME. fairly considerable. But we have shown that the expression of the semological contrast by the same verb is to a considerable extent met with already in the OE. epoch. We have also shown that the same factors which at that time brought about this phenomenon also operated in the ME. period and to a large extent increased the category of OE. verbs offering the dualistic import in question. In fact there is no doubt that this increase was in itself (*i. e.* to without the aid of the French material) sufficient to bring about the late ME. or early NE. law involving that a causative aspect of a verb is a sufficient cause for admitting its use in a correlative intr. meaning. In other words, the French material was of a very secondary importance for the origination of the phenomenon in question. This view is strongly supported also by the fact that the OF. use of the reflexive form as an intr. or a passive formative, though occasionally introduced into ME., was never able to gain ground, *i. e.* could not displace the native tendency to express a trans. and a correlative intr. sense by the same active form.

Lastly we are confronted with the question in what measure the increase of the inducing category is due to the reflexive factor. We have previously held forth that the reflexive mode of interpretation should in English be confined to such cases where the intransitive sense oscillates towards a reflexive aspect. This implies that the subject should be capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the predicate-verb. As to the ME. examples adduced in our material, a reflexive mode of origin is suggested by NED. in the case of *fret*, *hull*, and *mar*, all predicated of things material. And yet, in the intr. sense referred to, they have never been recorded in the reflexive form; nor are their subjects in this case capable of reflexivity. Also in point of *feather*, predicated of a bird, a reflexive mode of origin is assumed by NED. But in this case the reflexive form has actually been recorded in ME. (and about the same time as the intr. form, *i. e.* c 1450). In this case, therefore, the reflexive origin is possible. Yet we must admit that the subject in spite of being animate, is incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. This implies that the reflexive form has here the function of an intr. or a passive formative.

However, we do not deny that the inducing category mentioned above was reinforced by verbs whose secondary intr. sense of state or attribution originated in the reflexive way, but we add that, when so, these verbs oscillated towards a reflexive (occasionally a passival) sense. In dealing with cat. A. we have given some ME. instances of this kind, *viz. blend, convert, meddle, mell*. But in our opinion this reinforcement was never of paramount importance for the category in question. On the contrary, the latter category originating in the way mentioned above must exercise its inducing influence also on causative verbs whose correlative intr. sense was predicated of subjects capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the primary transitive sense. When so, the secondary meaning must oscillate between an intr., a refl., and, occasionally, a passive sense. Thus it is evident that since late ME. times it is very precarious, nay impossible, to decide as to whether a secondary intr. sense oscillating towards a reflexive aspect originated in the reflexive way or was due to the causative law. The omission of the reflexive pronoun is best understood, if we apply a causative interpretation. But this omission is also intelligible if we apply a reflexive mode of interpretation. For we then assume that at first the reflexive form was employed but that subsequently it was dispossessed by the active form owing to the salience of an intr. sense, since the normal dress of this sense is the active form. But in point of the NE. period (*i. e.* its latest stage) it is tempting to assume that the active form could be employed directly (*i. e.* without an intermediate reflexive form) to express a reflexive sense (cf p. 259).

Let us consider the ME. examples of a secondary intr. sense of state or attribution presented by our material where, however, it oscillates towards a passive import.

The secondary intr. construction of *dry* (c 1200) should evidently be explained as a new formation on the adjective *dry*. For the latter is identical with the stem of the primary transitive verb.

The intransitive construction of *mar* (c 1230), *rend* (c 1205) *rive* (a 1300), and probably also *shend* appear in the earlier part of the ME. period. They may be explained as due to the existence of intransitive verbs conjugated with *to be*. This implies here that, owing to oscillation towards an intr. sense, the passive form of these verbs were mistaken for an intransitive form and consequently employed intransitively also in simple tenses. But let us



assume that in early ME. there existed no intransitives conjugated with *to be* and denoting state or attribution (which is no doubt wrong). Even in this case it is not impossible that the salience of an intr. sense as revealed in the passive form, may have influenced the origination of the intr. construction. For this salience may have been so strong as to demand to be expressed in the form characteristic of intransitives, *i. e.* the active form. But this demand would scarcely have been satisfied, unless there already existed a number of verbs presenting the semological contrast between a causative sense and its correlative intr. meaning of state or attribution, and therefore serviceable as analogical patterns. Such a category was formed by verbs inherited from OE. times and reinforced in ME. by denominative new formations. But, when so, this phenomenon is only a particular case of our assumption that in ME. there existed a category of verbs with the semological contrast in question and large enough to induce the origination of an equivalent contrast in other verbs. But, apart from the chronological gap, the divergence is that in the latter case the inducing power of the category is an actual law, since it is strong enough to operate in a direct way, *i. e.* the starting-point for the use of the intr. sense is not here as in the former case a particular verbal form (*viz.* the passive), but only the causal aspect of the primary trans. sense. However, we need not have recourse to the mode of explanation mentioned (which besides in ME. constitutes an element of the inflectional way of origin) since in ME. times intr. conjugation with *to be* existed to a considerable extent. We have pointed out that the constant increase of the category of verbs presenting the semological contrast in question implied a corresponding increase in inducing power on the part of this category and that at the end of the ME. epoch, the category was large enough to induce (if need be) any causative verb to be employed in a correlative intr. sense. Therefore, when the secondary intr. sense of state or attribution belongs to late ME., we may ascribe its origin to the general analogical influence mentioned. Such is the case with the intr. constructions of *consume* (1398), *distill* (c 1400), *dissolve* (c 1420) *enhance* (1494), *fret* (1486), *infect* (c 1420). Yet, when the subject is capable of reflexivity, as is the case with several subjects predicated by *distill*, *dissolve*, a reflexive mode of interpretation is equally possible. This involves that also the reflexive form could be employed, but that, owing

to the oscillating intr. aspect of this form, the reflexive pronoun was omitted. Also the intr. sense of *heap*, predicated of avalanches etc., may very well be interpreted reflexively. For the agency does not here stand out clearly to our consciousness and is therefore easily apprehended as emanating from the subject itself. But since the intr. sense oscillates towards an intr. sense of motion, the origin of the intr. construction may be due to the fact that intr. verbs of motion were conjugated with *to be*. Lastly it is also possible to explain the secondary intr. construction of *heap* as a desubstantial new formation (cf. *feather*, *ditch*).

The intr. construction of *resolve* is no doubt of French origin, since OF. *resoudre* was used both transitively and intransitively. Again, the secondary sense of *anhang* should be explained in the same way as the intr. construction of *hang* (cf. Cat. E.).

We have previously pointed out that the reflexive form of *feather* occurred earlier than the intr. construction. Therefore the latter admits of a reflexive explanation in spite of the fact that the subject, though animate, is incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. Yet, we are probably entitled to look upon the intr. sense also as a desubstantial new formation. For after the ME. loss of a distinctive infinitive ending, the number of desubstantial verbs increased and the relation between the nominal and the verbal element of such verbs became more multifarious than before.<sup>1</sup> But if so, also the secondary intr. sense of *ditch* may very well be explained as a denominative new formation, since, here also, the sense may be apprehended as implying that the subject comes into co-existence with the substance involved in the predicate-verb. And, if so, the same explanation may be extended to the secondary sense of *hull* which denotes a loss of co-existence. This verb is by NED. described as 'intr. for refl', though no reflexive form has been recorded. Yet we must admit that a reflexive interpretation is here possible, since the acting force bringing about the loss of co-existence is not clearly apprehended and therefore may easily be ascribed to the subject itself, *i. e.* the subject is regarded as capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a point that should be settled by a particular investigation of English desubstantial verbs. But if we turn to W. BLADIN, *Studies on Denominative Verbs in English*, Upsala 1911, we will get only poor information as to the various semological categories presented by such verbs.



*The NE.  
period.*

Concerning the NE. period, it is easy to account for the origination of a secondary intrans. sense of state or attribution, whether this sense oscillates towards a passive meaning or not. For, if the primary trans. sense may be apprehended as causative, then we have only to refer to the semological or constructive law which we have established in point of late ME. and which increased in force during the NE. period. This law may be preliminarily said to involve that a verb with a primary trans. sense which may be apprehended as causative, may, if need be, also be employed in a correlative intransitive sense denoting state or attribution without implying a conspicuous deviation from the linguistic usage of the time. True, we are then concerned with a new formation. But this neologism is not more conspicuous than the formation of a denominative verb, which in English is a manifestation of a living formative principle of strong vitality.

It is evident that the force of this causative law did not decrease in the NE. period. For, most of the forces that led to the origination of this law continued to operate. Apart from the introduction of French verbs presenting the semological contrast in question, we should call to mind the continued existence of individual association, of denominative new formation, and of the reflexive mode of expression. Hence it follows that the force of the causative law could not diminish, but must be increased in the NE. period all the more because the category of verbs conditioning this law constantly increased. But, on the other hand, the very existence of this law must necessarily obscure the manifestation of the force of the factors that contribute to its invigoration. These factors are no longer necessary as explanatory principles, and yet their operation should not be denied, though in individual cases it can scarcely be proved.

As regards the reflexive factor we have already pointed out that it cannot be employed as a means of explanation, unless also an oscillating reflexive sense is (or has been) salient. For, in English the reflexive form was generally speaking not turned into an intransitive or a passive formative. And yet, in point of a great number of instances adduced in our material, the secondary sense or construction is by NED. described as 'intr. for refl.', which involves that also a reflexive sense has been (is) salient or at least that the reflexive form has become an intransitive

(or passive) formative. The description mentioned is by NED. employed in the case of verbs such as *accumulate* (predicated of 'wealth', 'mud'), *Anglicize* (predicated of 'America'), *attach* (predicated of 'loss'), *break* (predicated of 'glass', 1175), *clarify* (of a liquid, understanding), *complicate* (of effects), *corrode* (of minds, silver), *corrugate* (of elastic material), *crush* (of a machine, hailstones), *cure* (of grief), *disarray*, *disorder* (of a 'batayle'), *discourage* (of 'the poor Church'), *disjoint* (of 'the frame of things', 'cottages', 'the great scheme of things'), *digest* (of food), *evolve* (of a tree), *feather* (of a bird), *film* (of eyebrows, eyes), *fret* (of bows, metals, etc.), *heap* described as 'intr. for refl. or pass.' (of avalanches and fig. of harm, hatred), *hull* (of wheat, c 1430), *lower* (of persons, = to come [be brought] down in rank, station or estimation), *mar* (of limbs, wits, thing, etc., c 1230—), *mineralize* (of a mind), *patch* (of a face), *people* (of the world, a place), *pile*, described as 'refl. or pass.' (of leaves, ice, money). Now, it is often most precarious to decide as to when a subject should be considered as capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the predicate-verb, *i. e.* when an oscillating reflexive sense is salient. Therefore we readily admit that in some of the instances mentioned above, NED. may be justified in employing the description 'intr. for refl.' especially if this refers to the signification of the verb, *e. g.* *accumulate*, *pile*, *Anglicize*, *attach*, *evolve*, perhaps also *clarify* (of a liquid). In other words it is here perhaps possible to distinguish a reflexive sense and if so the possibility of a reflexive origin should be admitted, though it is more likely that the causative law has been the sole operating factor. But in the majority of cases the description 'intr. for refl.' is not justified. Such is for instance the case with *break* (predicated of glass), *corrode* (of minds, silver), *crush* (of a machine, hailstones), *cure* (of grief), *digest* (of food), *discourage* (of Church), *fret* (of a bow, metals, etc.), *mar* (of limbs, wits, etc.), *mineralize* (of a mind), *patch* (of a face), etc. The subjects are here incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the transitive verbs. Therefore, in the case of these verbs, a reflexive origin would imply that the reflexive form had also the pure function of an intransitive (or a passive) formative. We do not deny the occasional occurrence of such instances in English. As examples in point may perhaps be considered *feather* and *beautify*, though predicated of animate things, *viz.* c 1450 *Bk. Hawkyng* in *Rel. Ant.* I, 298 Thou seist hym



[your young hawk] *hym* begyn to *feder*. 1593 SHAKS. *Lucr.* 404 Each in her sleep *themselves* so *beautify* . . . Other and better examples are: 1665 SIR T. HERBERT *Trav.* 127 Sheraz then probably *derives it self* from Sherab. H. RIDER HAGGARD *Allan Quatermain* ch. xviii, p. 139, but when the tale began to *shape itself* so aptly to his own case . . . H. RIDER HAGGARD *She* I 229 (Tauchn.). The curtain *agitated itself* a little. B. & C. B. FRY *A Mother's Son* ch. XX p. 134. But such work is not likely to *find itself*, is it? CHESTERTON *The man who was Thursday* (Tauchn.) 286. At last, however, the thick crowd began to *thin itself*. But we do deny that such instances are common. On the contrary, they are rare exceptions. Therefore, if we want to employ a reflexive mode of explanation also in cases where the reflexive form would imply the function of an intr. (or a passive) formative, then this form must at least have been recorded in point of these instances. Such is the case with *offer* predicated of occasion, circumstances, etc., e. g. 1576 FLEMING *Panopl. Epist.* 44 Sundrie circumstances which *offered them selves* to my judgement. 1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.* iv, 631 Th' Occasion *offers*, and the Youth complies. But such is not the case with those instances of our material whose intr. function is described by NED. as 'intr. for refl.', though this involves a purely intr. (or passive) function of the reflexive form. Therefore the causative mode of interpretation should here undoubtedly be adopted. In fact, it is the existence of the causative law that has prevented the origination of the purely intr. or passive function of the reflexive form.

The particular strength of the causative principle is easily realized if we examine the NE. vocabulary. It will then turn out that the instances illustrating the origination of a secondary and correlative intr. sense of state or attribution enormously outnumber those of the preceding periods. This is also intimated by our material which is confined to such cases only where also a collateral passive sense is salient. The force of the causative principle is especially manifest in the case of verbs in *-fy*. Apart from such intr. formations as *speechify*, *argufy*, etc., the main function of this suffix (< Fr. verbs in *-fier* < Lat. *-ficāre* < adjs. in *-fic-us* + *-āre*) is that of a transitive formative and its sense is in fact 'to make', even when the verb is intr., e. g. *speechify* = 'to make speeches'. However, owing to the causative law, the transitive function characteristic of the suffix is to a great extent broken down. For many of the primary trans. verbs with this suffix, whether English new formations or loan-words, have adopted a correlative intr. sense and sometimes the intr. sense of state or attribution is even the primary one. As examples:

*acetify* (< L. *acēt-um* vinegar + *fy* make) 1) intr., to become sour, a 1864, 2) trans., to make sour, etc. 1872.

*alkalify* (< *alkali* + *fy*) 1) trans., to make alkaline, 1831— 2) intr., to become alkaline.

*amplify* (< F. *amplifier*, trans, to enlarge) 1) Note the trans. sense, to enlarge or extend in space or capacity, *obs.*, 1432—1636, 2) intr., to become larger, *obs. rare.* 1593.

*beautify* (< *beauty*, sb + *fy*) 1) trans., to render beautiful, 1526— 2) intr., to grow beautiful, 1711.

*brutify* (< L. *bruti-* (comb. form) brute + *fy*) 1) trans., to render brute-like, 1668— 2) intr., to become brute-like, 1794.

*calcify* (< L. *calc(i)-* lime + *fy*) 1) intr., to become calcified, 1836— 2) trans., to convert into lime, 1854.

*gasify* (< *gas*, sb. + *ify*) 1) trans., to render gaslike, 1828— 2) intr., to become gaseous, 1881.

*gipsify* (< *gypsy* + *fy*) 1) trans., to make gipsylike, 1623— 2) intr., *rare*, to become a gipsy, 1873.

*intensify* (< L. *intensus*, a. + *fy*) 1) trans., to render intense, etc.

1817— 2) intr., to become (more) intense, 1853—

*languify*, *obs.*, *rare* (formed to represent L. *languēfacere*) 1) trans., to make faint or languid, 1607, 2) intr., to become faint or languid, a 1734.

*lapidify* (< F. *lapidifier* or med. L. *lapidificāre*) 1) intr., to become stone, *obs.*, 1637, 2) trans., to make or turn into stone, 1816—.

*magnify* (< L. *magnificāre*, partly through F. *magnifier*) 1) Note the trans. sense, to make greater in size, importance, etc. Now *rare*, 1382 - 2) intr., to become greater, *nonce-use*, 1814.

*mollify* (< Fr. *mollifier* 1) trans., to render soft or supple. Now *rare*, 1426— 2) intr., to become soft or tender, *obs.* 1528.

*ossify* (f. L. *os*, *ossi-* bone + *fy*) 1) intr., to become or turn into bone, 1713— 2) trans., to convert into bone, to harden, (chiefly in *passive*), 1721—

*pacify* (< F. *pacifier*, OF. *pacefier*) 1) trans., to calm, quiet, c 1460— 2) intr., to become peaceful, calm down, 1509—.

In our material we have already adduced verbs in *-(i)fy* with a secondary intr. sense oscillating towards a passival aspect, *viz. arefy, calefy, clarify, fortify, Frenchify, mortify, petrify.*

The strength of the causative law is not particularly manifested in point of the verbal suffix *-ize*. And yet many primary transitive verbs derived with this suffix have adopted a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution. In our material we have given several instances of this semological change provided it also implied an oscillating passive import, *viz. Americanize, Anglicize, immortalize, liberalize, mineralize, pulverize.* It would be easy to increase this number by adducing examples where the secondary intr. sense does not oscillate towards a passive aspect. It should be noticed that the secondary intr. sense of verbs in *-ize* need not be due to the causative law. For the suffix, ultimately of



Greek origin, has also the function of forming intr. verbs (on personal names or personal appellatives) presenting the intr. Greek sense 'to act like or in accordance with'. As examples:

*Calvinize* (< *Calvin*) 1) intr., to follow Calvin, to teach Calvinism, 1659— 2) trans., to imbue with Calvinism, 1862—

*Catholicize* (< *Catholic*, a. & sb.) 1) intr., to behave as, to become, a Catholic, 1611— 2) trans., to make catholic or Catholic, 1629—

*foreignize*, obs. (< *foreign*, a. or sb.) intr., to take after foreign types (= to act like a foreigner), to grow or become foreign, a 1661— 2) trans., to render foreign, to give a foreign air to, 1832—.

*Italianize* (< *Italian*, sb. & a., cf. F. *Italianiser*) 1) intr., to practise Italian habits or fashions (= to act like an Italian), to become Italian (in character, tastes, etc.), 1611— 2) trans., to make Italian in character or style, 1673—.

*paganize* (< *pagan* sb. & a. or perh. from F. *paganiser* or med. L. *pāgānizāre*) 1) intr., to become pagan, to act as a pagan, 1641— 2) trans., to make pagan, 1615—.

*panderize*, obs. (< *pander*, sb.), intr., to act as a pander.

The intr. sense 'to act like or in accordance with' implies a sense of activity. But this signification often oscillates towards an intr. sense of state or attribution with inchoative tense-aspect, *i. e.* 'to become the thing expressed by the derivation'. Thus the intr. sense of *Catholicize*, *i. e.* 'to behave as a Catholic' is equivalent to the sense 'to become a Catholic'; the intr. sense of *Italianize*, *i. e.* 'to practise Italian habits or fashions' (= to act like an Italian) is synonymous with 'to become Italian'; the intr. sense of *paganize*, *i. e.* 'to act as a pagan' oscillates towards 'to become a pagan', etc. Therefore the secondary non-trans. sense of *Americanize* and *Anglicize* may be explained as manifestations of the fertility of the suffix *-ize* in its intr. function 'to act like or in accordance with' rather than as specimens of the force of the causative law. It is evident that this intr. function of the suffix might easily be extended to such cases as imply only an intr. sense of state or attribution which did not oscillate towards an intr. sense of activity. As examples: *fossilize* (< *fossil*, sb.) 1) trans., to turn or change into a fossil, 1794— 2) intr., to become or be changed into, a fossil, 1828—; *bastardize* (< *bastard*, sb.) 1) trans., to declare or stigmatize as, a bastard, 1611—, to make degenerate, 1587— 2) intr., to become degenerate, deteriorate. We are perhaps entitled to assume this functional extension. But, if so, it follows that the causative law is superfluous to explain all those cases where a primary trans. verb in *-ize* has adopted a correlative intr. sense of state and attribution. But, on the other

hand, it also follows that this intr. function of the suffix has strengthened the causative law.

Let us consider the denominative verbal suffix *-en* from the point of view of the force of the causative law. This suffix forming verbs on adjectival and sometimes on substantival stems, originated in the ME. epoch. At first the denominative *en*-verbs occurred only as collateral forms of other denominatives. But in late ME. and early NE. the fertility of the suffix increased considerably. This must be due to the fact that it served a functional purpose. The suffix was meant to be either a denominative formative in general or else a transitive formative. The former alternative is a priori by no means impossible. For, though the preponderant sense of the denominative *en*-verbs is transitive, it should be remembered that our way of thinking or our manner of splitting up a total representation (= *Gesamtvorstellung*, Wundt) into a sentence more favours the transitive construction than the intransitive one. In other words, the transitive sense is a notion of greater frequency than the intransitive signification. But, on the other hand, this very fact must make the termination *-en* tend to become a transitive formative. But, if so, this functional tendency must be counteracted by the causative law. And in fact, a great number of the NE. *en*-verbs show a secondary intr. sense. As examples:

*cheapen* (< *cheap*, a. or *cheap*, vb.) 1) trans., to make cheap, fig., to lower in estimation, 1654— 2) intr., to become cheap, 1805—

*coarsen* (< *coarse*, a.) 1) trans., to make coarse, 1805— 2) intr., to become coarse, 1880—

*deaden* (< *dead*, a. or *dead*, vb. intr. & trans.) 1) intr., to become dead, 1723— 2) trans., esp. fig., to deprive of vitality, force; to benumb, etc., 1684—

*deepen* (< *deep*, a. or *deep*, vb. trans. & intr.) 1) trans., to make deep(er), 1605— 2) intr., to become deep(er), 1693—

*fatten* (< *fat*, a. or *fat* vb. intr. & trans.) 1) trans. to make fat or plump, 1552— 2) intr., to become fat, 1638—

*flatten* (< *flat*, a. or *flat* vb. trans., 1613—, intr. 1670) 1) trans., to make flat or dull, etc. 1630— 2) intr., to become flat, insipid, 1692—

*greaten* (< *great*, a. or possibly from *great*, vb. intr. & trans. OE.— 1605) 1) trans., to render great(er) in size or amount, 1626— 2) intr., to become great(er), a 1716

*hoarsen* (< *hoarse*, a.) 1) trans., to make hoarse, 1748— 2) intr., to become hoarse. 1798—

*moisten* (< *moist*, a. or *moist* vb., trans., 1377—) 1) trans., to make or render moist, 1580—, 2) intr., to become moist, 1859—;

*lengthen* (< *length*, sb., or *length*, vb. trans., a 1300—1622, intr., 1494, 1870) 1) trans., to make longer, 1500— 20— 2) intr., to become longer, 1695—



We may even meet with NE. *en*-verbs where the intr. sense is the primary one. As examples:

*broaden* (< *broad*, a.) 1) intr., to become broad(er), 1727— 2) trans., to make broad(er), 1792—

*freshen* (< *fresh*, a. or *fresh* vb., trans., a 1360—, intr., 1599—) 1) intr., (of wind), to become fresh, 1697— 2) trans., to make fresh, 1749—

*largen* (< *large*, a.) 1) intr., to grow large(r), 1844— 2) trans., to make large(r), 1869—

*laten* (< *late*, a.) 1) intr., to grow late, 1886— 2) trans., to make late 1889—

*madden* (< *mad*, a. or *mad*, vb. intr., a 1366—, trans., 1399—) 1) intr., to become mad, 1735—, 2) trans., to make mad, 1822—

*olden* (< *old*, a.) 1) intr., to grow old(er), 1827—, 2) trans., to make old(er), 1850.

Moreover, there are several instances of NE. *en*-verbs where the chronological gap between the primary transitive and the secondary intr. sense is so slight that the latter may be looked upon as having been formed independently of the former. As examples:

*biggen*, obs. ecc. dial. (< *big*, a.) 1) trans., to make big, to increase, 1643— 2) intr. to become big, to increase, 1649—

*densen*, rare (< *dense*, a.) trans. or intr., to make or become dense, 1884—

*heighten* (< *height*, sb. or *height*, vb., trans., 1515—, intr., 1528—) 1) trans., to make high(er), 1523— 2) intr., to become high(er), 1567—

*redden* (< *red*, a.) 1) trans., to make red, 1611— 2) intr., to grow or become red, c 1648—

Thus we have stated that even in the NE. period denominative *en*-verbs may often be apprehended as collateral forms of corresponding denominatives destitute of the suffix *-en* (cf. above) and that the intr. sense of the *en*-verbs is often the primary one or practically contemporary with the correlative trans. sense. In view of these facts it is more advisable to look upon the verbal *en*-suffix as a formative of denominative verbs in general than to regard it as a particular trans. formative. Hence it follows that the secondary intr. sense of the NE. *en*-verbs may be apprehended not only as manifestations of the force of the causative principle, but — if we so will — as independent new formations on the nominal basis.

We have previously shown that in the case of our instances from the NE. period, the relation between the primary trans. sense and the secondary intr. meaning is — apart from *feel* — the one between a causative verb and its intr. correlative. In this case, therefore, the causative law is always applicable as a means of

interpretation of the genesis of the secondary intr. sense. We have already admitted the existence of other factors which may in NE. bring about this sense, and we have discussed the rôle the refl. mode of origin may have played in point of our material. We want here to illustrate that also individual association, denominative new formation, or even an absolute use of the primary trans. sense may sometimes be employed as means of interpretation. It is evident that individual association due to semological affinity must have taken place between verbs such as *fill* and *replenish*, *bleach* and *blanch*, *crush* and *crash*, *heap* and *accumulate* (*pile*), *change* and *invert*, *join* and *knit*. For, as the first members of these word-pairs occurred earlier than the second members, the former must inevitably exercise an inducing influence on the latter. This involves here that the contrast between a trans. sense and its intr. correlative presented by the former has induced the origination of the same contrast in the case of the latter. Verbs such as *disorder*, *fur*, *gravel*, *dwarf*, *film*, *nettle*, *patch*, *people* are of desubstantival origin. But as their secondary intr. sense does not contrast with the semological import that in NE. may be represented by desubstantival new formations, we are no doubt entitled to consider this sense as such a formation.

The secondary intr. construction of *retard*, *i. e.* 'to be delayed', 'to come, appear, or happen later', is of English origin and is not met with in the French prototype. We should apply the causative mode of interpretation to examples of the following type: 1646 Putrefaction . . shall retard or accelerate according to the subject and season of the year. When the intr. sense is predicated of persons, the same explanation may be employed, but it is also possible to consider this function as an absolute use of the trans. sense (*i. e.* a grammatical object has been omitted), *e. g.* 1807 Should they (= persons) not retard more than 20 days.

In the case of our NE. material the verb *feel* was the only instance where the primary trans. sense did not stand out as causative. Therefore the genesis of the secondary non-trans. sense may be expected to require a particular explanation. In Essay I (p. 59) we have explained the secondary intr. construction of this verb as due to associative influence from *look*, *sound*, *taste* and *smell*, all of which like the intr. sense of *feel* may denote 'to produce a certain impression on a specified sense'. This explanation presupposes that the intr. sense of *feel* is later than some



of these intr. meanings of sense-impression. We are able to state that at least *look* had acquired such a meaning as early as a 1300, *i. e.* 'to have a certain look or appearance'. This sense developed quite naturally from the primary sense 'to direct one's eyes (on a thing) + a complement indicating a certain feeling or expression of countenance. Thus, in the following quotation the verb *look* may be interpreted in both ways, *i. e.* 'to direct one's eyes' (abs. use) and 'to have a certain appearance': a 1300 *XV Signa* 56 in *E. E. P.* 9 *Hi sal . . lok as bestis þat cun no witte.* The verb *sound* had in ME. the trans. sense 'to cause to produce sounds' (*e. g.* a 1300 *King Horn*) as well as the intr. sense 'to produce sounds', both of which are met with in the OF. prototype (cf. Godefroy, *Dic., Complément*), and involve the semological contrast between a causative import and its intr. correlative. The intr. sense implies 'to produce a certain impression on the sense of hearing' in combinations such as 'to sound like a bell', etc. The verb *smell* is not recorded until c 1225 (*Ancr. Riwle*), though of native origin. The intr. meaning of sense-impression, *i. e.* 'to have a certain smell', is most probably of ME. date. This no doubt secondary sense may be explained as a desubstantival new formation on ME. *smel* sb., recorded c 1225 (*Ancr. Riwle*). Again, the verb *taste* introduced into ME. from OF. *taster* adopted the secondary sense of sense-impression (= to have a certain taste) about 1552, *i. e.* scarcely earlier than the secondary sense of the verb *feel* (1581). In OF. this sense is not met with. Its appearance in English is no doubt due to associative influence from *look*, *sound*, and *smell*, but it may also like the intr. sense of *smell* be explained as a desubstantival new formation (the sb. *taste* being recorded as early as c 1380). Thus we can safely stick to our explanation in point of the intr. sense of *feel*. Again, the sb. *feel* in the sense 'a feeling or sensation', 'the kind of tactual or vague organic sensation produced by a material object', has not been recorded earlier than the 18th century.

If we examine *taste* and *feel* as to their intr. function of sense-impression we can state a certain semological discrepancy. In the case of *taste* we may trace the oscillating sense 'to turn out in a specified manner when tasted', *i. e.* the sense characteristic of the 'turn out'-class of cat. F, *e. g.* 1615 G. SANDYS *Trav.* 66. *Blacke as soote and tasting not much unlike it. Mod.* The milk has begun to turn, it tastes rather sour. It is the vitality of the corresponding trans. sense that brings about the salience of this import. But note that this trans. meaning implies 'to try the taste of and

not 'to experience the taste of', a sense of rare occurrence<sup>1</sup> (whose existence was erroneously denied in Essay I 59). Also in the case of *feel* we may distinguish the same oscillating sense, *i. e.* 'to turn out in a specified way when felt' and the corresponding trans. sense is then 'to try the feel of' *e. g.* 1581 The hande . . feeling to bee rough. 1665 The substance of it feels . . exactly like a very fine piece . . of Chamois leather. But the divergence is that the trans. sense correlative to the non-trans. sense of *feel* may sometimes be 'to experience the feel of'. When so, the intr. construction does not oscillate towards the 'turn-out' class, but to the elementary passive sense, *e. g.* 1768 The weather was extremely cold and felt particularly so to us. We should admit, however, that the two examples of *feel* quoted above, admit also of the latter interpretation, which increases the salience of their passive sense as compared with that presented by the intr. function of *taste*. When the intr. function of *taste* and *feel* oscillates towards the import 'to turn out in a specified way when being the object of a specified action', we may ask whether this function should be explained in the same way as the verbs of the 'turn-out' class of cat. F. We do not hesitate to answer in the negative. For this class has developed from the admit-class (cf. cat. F), but *taste* and *feel* have never been recorded with the sense 'to admit of being felt or tasted'. Therefore, the genesis of their secondary intr. function should be interpreted in the way already mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup> As example: 1535 COVERDALE 2 *Sam.* xix, 35 This daye am I foure score yeare olde. How shulde I . . taist what I eate or drynke?



### C. Predications of direct object or of action or perception.

The semological change presented by the transitive verbs of this category consists in the adoption of a secondary non-transitive import oscillating between a passive sense and an intransitive sense of action or perception.

*Salience  
of an intr.  
sense.*

As in all our descriptive categories, so here, too, the salience of the intransitive sense is principally due to the influence of the active form. But we repeat our opinion that the more distinctly the transitive sense appears as causative, the more readily does the intransitive meaning originate. It is also evident that the more frequently the intrans. construction is employed, the more prominent appears the intransitive meaning and the less conspicuous becomes a collateral passive sense.

The nature of the activity involved in the intransitive sense of action is generally of *physical* description. This physical action involves, as a rule, passive motion generally combined with particular connotations. Here belong *bleed*, predicated of blood, *break away*, predicated of snow, *clap*, predicated of a jaw, door, or lid (of the eye), *coach*, predicated of persons, *drain*, predicated of a liquid, *draw*, predicated of water, *drive*, predicated of persons, ships, vehicles, clouds, *exhaust*, predicated of steam, *filter*, *filtrate*, *percolate*, predicated of liquids, *hoist*, predicated of persons, yard, wain (and, metaphorically, of hosannas), *let*, predicated of blood, *lift*, predicated of persons or inanimate things, *overthrow*, predicated of animate or inanimate things, *pay out*, predicated of a ship (including persons on board), *peel off*, predicated of skin or bark, *pitch*, predicated of animate or inanimate things, *reflect*, predicated of rays, beams, *rock*, predicated of persons, *sift*, predicated of snow or dust.

Such verbs as *break*, predicated of mists, *disperse*, predicated of drops, and *dissipate*, predicated of shelves of sand, involve motion in various directions. This may also be the case with *drive* when predicated of clouds or mists. Again, the verbs *con-*

*centrate*, *concenter*, and *focus* when predicated of things material such as beams or, figuratively, of things immaterial such as thoughts, life, powers, and attention, involve the very reverse mode of motion. For here the several elements implied in the subject converge to the same point. As to the verb *lodge* the intr. sense involves cessation of passive motion and the same may be the case with *draw (up)*, predicated of a vehicle (= stop).

In our material there are some instances of a secondary intransitive sense of activity implying active motion, though of a fairly elementary nature. But in several cases it is then also possible to apprehend the motion as passive. Examples in point are *dock*, *pay off* (yet passive motion in our examples), *pull*, *push*, *steer*, all predicated of ships or boats. The idea of active motion becomes salient, if in the notion of a ship the crew is included; otherwise the motion stands out as passive. Active motion is also involved in the secondary intransitive sense of the verb *mesh*, predicated of animate bodies, *i. e.* 'to go in the meshes of a net.'

In several cases the activity is other than active or passive motion or at any rate of such a kind as involves indefinite motion combined with other connotations equally or even more prominent. Such is the case with *lade*, *unload*, and *careen*, when predicated of ships. The salience of the intr. sense presupposes here that in the notion of a ship the crew is included. Such is also the case with *catch*, predicated of a foot. Other examples are *dismiss*, predicated of a school, and *adjourn*, predicated of a council, *prorogue* predicated of Parliament. For these latter verbs imply 'to cease working and to depart'. Moreover, we may adduce the verb *illumine*, when predicated of a town, *i. e.* 'to set out illuminations', and the verbs *beat* and *ruff*, when predicated of a drum, or the verbs *play* and *blow*, when predicated of a musical instrument. Here belong also verbs implying explosion, *e. g.* *fire*, *discharge*, *play off*, *blow up*. The verb *keep (down)*, predicated of the wind, implies temporary inactivity.

The activity may also be of a *non-physical* nature in as much as it is performed by our senses or our intellect. In the former case the activity is always of a passive nature, *i. e.* it involves merely perception by our senses. As examples presented by our material we can adduce the verbs *pine* and *pain* whose secondary intr. sense is equivalent to 'suffer'. In the latter case the



activity is of an active nature and may be exemplified by *coach* (= study), *lere*, *beat* (of brain).

Lastly, the secondary intrans. sense of the verb *let* 'to hinder' is equivalent to the import 'to cease' and may therefore be described as a verb only implying tense-aspect and therefore generally requiring a verb of activity as complement.

Verbal senses sometimes imply connotations which make them oscillate between different predication aspects. This is the case with several verbs of the present category. Thus the intr. sense of the verbs *concenter*, *concentrate*, *focus* oscillates towards a sense of attribution since the import need not imply motion on the part of the subject, but only the result of motion, *i. e.* 'to come together into a centre or focus'. We may also say that the intr. sense of *catch* (*e. g.* 1875 The scythe end caught in the rigging) oscillates towards a sense of attribution, since it may imply to become entangled or fixed in a thing'. The same is true of the verb *mesh*, which may involve 'to become entangled in the meshes (of a net)'. The secondary intr. sense of *dock* may oscillate between the sense of activity 'to go into dock' and the sense of attribution 'to come into dock'. Moreover, such verbs as *fire*, *discharge*, *play off*, *blow up*, involving explosion, imply not only irregular, passive motion, but also such connotations as tend to make the meaning appear as a sense of state (since loss of physical integrity is involved), or else as a sense of existence (implying loss of a previous mode of existence). In the case of *peel*, predicated of 'bark', 'skin', we cannot trace a sense of attribution involving loss of co-existence with a thing. True, such a sense is salient in the verb *hull* predicated of 'wheat' (cat. B). But in point of *peel* the subject (*i. e.* 'bark' or 'skin') implies the accessory, and not (as in the case of *hull*) the principal, member of the things co-existing. Now, when the accessory member is predicated by a verb implying co-existence, it is not apprehended as losing co-existence with the principal member, but only as performing the passive 'activity generally involved in the loss of co-existence, *e. g.* 'the bark peeled' = fell away, dropped (= a pred. of activity). But the case is the reverse when the principal member is predicated by such a verb, *e. g.* 'the tree peeled' = lost its bark (= a predication of attribution).

As to the verb *break*, predicated of a session or a convocation, the nature of the subject is such that the intr. sense may

involve either a sense of existence or a sense of action. The former is the case, if the work involved in the notion of the subject is predominant, *i. e.* 'to cease existing (for the time being)'. The latter is the case, if the idea of the persons implied in the notion of the subject preponderates, *i. e.* 'to cease working and separate'. The same reasoning is applicable to *dismiss* when predicated of a national assembly or to *prorogue* when predicated of Parliament. But in these cases we presuppose that these subjects may also involve another notion, *i. e.* the work performed by them. The intr. sense of *break*, when predicated of mist, or of *dissipate*, when predicated of shelves of sand, involves an oscillation towards a sense of existence. For there is an oscillation between the idea of motion in different directions and the idea of the result of this motion which involves loss of existence. On the other hand, in the following example the intr. sense of the synonymous verb *disperse* implies only a sense of action, which shows that the import of the verb and consequently its predication aspect is also dependent on the nature of the subject: 1665 Then [Rupert's drops] dispersed every way so violently, that some pierced my skin.

In our material we have recorded a couple of verbs where, owing to the nature of the subject, the secondary non-trans. sense may be interpreted as conditioning either a præd. instrumenti or a præd. objecti. This fact implies that in the corresponding non-converted construction the adjunct (corresponding to the grammatical subject of the converted sentence) may either be a direct object or else an instrumental adjunct. But the fact mentioned does not involve a change in the nature of the collateral intr. sense but probably an increased salience of the latter. These two verbs are *blow* and *play*, when predicated of a musical instrument. In the case of the former verb the instrument may already in OE. constitute an instrumental adjunct or a direct object, *e. g.* *Hml. Th. ii. 212, 29* (B.-T. Supplem.) *Swiðlice blēowan seofon sācerdas mid sylfrenum bȳmum. Nar. 13. 4* (Supplem.) *þā blēow man mīne bȳman. LL. Th. i. 42, 24* (B.-T. Supplem.) *Hē nāwðer ne hrȳme, ne hē horn ne blāwe.* The instrumental construction is met with also in later English, *e. g.* *BIBLE, Judy, vii, 18* I blow *with* a trumpet. In the case of *play* the musical instrument appears only as an instrumental adjunct until the 18th c., but after that time it appears also as a direct object, and therefore, when it is then predicated by the verb *play*, the sentence assumes an ambiguous predication aspect.



*The relation  
between the  
trans. and  
intr. senses.*

The semological relation between the secondary intr. sense and the primary trans. meaning is also in the verbs of the present category mostly the one between a causative verb and its intr. correlative. The causative aspect is generally distinctly salient if the correlative intransitive sense implies passive motion. The primary transitive sense may then be described as denoting 'to cause to perform the passive motion in question', or 'to cause to stop (= cessation of motion)', *e. g. bleed, break away, clap, drain, draw* (of water), *drive, exhaust, filter, filtrate, percolate, heave, hoist, let, lift, pay out or off* (*i. e.* to cause a ship to fall to leeward) *pitch, overthrow, reflect, rock, sift, steer, break* (of clouds), *disperse, dissipate, drive* (of clouds), *concentrate, concenter, focus, lodge; pull up, draw up* (a vehicle = cause to stop).

Also the primary transitive sense of the verbs whose secondary intr. sense implies active motion or other physical activity, may often be apprehended as causal, *viz. dock*, to take or bring into dock, *adjourn, dismiss, prorogue, break*, all predicated of an assembly or a session (*i. e.* 'to cause to cease working and to depart'), *beat* and *ruff* predicated of a drum (*i. e.* 'to cause to sound'), *beat* (of a brain) *play* and *blow* predicated of a musical instrument, *fire, discharge, play off, blow up*, all involving explosion (*i. e.* 'to cause to explode, go off, etc.'), *keep down* (*i. e.* to cause to be inactive). A causative aspect may also be distinguished in verbs whose secondary intr. sense implies non-physical activity, *viz. pine* and *pain* (*i. e.* 'to cause to suffer'), *beat* predicated of a brain (*i. e.* 'to cause to work').

In our material there are several verbs where the primary trans. sense cannot easily be apprehended as the causal of the secondary intr. meaning. Examples in point are *coach* and *drive* (when the object is personal), *lade, unload, pay off* (a crew) *careen, mesh*, perhaps also, *illumine*. It is scarcely possible to trace a causative sense in *catch* or in the semologically allied verbs *lere* and *coach*, both meaning 'to instruct'. But in the case of *pull, push*, and *row* predicated of boats, it is not entirely impossible to trace a causal sense' (*i. e.* 'to cause to move on'). The same is true of *let*, to hinder (*i. e.* to cause to desist from), but scarcely of *peel off* (to remove the peel of) unless the subject is non-personal

*Salience of a  
passive sense  
= its proximate  
origin.*

The salience of a collateral passive meaning in secondary intr. constructions is in the present category dependent on the same factors as in point of cats. A. and B. Thus here also it is

the context and the vitality of the primary trans. meaning that principally condition this salience. In the second place it is the semological structure of the trans. sense itself that favours or counteracts the appearance of the passive meaning. For — as already pointed out — the more distinctly the primary trans. sense stands out as causative, the less readily does a correlative intr. construction assume a passive import and *vice versâ*. But this truism does by no means imply that, if the trans. sense has a particularly prominent causal aspect, it is impossible for a correlative intr. construction to oscillate towards a passive import. For this impediment may be counteracted by the context and a particular vitality of the trans. meaning as compared with the secondary non-trans. sense. On the other hand it would be wrong to maintain that whenever the primary trans. sense is non-causal, the correlative intr. construction has always (at least originally) a particularly salient passive import. For this is not so, if the intr. construction may be apprehended as an absolute use of the trans. sense, *e. g.*, *drive* (of a person), *catch*, or when it may be interpreted as a denominative new formation, *e. g.* *coach*. It is evident that in lapse of time a secondary intr. construction may easily lose its passive aspect. Thus in the case of *drive* when predicated of a carriage or a person (in a carriage) the intr. construction is now so oft-occurring that it has probably lost its original oscillating passive sense.

The salience of the passive sense seems to be counteracted if the predication conditioned by the intr. construction oscillates towards a predication of instrumental adjunct, which implies that in the corresponding trans. constr. the direct object oscillates towards an instrumental adjunct, *e. g.* *blow*, *play* (a musical instrument). For predications of the latter kind are mostly dressed in the active form.

When the trans. sense appears as the causal of the correlative intransitive sense, it is the existence or non-existence of an agential element that constitutes the difference between the passive and the intr. sense that oscillate in the secondary intransitive construction. For these senses involve then 'to be brought to perform a specified action' and 'to perform a specified action'. But when the trans. sense does not appear as causal, then the intr. meaning does not constitute an element of it, and the discrepancy between the trans. and the intr. sense is here larger. *e. g.* *coach*, trans., to convey in a coach, intr., to ride in a coach;



*illumine* to light up a town by means of illuminations, intr. (of a town as the subject) to set out illuminations.

The passive sense may be salient whether an agency has been morphologically expressed or not. In the latter case it is of the same indefinite nature as has been stated in point of the preceding categories. In the former case we may here, too, assume that the salience of the passive sense is somewhat strengthened. But we repeat our previous assertion that the expression of the agential element does not prevent the origination of the intransitive sense. For this adjunct may also be apprehended as a causal or an instrumental adjunct. As examples: 1790 *By the force* of the current, all three *drove* a great way to leeward; 1630 As corn *lodgeth by* too great *abundance*. Again, adjuncts of the kinds mentioned may, in constructions here referred to, be apprehended as agencies. And, as already pointed out, the same may be the case with also other adjuncts.

From what precedes it is manifest that the collateral passive meaning may be more or less prominent. We have already admitted that our material presents some instances where this prominence is diminutive. But on the other hand, the passive sense is decidedly more often distinguishable than is intimated by NED. If we examine our material, we shall find that the existence of a passival sense is by NED. very seldom acknowledged in the general indication of the import of the non-transitive sense. As in the preceding categories, so here, too, this import is mostly described as 'intr.' or else as 'intr. for refl.' and, in point of *ca-reen*, *concentrate*, and *push*, as 'absolute'. It is only in a few cases that the sense is described as 'intr. for pass.', viz. *hoist*, *mesh* ('intr. for refl. or passive'), *pay*, *pitch*, *prorogue* ('intr. in pass. sense'), *pull* ('intr. with passive sense'). But, apart perhaps from *hoist* whose primary transitive sense does not very readily appear as causative and whose secondary non-trans. sense therefore offers a fairly prominent passive sense, this acknowledgment of the existence of a passive meaning in the verbs mentioned does not seem to be more justified than in the majority of our instances. Thus, to take an example, it is impossible to realize why *pull* predicated of a boat, should be described as 'intr. for pass.', while *row* its semological relative, predicated of an equivalent subject, is indicated as 'intr.' It is equally impossible to understand why the secondary sense of *pitch* should be considered as 'intr. for

passive', but the synonymous import of the primary transitive verb *overthrow* as 'intr.' As already pointed out in the case of cat. B, this inconsistency shows on the one hand that the verbs under consideration present an oscillating passival import, on the other hand that the salience of this sense is not rarely diminutive and questionable. However, in particularizing the import of the intr. construction of the verbs in question, NED. has mostly acknowledged the existence of a passive sense.

The extent of cat. C, though fairly considerable, is inferior by far to that of cat. B. This inferiority is also manifested in our material, though not to such a degree as corresponds to the actual state of things. The inferiority involves also that the cases where a primary transitive verb of causative aspect adopts a correlative intransitive sense of action or of perception, not oscillating towards a passive meaning, are far less numerous than those where the secondary sense adopted denotes only an intr. sense of state or attribution. It is a matter of course that the exact extent of the present category can no more be indicated than the true extent of the other categories. This is evident from our disquisition on the salience of the passive sense and on the nature of the secondary intransitive meaning. Therefore we readily admit that our material is incomplete in respect of the frequency of the semological change in question. But we should add that it is a characteristic feature of the present category (and of the preceding cats. as well) to have vague and indefinite limits. At any rate our material is sufficient to serve as basis for a study of the way in which the change of meaning presented by category C, has originated.

The extent of cat. C was different in different epochs. The vast majority of our examples belong to the NE. period. We may here distinguish a category of cases where the verb itself or else the correlative transitive sense originated in the NE. period: *adjourn* (1494), *beat* (1579), *blow* (to destroy by explosion, 1594), *break* (to dissolve (Parliament), to disband (a regiment), 1685—1780); to *break up* 1483), *careen*, *catch* (to lay hold of and detain, to grip, entangle, 1611), *coach*, *concentre*, *concentrate*, *discharge*, *dismiss*, *dissipate*, *dock*, *draw* (to drain land, 1577), *draw* (to draw up a carriage 1828, to convey away water by a channel, etc. 1845), *drive* (to carry in a vehicle, 1662), *exhaust*, *filter*, *filtrate*, *fire* (to let off a gun, 1530), *focus*, *keep* (to keep down, 1581),

*Extent and  
chronology.*



*lodge*, *mesh*, *pay* (to pay off, 1758; to pay out or away 1627; to cause (a ship) to fall to leeward, 1627), *percolate*, *play* (to let off (fire works), 1721, to play on (a musical instrument), 1727) *pull* (to propel (a boat), 1835), *reflect*, *ruff*. We may also distinguish such cases where the verb itself or its correlative intransitive sense originated in the ME. period: *break* (in several trans. senses), *clap* (c 1386), *dissipate* (1450), *drive* (to drive a vehicle, a 1250), *hoist* (c 1450), *illumine* (1375), *lere* (to inform, a 1300), *lift* (a 1300; in the non-transitive sense the verb is predicated of a floor, etc.), *peel* (c 1430), *prorogue* (1455), *push* (a 1300). Lastly, we may distinguish such cases where the correlative transitive sense occurred already in OE.; viz. *drain* (to strain (a liquid), c 1000), *lade* (to lade (a ship), a 900).

The examples of the correlative non-transitive sense originating in the ME. period are not so numerous. We have here to state such cases where the verb itself or else its correlative transitive sense originated in ME., viz. *bleed* (to bleed blood, etc. 1300), *lift* (a 1300; in the non-transitive sense the verb is predicated esp. of a ship), *overthrow* (c 1330), *pain* (a 1300, Cursor Mundi), *pitch* (c 1205, 1386), *row* (to row (a boat), 1297). We have also to state a category where the correlative transitive sense occurred in OE., viz. *break* (a. 1000, in several senses), *heave* (to lift, raise, 971), *let* (to hinder, 888), *let* (to let blood, c 1000), *pine* (to cause to suffer, c 893), *rock* (to cause to sway to and fro, a 1100).<sup>1</sup>

As to the OE. period our material does not present a single instance of the semological change here concerned. However, an examination of the OE. vocabulary will show that *blow* and *drive* may be used in a secondary non-transitive sense, though this has not been indicated in NED. and therefore not in our material. It will also show that in that period there were several other verbs that presented a secondary non-transitive sense oscillating between a sense of action and a passive meaning. These instances are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the case when also a collateral reflexive meaning is salient. As OE. examples of the semological change involved in the present category may be adduced: *blawan* (1) trans., to blow (a trumpet), (2) intr. or pass.; of a trumpet:

<sup>1</sup> The verbs *sift*, *steer*, and *unload* have not been taken into consideration, since the chronology of their senses has not been fixed upon.

to sound or to be blown, *e. g.* *Hml.* Th. ii, 568, 24 (B.-T.) *Sēo bȳme blāwð. ā-blāwan* (1) trans., to blow, breathe, (2) intr. or pass., to blow away, to be blown away. *Hml.* Th. i, 486, 5 (B.-T. Supplem.) *Sume cwædon ðæt ðæt hēafod sceolde āblāwan Herodiaden, swā ðæt hēo fērde mid windum geond ealle woruld. a-cweccan* (1) trans., to shake, (2) intr. or pass., to quiver, to be shaken, *e. g.* *Ælfric's Homl.* (Sweet, Ags. Read. 78.), and *hine sylfne hetelice ðȳde, ðæt him on ācwehte* (sc. *seax* = the knife). *dwellan* (1) trans., to lead astray, lead into error, (2) intr. or pass., to go astray, wander, to be led astray, *e. g.* *Shrn.* 170, 17 (B.-T. Supplem.) *Alȳse mē of ðām gedwolan þe ic on ðð ðisum dwealde.* *Ps. Spl.* 106, 4 (B.-T. Supplem.) *Hi dweldon on wēstenne* = *erraverunt in solitudine.* *ge-drīfan* (1) trans., to drive, (2) intr. or pass., to go adrift, to be driven away, cast away or lost, *e. g.* *Ors.* 4, 6 (B.-T.) *Rōmāne oferhlæstan heora scipa ðæt heora gedrāf [gedēaf *Laud.*] cc and xxx, and lxx wearþ to lāfe and unēaðe genered.* *scūfan* (1) trans., to shove, push, cause to move, (2) intr. or pass., to push on or forward, to move, to be pushed on or forward, *e. g.* *Met.* 13, 58 (B.-T.) *Merecondel (= the sun) scȳft on ofdæle; Cd. Th.* 304, 21 (*Sat.* 633) (B.-T.), *Wērige gāstas scūfaþ to grunde in ðæt nearwe nīþ.* *sēon* (< *OTeut. \*sīhan*) (1) trans., to strain, filter, (2), intr. or pass., to ooze, trickle, to be strained, filtered, *e. g.* *Homl. Skt.* i. 20, 64 (B.-T.) *þæt se lāce sceolde āscēotan ðæt geswell, ðā dyde hē swā, and ðær sāh ūt wyrms.* *stregdan (strēdan)* (1) trans., to strew, disperse, (2) intr. or pass., (or refl.), to scatter, to be dispersed, *e. g.* *Crist.* 940 *steorran swā sōme strēdað of heofone þurh ðā strongan lyft stormum ābēatne; tō-stregdan*, about the same senses, *e. g.* *Past.* 39 (B.-T.) *þonne ðæt mōd flīhþ þæt hit sīe gebunden mid ege and mid lāre, ðonne tōstrēt hit on yfelre and on unnytte wilnunga and hæfð ðæs swīde micelne hunger.*

As to Gothic, we have not been able to find a single example where a primary transitive sense has adopted a correlative intransitive sense of action or perception oscillating towards a passival aspect, but not at the same time towards a collateral reflexive sense. It should however be noticed that there are a few verbs whose *primary* sense involves the oscillating import in question. Such is the case with a few *n*-verbs formed on pa. pples of transitive strong verbs, *e. g.* *usgutnan*, intr. and pass., to flow out, to be poured out, *Mt.* 9, 17, *Mk.* 2, 22, *Lu.* 5, 37; *galuknan* intr. and pass., to close, to be closed, *Lu.* 4, 25. The cause of this oscillation in import has been indicated in the preceding pages (cf. pp. 279, 280).



*Ultimate  
origin of  
the passive  
sense.*

An indication of the ultimate origin of the passive sense in cat. C is equivalent to an indication of the ultimate origin of the intransitive constructions presenting an oscillation between a passive meaning and an intransitive sense of action or perception. But as the salience of the passive sense is principally due to the context and the vitality of the trans. meaning, our examination must at the same time illustrate how primary transitive verbs have later on adopted a correlative intr. sense of action or perception, not oscillating towards a passive aspect.

*Gothic.*

The semological contrast mentioned was in Gothic expressed by divergent formative principles. Thus, in that language, an intransitive sense of action was in several cases expressed by a strong verb and the correlative transitive or causal sense was expressed by a weak *ja*-verb formed on the pret. sing. stem of the strong verb. As examples:

Causative wk. vbs.:

*ga-drausjan*, to cause to fall,  
to thrust down, to cast down.

*uf-hlōhjan*, to cause to laugh;  
in pass., to rejoice.

*hnaiwjan*, (orig., to cause to  
bow), to abase.

*ōqjan*, to terrify, frighten.

*ur-rannjan*, to cause to rise  
(of the sun).

*ur-raisjan*, to raise up, to  
lift up.

*sagqjan*, to cause to sink.

*sandjan*, (orig., to cause to go),  
to send.

*af-slaupjan*, to slip off, put off.

*af-slaufjan*, (to cause to slide),  
to vex.

*wandjan*, to wend, turn.

Intr. str. vbs.:

*(ga-)driusan*, to fall.

*hlahjan*, to laugh.

*hneiwan*, to bow.

*\*agan*, pret.-pres. *ōg*, to fear,  
to be afraid of;

*ur-rinnan*, to come forth, to  
spring up, to rise (of the sun).

*ur-reisan*, to rise, arise.

*siggan*, to sink.

*\*sinþan*, to go (cf. MLG. *sin-  
nen*).

*sliupan*, to slip.

*\*sliuþan*, to slide.

*\*windan*, to twist, turn (intr.);  
cf. OE. *windan*, intr., Goth *biwin-  
dan*, to wind round, inwrap.

The formative principle occurring in these verb-pairs was, however, not confined to the function of expressing the causative sense of an intr. verb of action (or perception, cf. *ōqjan*). It was sometimes also employed to express a causative sense correlative to an intr. sense of state or attribution or to a sense of existence, e. g. *ga-brannjan*, wk.vb. trans., to burn, *brinnan*, str. vb.

intr., to burn; *tandjan* wk.vb., trans., to kindle (light), *\*tindan*, str. vb. intr., to burn, glow (cf. MHG, *zinden*); *bi-laibjan*, wk. vb., trans., to leave, in pass., to be left, to remain, *bi-leiban*, str. vb., intr., to remain; *fra-wardjan*, wk. vb., trans., to bring to ruin, to corrupt; *fra-wairþan* str. vb., intr., to go to ruin, to corrupt. Moreover, it was employed to express a causal sense correlative to a *transitive* sense of action (or, very rarely, of state), e. g. *fra-atjan*, wk. vb., trans., to give away in food, *fra-itan* str. vb., trans., to eat up, devour; *draibjan*, wk. vb., trans., to drive to trouble, *dreiban*, str. vb., trans., to drive out, to cast out, send away; *dragkjan*, wk. vb., trans., to give to drink, *drigkan*, str. vb., trans., to drink; *kannjan*, wk. vb., trans., (to cause to know), to make known; *kunnan*, pret.-pres., trans., to know; *laisjan*, wk. vb. trans., (to cause to know), to instruct, *\*leisan*, pret. *lais*, str. vb., trans., to know. In short, we find that the formative principle mentioned is employed to express causative sense in general. However, it mostly expresses a causal sense correlative to an intransitive meaning of action. The semological contrast mentioned may occasionally be expressed by other formative principles. Thus *n*-formation is sometimes used to express an intr. sense of action correlative to a transitive sense, e. g. *usgutnan* (cf. *giutan*, str. vb., trans., to pour), *galuknan* (cf. *galukan* str. vb., trans., to shut, close). The weak verb *aljan* implying 'to fatten', trans. (orig. 'to cause to grow'), must be looked upon as a causative formation correlative to *alan*, str. vb., intr., 'to grow up'. The former has the same ablaut grade as the pres. and the pa. pple. stem of the latter. In Gothic the causative formation on the pret. sing. stem of a strong verb, was certainly no longer a living formative principle. And yet we do not meet with Gothic examples where one and the same verb present the semological contrast between a transitive sense and a correlative intransitive meaning of action or of perception.

In the OE. period the semological contrast mentioned was to a fairly great extent expressed by a strong intr. verb and a causative wk. verb formed on the pret. sing. stem of the former. As in Gothic, so in OE. this principle of causative formation was not altogether restricted to cat. C. We have already seen that there are instances where the causative formation is correlative to an intr. sense of state or attribution (cf. p. 286). We shall also find that there are a few examples where it is correlative to an intr. sense of existence. Lastly, there are also OE. instances where the

*The OE.  
period.*



formative principle mentioned is employed to express a causative sense correlative to a strong *transitive* verb, e. g. (*ūt*)*drāfan*, trans., drive, expel (cf. *drīfan*, trans., drive, pursue, expel); *drencan* 1) trans., to give to drink, intoxicate, submerge, drown, etc., 2) intr., to sink, drown, (cf. *drincan*, trans. & abs. to drink); *slātan* trans., set dogs on, hunt (cf. *slītan*, trans., to tear, rend); *snādan*, trans., to cut into slices, hew, trim (stone), prune (cf. *snīpan*, trans. & abs., to cut into pieces, hew, cut off, etc.).

Thus OE., too, illustrates the fact that the formative principle under consideration embraces causative formation of any semological kind. Yet, also in OE., the vast majority of the examples illustrating this principle refer to the semological contrast between a causative verb and its correlative intransitive sense of action. This is quite natural, since, in O'Feut., intransitive strong verbs mostly denote action, not so often state or attribution, whereas the latter type of sense is mostly expressed by denominative verbs. As examples:

Caus. wk. verbs:

*iernan*, orig. to cause to run; to ride (fast), ride race.

*bādan*, (orig. to cause to remain, continue or to cause to wait for, to cause to endure), to compel, urge on, afflict.

*bīegan* (1) trans., to bend, bow, turn, etc., (2) intr., of a point of spear, 'to bend'.

\**crencgean*, \**crencean* (< \**kranyjan*, \**krank-jan*). ME. *crengen*, *crenchen* (1) trans., to compress, draw together, (2) intr., to shrink, to cower.

*dīefan*, trans., to plunge, immerse.

*di(e)rfan*, to afflict, molest, to injure.

*drūpan*, to let drop, to cause to fall in drops, to moisten.

*fāran* (-ē-) (< \**fōrjan*), to cause to go, to carry, lead; cf. OFris. *fēra*, to carry, OHG. *fuoren*, mod G. *führen*, to lead, ON. *fōra*, (Sv. *föra*), to lead, bring. In OE.

Intr. str. verbs:

*iernan*, to run.

*bīdan*, (1) intr., to remain, continue; wait for, (2) trans., to endure, experience.

*būgan*, to bow, bend, swerve.

*cringan*, *crincan*, to draw oneself together spasmodically, to contract or shrink together into a bent or crooked position; to perish, die.

*dūfan*, to dive, sink, be drowned.

*deorfan*, to labour, to be in peril.

*drēopan*, to drop, drip.

*faran*, intr., to go, march, travel.

only intr., 'to take a journey, march, travel' with hardly perceptible difference in meaning from *faran*.<sup>1</sup>

*ā-flīgan* (< \**flauyjan*) to drive away, to put to flight

*tō-gānan*, orig., 'to cause the mouth to open', to utter, pronounce.

*hlemman*, clash, dash (jaws together).

*hnūegan*, to cause to bow, bring low, humiliate.

*ā-hrīran*, to cause to fall down, to destroy.

*ā-hwānan*, (orig. to cause to make shrill sound), to vex, tease, grieve.

*hucierfan* (1) trans., to turn, change, convert (to religion), overturn, destroy, (2) intr., turn, revolve, wander, go, move, change.

*lēdan*, (orig., to cause to go), to lead, carry, convey, put, produce, etc.

*lietan*, once, to bend, incline.

*rāran*, to raise, establish, perform, etc.

*sāgan*, to cause to sink or set (of the sun), to lay low, destroy.

*screman*, to make to stumble.

*screncan*, to put a stumbling-block in the way of, to trip up, to injure morally.

*sencan*, to sink (trans.), to immerse.

*sendan*, to cause to go, to send.

*sengan*, to singe, scorch (orig. to cause to sing).

*slīepan*, to slip, put (something on or off); cf. Mod. Germ. *stleifen*.

*sprædan*, to spread (trans.).

*flēon*, fly, move quickly.

*tō-gīnan*, to yawn, to open (as the mouth does).

*hlimman*, resound, clang, roar (of sea), make a sound.

*hnīgan*, to bend, bow down, sink down.

*hrēosan*, fall, collapse, perish, rush.

*hwīnan*, make shrill sound, whizz.

*hweorfan*, (1) intr., to turn, return; depart; wander, go; change; vary, (2) trans., to turn, direct, convert (to religion).

*līpan*, to go (generally by sea), sail.

*lūtan*, to bow, bend, fall, etc. (intr.).

*rīsan?* rise. cf. *ārīsan*.

*sīgan*, to fall, descend, etc.

*scrimman*, to shrink, draw up, contract.

*scrincan*, to contract, shrink; to shrivel.

*sincan*, to sink (intr.), etc.

\**sīpan* < \**sinpan*, to go, travel.  
*singan*, to sing.

*slūpan*, to glide, move smoothly.

\**sprīdan*, to spread (intr.); cf. MHG. *sprīten*, to spread (intr.).

<sup>1</sup> This supports the etymology of NED. where the OE. verb is described as a formation on OT. \**fōrā*, sb.



*sprengan*, (1) trans., (to cause to spring) to scatter, to sprinkle, etc., (2) intr., to burst, break.

*stencan*, to scatter.

*stēpan*, (< \**stōpjan*), to cause to take a step, to initiate.

*beswemman*, to make to swim.

*swencan*, to afflict, torment, mortify (flesh); bring (jailer) into trouble (by escaping).

*ā-þietan*, to sound or blow (horn).

*wāegan*, to afflict, frustrate, deceive.

*wendan*, (1) trans., to turn, convert, change, bring about, (2) intr., to turn, go; also refl.

*springan*, leap, burst forth, spring back.

*stincan*, to whirl up (of dust), to spring, leap; to emit odour (good or bad).

*stæppan*, to step, go, proceed.

*swimman*, to swim, float.

*swincan*, to labour, be in pain or distress; not thrive (cf crops).

*þēotan*, *þūtan*, to howl, resound.

*wīgan*, to fight.

*windan*, (1) intr., to turn, move, (2) trans., to wind, twist, weave.

There is also another formative principle expressing the semological contrast between a causative sense and a correlative intr. sense of action. This principle, which expresses also other senses, consists in the fact that the intr. sense of action is expressed by a strong verb, and the correlative trans. sense, by a weak *ja*-verb seemingly or actually formed on the pa. pple stem of the strong verb, but in some instances probably on nouns. As examples:

#### Causal weak verbs:

*dryppan* (< \**ðrupjan*) trans., to let (a liquid) fall in drops; to let fall (drops, rarely other objects).<sup>1</sup>

*byrstan*, late North. (< \**burstjan*), to roar (< to cause to resound)

*dryncan* (< \**ðrunkjan* perh. formed on \**ðrunki* = OE. *drync* sb. drink(ing)), to give to drink.

#### Intr. strong verbs:

*drēopan*, intr., to fall in drops.

*berstan*, intr., to burst, break, resound, etc.

*drincan*, (1) trans., to swallow down, to quaff, (2) absol. or intr., to swallow down or imbibe (a liquid).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *driegan*, -ȝ- (< \**ðraupjan*, causal formation on the pret. stem of *drēopan*), trans., to let drop, moisten.

*ferian* (< \**farjan*; accord. to NED. from \**farom* = OE. *fær*, sb. voyage; etc. (1) trans., to carry, convey, transport, to ferry, (2) intr., to go, pass (to convey oneself).

*fellan* (< \**falljan*; cf. \**falli* = OE. *fiell*, *fell*, sb. fall), to cause to fall;

*flycgan* (< \**flygjan*; cf. OE. *flyge*, sb. flying, flight), trans., to put to flight;

*willan* (< \**walljan*), trans., to boil, fig. to torment.

*faran*, intr., to go, travel;

*fallan*, intr., to fall;

*flēon* (< \**pleuhan*), intr., to run away (from or as from danger) to take to flight;

*weallan*, intr., to flow; *ūp w.* to be agitated (of storm, sea).

The semological contrast in question is sometimes expressed by related verbal stems showing an ablaut grade other than those mentioned above. Thus, for instance, *gedwēlan* trans., 'to lead astray' implies the ablaut grade of the pa. tense plur. of *dwelan*, str. vb., intr., 'to err, go astray.' The example is uncertain, since in the instance where it occurs *gedwellan* may be meant. However, the same formative principle is met with in *swēlan*, trans., 'to burn' as compared with *swelan*, str. vb., intr., 'to burn, to be burnt up'.

The formative principle characteristic of cat. B. and denoting the contrast between a causative sense and a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution is instanced in the present category. For here also, though rarely, we may come across a trans. weak *ja*-verb and an intr. weak *ō*-verb as representatives of the contrast; but the stem need not be of denominative nature. As examples: *cnyssan* (< \**knuss-jan*, a verbal stem), trans., beat against, dash against, toss, defeat, crush, trouble, *cnossian*, (< \**knoss-ōjan*, prob. a verbal stem and not formed on the sb. *gecnoss* as is maintained by Schuldt<sup>1</sup>), intr., to dash, strike; *ā-cweccan* (< \**kwak-jan* a verbal stem), trans. & intr., to shake, *ā-cwacian* (< \**kwak-ōjan*, a verbal stem) intr., to quake, tremble; *cwielman* (< \**kwalma-jan*, < \**kwalma-*, sb. = OE. *cwealm*, m. killing, death, pain, torment), trans., to kill, torment, oppress, *cwielmian* (either a secondary formation on *cwielman* and then affording an interesting OE. example of the fertility of the formative principle here considered, or else a transformation of an earlier \**cwealmian*), intr. to suffer (torment).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SCHULDT, *op. cit.* p. 88.



Thus we find that the semological contrast between a causal sense and a correlative intr. sense of action (examples regarding an intr. sense of perception are rare, *e. g. cwielmian*) was in OE. often expressed by different verbs, etymologically related but differing in point of formative principle. We have also seen that OE. causal verbs present several principles of causative formation. But only one of these is sufficiently instanced to make the examples stand out as constituting a grammatical category. We mean the formation of a causal verb on the preterite sing. stem of a strong verb of intr. import. But this morphological law was no longer fertile in the OE. period. In other words, the O. Teutonic principle of expressing the semological contrast between a causal sense and a correlative intr. sense of action by different morphemes or formative laws did not exist in the OE. period in the case of verbal new formations. The non-existence of the principle in OE. times must make us expect to meet with several cases where the same OE. verb presents the semological contrast under consideration. For in OE. as well as in O. Teut. times there might undoubtedly arise a need for such verbal new formations as express on the one hand an intr. sense of action correlative to an already existing transitive (causal) verb and on the other hand a trans. (causal sense) correlative to an already existing trans. verb of action. But the easiest way of satisfying this need in the OE. period was to let the primary trans. or the primary intr. verb adopt the correlative intr. or trans. meanings.

As examples of the case where a primary transitive verb has adopted a correlative intr. sense of action may be adduced the following verbs (in addition to those already mentioned where the intr. sense oscillates towards a passive aspect, *i. e. (ā)blāwan, ā-cweccan, dwellan, gedrīfan, scūfan, sēon, (tō-)stregdan*):

*ferian*, (1) trans., to carry, convey, lead, bring, (2) intr., to betake oneself to, go, depart;

*ā-fierran*, (1) trans., to remove, take away, deprive, (2) intr., to remove, depart;

*ofer-weorpan*. (1) trans., to overthrow, throw down, to sprinkle, (2) intr., to fall down;

*wegan*, (1) trans., (perhaps the primary sense): to move carry, bring, etc., (2) intr. to move.

*wecgan*, (1) trans., to move, shake, (2) intr., to move.

*styrian*, (1) trans., (perh. the primary sense): to put in motion, (2) intr. to come, to be, in motion.

As examples of the case where a primary intr. verb of action (or perception) has adopted a correlative trans. sense may be adduced:

*ā-hnīgan*, (1) intr., to sink, fall, (2) trans., to bend down, humble;

*þrōwian*, (1) trans. or intr. (= absol.), to suffer (what is painful), to feel pain, (2) trans., to crucify;

*scacan*, (1) intr., to shake, move quickly, flee, depart, (2) trans., to shake;

*scyndan*, (1) intr., to hurry, hasten, (2) trans., to cause to hasten.

Thus, also in point of the present category of semological contrast, there was in OE. an incipient tendency to let it be expressed by the same verb. The OTeut. principle of expressing it by different verbs by means of particular causative formations did certainly not exist as late as primitive English times. It should be observed, however, that this phenomenon was scarcely an outcome of those factors which in OE. or proethnic English times have made a primary trans. verb adopt a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution or *vice versâ*. Instead the increasing frequency of this OE. procedure was no doubt a consequence of the loss of the formative principles mentioned.

Therefore, as one of the factors bringing about the adoption of a secondary intr. sense of action (or perception) should be considered the very non-existence of a fertile formative principle expressing in English the semological contrast in question. The easiest way of meeting the need of verbal new formations with meanings here concerned was to let the new sense be represented by the same verb as offered the correlative trans. or intr. sense. This act of new formation must be more or less conscious. It is precarious to indicate when we are concerned with unmistakable examples of this kind. But examples in point are evidently such cases where the adoption of the new sense in OE. literature has been suggested by the influence of a foreign original.

In other cases the adoption of a correlative trans. or intr. sense is an unconscious procedure. Such is the case when we are concerned with a secondary sense due to associative influence from a partly synonymous verb. An example is offered by the verbal group *wegan*, *wecgan*, *styrian*; the inducing morphem is here that verb which was the first to develop the secondary correlative sense. An unconscious procedure is also the adoption of a secondary sense due to the inflectional identity between the passive form

<sup>1</sup> Also such verbs as *brecan*, *befēran*, *befēolan*, *smēocan*, *rācan* show both a trans. and an intr. meaning, but these senses are not correlative; we are therefore not concerned with them here.



and perfect tenses of many intr. verbs, both categories of forms employing the auxiliaries *bēon*, *wesan*, *weorþan*.

The active conjugation with *bēon*, *wesan*, *weorþan* was no doubt in OE. as well as in OHG. chiefly confined to cases where the intransitive meaning when denoting elementary motion was perfective. As examples *būgan*, intr., bow down, bend, turn: *Chron. Sax.* 1013 *þæt eall þæt folc him tō gebogen wæs. ā-drēosan*, intr., to fall, *e. g.* *Exon.* 95 a *Ne biþ mīn hlīsa adroren. afeallan*, intr., to fall down, tumble down, decline *e. g.* *Hml. A.* 192, 320 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Se hrēofla wearð nyðer āfeallen. Past.* 7, 16 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Sīo lār āfeallen wæs. ā-flēon* intr., flee, *e. g.* *Gr. D.* 254, 2 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Se messeprēost andswarode þæt hē wære on niht onweg āflogen* = hunc presbyter fugisse respondit. *hrēosan*, intr. to fall (down), go to ruin, *e. g.* *Ruin* 3. *Hrōfas sind gehrorene. Oros.* 2, 4 (B.-T.) *Se [Babylon] ðūs gehroren eom and aweg gewiten. ālūtan*, intr. bend, *e. g.* *Hml. S.* 1, 55 (B.-T. Suppl.), *Hī ealle ālotene bēoð tō þære eorðan weard. ārisan*, intr., to arise, stand up., *e. g.* *Hml. Th. i.* 222, 9 (B.-T. Suppl.) *He geswutelode þæt hē ārisen wæs. besincan*, intr., to sink, *e. g.* *Oros.* 2, 6 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Hwonne hīe on þā eorþan besuncene wurden. ā-slidan*, intr., to slide, slip away, *e. g.* *Ps. Th.* 93, 17 (B.-T.) *þæt mīn fōt āsliden wære.*

It is evident that the inflectional identity between these and similar intr. verbs and the passive form of correlative transitive verbs could easily lead to a misinterpretation of the passive or the intr. form. Thus in the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary compiled by Bosworth-Toller we find the intrans. verbs *geswīgian*, to be or become silent (or 'to pass over in silence'), *ā-flēon* 'to flie away', also described as transitive verbs, *i. e.* 'to silence', 'to drive away, to put to flight'. But as long as the existence of the trans. sense is based only on perfect forms such as, *Jud.* 6, 14. *Hī āflogene wāron*; *Exon.* 58 a *Fugol biþ geswīgod*, and not on simple forms, this existence should not be acknowledged. Yet such and similar forms could easily be apprehended as passival in the OE. period and thus give rise to a secondary trans. sense. On the other hand, the passive form of a trans. verb could easily be interpreted as intr., all the more because this form in itself generally oscillated towards an intr. sense, at least if the trans. meaning had a causative aspect.

The inflectional factor mentioned may be employed to account for nearly all the cases of a secondary intr. or passive sense adduced above. As a contributing cause may also be considered

the OE. construction consisting of a verb of perception such as *hýran*, *sēon* + an infinitive in the active form oscillating between a passive and an intr. sense, e. g. *Rood*, 9, *þūhte mē ðæt ic gesāwe trēow on lyft lēdan*.

The inflectional interpretation is scarcely applicable in the case of such a verb as *blāwan* which in the active form may be predicated of a musical instrument and thus get the secondary intr. sense 'to sound'. We have already pointed out that this sense may be interpreted as conditioning either a 'prædicatio objecti' or a 'prædicatio instrumenti', which involves that in OE., when the verb is predicated of persons, the musical instrument may represent a direct object or an instrumental adjunct (cf. p. 134). But an original instrumental adjunct may quite naturally be turned into the grammatical subject of a converted sentence and be predicated of the same verb in the active form as it qualified in the corresponding non-converted sentence. For an instrumental adjunct involves in fact that the activity implied in the predicate-verb is exercised by the grammatical subject as the ultimate agency and by the instrumental adjunct as the proximate agency. But if so, it is only natural that also the proximate agency should occasionally be employed as the grammatical subject predicated by the same verb in the active form, e. g. \**Hē blæwð mid ðære bȳman > sēo bȳme blæwð*.

As a factor important for the origination of a correlative intr. sense of action in a primary trans. verb should be reckoned the reflexive form of the verb. We have already discussed the operation of this factor in this respect; for such cases belong to cat. A. We have there pointed out that, when the origination of the secondary intr. sense may be ascribed to the reflexive factor, the intr. sense oscillates towards a reflexive sense, no matter whether or not an oscillating passive sense is also salient. But here we would accentuate that in those cases of a secondary intr. sense of action where we have admitted the possibility of a reflexive mode of origin, also the inflectional factor may equally well have operated the change of construction, e. g. *bīegan*, *āgēotan*, *brēdan*, *onhieldan*, *prāwan* (we assume the trans. sense to be the primary one), *twāman*, *scēadan*, also *gaderian* and *samnian*, nay probably even *openian* and *lūcan*. But it will be remembered that it is difficult to draw the line of demarcation between cat. A. and cat. C. Therefore we readily admit that the intr. sense of several of the OE. verbs



mentioned in the case of cat. C. may oscillate towards a reflexive aspect. Such is certainly or probably the case with *sēon*, to strain, filter, (*tō*)*stregdan*, to scatter, *ā-fierran*, to remove, *oferweorpan*, to overthrow, *wecgan*, (*wegan* and *styrian*), to move, perh. also with *ferian*, to convey, bring; intr., to betake oneself, depart. But, if so, we must also admit that the secondary intr. sense may here have originated in a reflexive way.

*The ME.  
period.*

In the ME. period the same factors continued to operate which in the OE. period (or even earlier) gave rise to a secondary intr. sense of action. It should especially be noticed that in the present category of verbs the inflectional factor was of paramount importance also in the ME. epoch. For the use of the passive auxiliary when conjugating intrans. verbs of motion was in ME. not narrowed down to such an extent as in the case of other intransitives. Still in modern English there are instances of this use, and as late as the 18th century there were many intransitives of motion conjugated with *to be* which are now conjugated only with *to have*. As examples: 1722 DE FOE, *Plague Year* 32. The Churches where they *were fled* away. *Ibid.* 326 They *were fallen* into the Pit. *Ibid.* 251 The Parrot *was fluttered* away. *Ibid.* 297 when the first *were jumped* on shore. *Ibid.* 52 He *was now landed*, and safe on Shore. 1778 FRANCES BURNEY, *Evelina* II 40 Madame Duval, who *was just risen*. The inflectional factor accounts not only for the adoption of a secondary intr. sense of motion, but for the adoption of a secondary trans. sense correlative to an intr. sense of motion. As examples: *besinke(n)* (< OE. *besincan*, intr.) (1) intr., to sink, fall down, c 893, (2) trans., to submerge = *besenche(n)*, c 1200; *bū(w)e(n)* (< OE. *būgan*, intr.) (1) intr., to assume a bent shape, a 1000—, (2) trans., to cause to bend, a 1800— = *beyc(n)*; *lighte(n)* (< OE. *lihtan*) (1) intr., to descend from a horse or vehicle, to dismount, c 800—, (2) trans., *to light down*, to cause to descend, to help to dismount, *obs.*, a 1300— c 1420.

In the case of the present category it is unnecessary to try and follow the origination of a strong category of verbs denoting the semological contrast between a causal sense and a correlative intr. sense of action (or perception). For the origination of such a category is by no means independent of the existence or origination of that category of verbs which presents the semological contrast between a trans. sense and a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution. The chief point is not the predication aspect of the secondary intr. meaning, *i. e.* it is immaterial whether the

intr. sense denotes action or perception, or else state or attribution or else existence or relation. The chief point is that a causal sense and its correlative intr. meaning is expressed by the same verb. The category of verbs with a secondary and correlative intr. sense denoting state or attribution is more numerous by far than the one where the secondary intr. sense denotes action or perception or else existence or relation. But if the former category has grown large enough to induce the origination of a correlative intr. sense of state or attribution in a trans. verb with a causal aspect, it is also capable of inducing the origination of an intr. sense of action or perception or else of existence or relation in a verb whose primary trans. sense has a causal aspect but whose correlative intr. sense involves a sense of action or perception or else of existence or relation. Hence it follows that the semological law we have established in point of cat. B is true of cats. C and D as well and that in either case the date of this law must be the same. It also follows that all trans. verbs which in OE. or ME. adopted a correlative intr. sense of action or perception or else of existence (or relation) reinforced the inducing power of the category which in ME. presented the semological contrast between a causal sense and a correlative intr. meaning of state or attribution. Therefore a wider range must be given to the semological law preliminarily established in the case of cat. B. The law must be formulated so as to involve that any English trans. verb with a causal aspect may, if need be, since about the 15th c. also be used in the correlative intr. sense (irrespectively of the import of the latter) without implying a conspicuous deviation from the linguistic usage of the age.

Thus, in respect of the present category it is unnecessary to pay any particular attention to such French loan-words as already in their native language present the semological contrast between a causal sense and a correlative intr. meaning of action or perception. For, though there certainly are such instances, *e. g.* *devalle(n)* (< OF. *devaller*, trans. & intr.) implying 'to sink, fall' and 'to cause to sink' (= lower), yet their number was not great and their absence would not have prevented the origination of the causative law. It is also unnecessary to state a number of verbs which in ME. have adopted a secondary intr. sense of action (or perception) that does not oscillate towards a passive aspect, *e. g.* *dīve(n)* (< OE. *dȳfan*, trans.) (1) trans., to dip, submerge, or



plunge (a thing) in(to) a liquid, OE. — (2) intr., to descend or plunge into a liquid, 12th c. —; *drêve(n)* (< OE. *dræfan*, trans.) (1) trans., to drive away or apart, OE. —1573, (2) intr., to move, proceed, a 1300 — c 1400; *flême(n)* (< Angl.-Kent. *flēman*, WSax. *flieman*, trans.) (1) trans., to cause to fly, a 1000 — (2) intr., to fly, c 1300—. For the interpretation of their origin is the same as in the case of the examples quoted in our material. Let us therefore turn to the latter.

The inflectional interpretation may be used in point of the secondary intr. sense of *clap* (of a door or a window, c 1400), *heave* (of a head, c 1315), *let* (of blood, c 1330), *lift* (involving passive motion though predicated of persons, a 1400—50), *overthrow* (of persons, 14th c.), *pitch* (of a person, 1297), *rock* (of a person, 1398) and even *bleed* (predicated of blood, c 1305). It is evident however, that in these cases individual associative influence may sometimes have been the actual operating cause. This is for instance probably the case with *clap* (of a door) and *lift*, since their semological relatives *close* and *heave* had earlier adopted a correlative intr. sense. Likewise the intr. sense of *overthrow* may be due to influence from OE. *oferweorpan*, used in both a trans. and a correlative intr. sense. We may even suppose that a foreign original has suggested the rare intr. construction of *let* (predicated of blood; one record), viz. c 1300 ROB. BRUNNE, *Chron.*, þe blode was boþe warme and fresh þat of þe schankes lete; cf. AF. *le saunk pur veirs issist*. But also another explanation is possible. When *bleed* is predicated of 'blood', we are concerned with a conversion of the trans. construction 'to bleed blood', i. e. an original intr. verb qualified by a cognate object. The date of these two constructions is about the same, and the converted construction need not presuppose the previous existence of the trans. one. For the former construction may easily have originated from such a sentence as c 1300 K. *Alis*. 5845 His wounds bledden. Here the sense of the verb oscillates so as to imply 'to run, flow with blood'. If so, the grammatical subject appears, logically speaking, as a local adjunct and it is only in accordance with the claims of a logical, i. e. non-converted, predication, if the speaker forms the correlative sentence 'the blood bled from his wounds'. A reflexive explanation is used by NED. in the case of *lift*. This origin is possible since the verb is often predicated of subjects capable of

reflexivity. But the inflectional or causative explanation is equally possible or even preferable, since we are concerned with passive motion, *e. g.* 1526 so that his body lyfted above his bedde foure fote or more. Also in the case of *heave* predicated of a head or a neck, a reflexive interpretation is possible, since these subjects are capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb.

Touching the other ME. instances in our material it is impossible to apply the inflectional mode of interpretation. Only in the case of *pine* (and *pain*) we should perhaps admit that the intr. construction may have started from the passive form, *i. e.* this form was mistaken for an intr. form. But, as the sb. *pine* occurs as early as 1137 (OE. Chronicle), it is preferable to explain this use as a denominative new formation. Also the intr. sense of the allied verb *pain* of OF. provenance, may be explained in the same way (cf. *pain* sb. 1297), or else it is due to influence from *pine*. The secondary sense of *lere*, *i. e.* 'to acquire knowledge of (something)', implies generally a trans. meaning, *i. e.* 'to come into knowledge of', which oscillates towards a passive sense in our quotations, *i. e.* to be informed, taught, *e. g.* c. 1220 *Bestiary*, And ȝingid him ȝus ȝis wilde der So ȝe hauen nu lered her. This secondary trans. sense has undoubtedly originated in the reflexive way from the primary trans. sense 'to teach, to impart knowledge', which involves that at least originally also a reflexive sense was salient which assumed the import 'to acquire knowledge of'. The reverse development is presented by *learn* primarily implying 'to acquire knowledge of', but subsequently adopting the sense 'to impart knowledge to (somebody), to inform'. Also the secondary sense of *let* implying 'to be checked, to desist, refrain, to omit to do something' may imply a trans. sense, *e. g.* c. 1380 *Wyclif*, Here may we see openliche hou crist lettede not for loue of petre to reprove hym sharpliche, but also an intr. function, *e. g.* c. 1400 *Erl of Toulouse* XX. They lettyd nopyr for wynd nor wedur. But forthe þey went both togedur, Wythoute any stryfe. In these examples the verb *let* has the appearance of being a converted use of *let*, trans., 'to hinder' and was in ME. no doubt identified with the latter verb (owing to phonological and semological proximity). This apparently converted use of the verb *let* 'to hinder' (OE. *lettian*), would be difficult to explain if we were really concerned with the verb in question. But we have instead to do with the verb *let* (< OE. *lātan* to leave) which in ME. had also weak inflection (pret. *let(t)id*) and, besides, the sense 'to omit or forbear (to do something)' (cf. NED.



s. v. *let*<sup>1</sup> I 2 b). The intr. function of *row*, predicated of a 'boat' (c 1375) has the appearance of being a converted use of the trans. sense 'to propel (a boat) by means of oars' (c 1340). But the former function is in reality an extension of the original intr. sense predicated of persons, viz. 'to use oars for the purpose of propelling a boat'. This extension is quite natural, since in the notion of a boat the persons on board are often included.

*The NE.  
period.*

In the NE. period the inflectional factor continued to operate, though with ever decreasing force, since the scope of the intr. conjugation with *to be* was more and more narrowed down. But this factor is now on the whole superfluous as a means of explanation. For whenever the primary trans. sense may be apprehended as causative, the origin of a correlative intr. sense denoting action (or perception) should unhesitatingly be ascribed to the causative law.

We have already pointed out that a causative aspect is mostly presented by verbs whose correlative intr. sense implies passive motion. In our material this is the case with *break away* (of snow), *clap* (of a door, window), *drain* (of a liquid) *draw* (of water), *drive* (of a vehicle), *exhaust* (of steam), *filter*, *filtrate*, *percolate*, *hoist*, *lift*, *pay out* or *off* (of a ship = to move away), *peel off* (of skin or bark), *reflect* (of beams or rays of light), *sift*, *break* (of clouds), *disperse*, *dissipate*, *drive* (of clouds), *concentrate*, *concenter*, *focus*, *lodge* (of an object in motion or of corn). In point of all these instances we need not seek for any other explanation of the intr. sense than the operation of the causative law. In NED. the intr. function of several of these verbs is described as 'intr. for refl.', an indication meant to suggest a reflexive origin. Such is the case with *break away* (of snow), *draw* (of water), *break* (of clouds) *dissipate* (of shelves of sand) *concentre* and *concentrate* ('intr. or absol. usually for refl.'). *focus*. To begin with, it should be noticed that NED. is very inconsistent in using the reflexive mode of explanation. For, if for instance *draw* (predicated of water) is described as 'intr. for refl.', the same should have been the case with its synonym *drain*, described as 'intr.' And if the secondary intr. function of *break* (of clouds) and *dissipate* are described as 'intr. for refl.', we should expect the same indication in point of *disperse* and *drive* (of clouds). Next, it should be admitted that the intr. senses designated by NED. as 'intr. for refl.' may have originated in a reflexive way in as much as they

may be predicated of subjects (such as clouds, water, thoughts, life, beams, cf. p. 149 sqq.) which no doubt are apprehended as capable of directing the action (involved in the trans. sense) against themselves. Lastly, it should be emphasized that, though this reflexive interpretation is not impossible and presupposes the salience of also a reflexive sense (the examples belong then to cat. A), yet the causative explanation is more probable by far. This view is strongly supported by the fact that in the instances under consideration the reflexive form has never or only rarely been recorded.

However, it is not only those verbs whose secondary intr. function is by NED. described as 'intr. for refl.' which, descriptively speaking, may have a reflexive aspect (and thus belong to cat. A) and, etymologically speaking, a reflexive interpretation. We have already pointed out (p. 230) that *clap*, *focus*, *exhaust*, *sift*, *lodge*, *drain*, *filter*, *filtrate*, *percolate* may in an intr. function be predicated of subjects capable of the reflexivity conditioned by these predicate-verbs. But as regards their reflexive sense and reflexive explanation the same is true as has just been adduced in the case of the other verbs whose intr. function is by NED. considered to be of reflexive origin.

The primary trans. sense may have a causal aspect also when the secondary intr. sense implies active motion or other physical activity. As already indicated (p. 342), such is the case with *pull*, *push*, *steer*, all predicated of boats (ships), *pull* (of a carriage), *dismiss*, *prorogue*, *break*, all predicated of an assembly or a session, *beat* and *ruff*, both predicated of a drum, *beat* (of a brain), *play* (of a musical instrument), *fire*, *discharge*, *play off*, *blow up*, all involving explosion, *keep down* (predicated of the wind; trans. sense = to cause to be inactive). The secondary intr. function may in all these cases be explained as due to the causative law. The intr. function of also these verbs is by NED. sometimes described as 'intr. for refl.', viz. *adjourn* (predicated of a council), *dismiss* (of a national assembly, etc.), *prorogue* (of Parliament), *break* (of a convocation, an army, a school), *discharge* (of a firearm). The subjects of the first four verbs may be said to be capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verbs. As to *adjourn* a reflexive form has actually been recorded, though now obsolete, e. g. a 1626 BACON *Adv. to Villiers*, (R) but each house may adjourn itself. But in the case of the other verbs the reflexive form has never been predicated of



the subjects mentioned. Touching *discharge* predicated of a firearm, there is no capability of reflexivity on the part of the subject. Therefore a reflexive mode of explanation involves here the wrong assumption that in this case the reflexive form of the verb formerly occurred and had the function of an intr. (passive) formative.

However, in respect of some of the verbs mentioned above, it is possible to give an explanation other than the causative law. As a matter of fact the verb *play* when predicated of a musical instrument should not be explained causatively. For, in point of this verb the musical instrument did not appear as a direct object until the 18th c. Before that time it had the function of an instrumental adjunct. But as the intr. construction of the verb occurred earlier than the 18th c., it originally conditioned only a predication of instrumental adjunct, which later on, when the musical instrument was turned into a direct object, oscillated towards a predication of direct object. Therefore, the genesis of the converted construction should here be explained in the same way as active predications of instrumental adjuncts (cf. p. 357). Again, as to *beat* predicated of a drum, a causative explanation should be adopted, since 'drum' when qualifying this verb never occurred as an instrumental adjunct. The assumption that *beat* may have a causal aspect is not impossible, but implies an obscuration of the connotative elements of activity involved in the verb, *i. e.* the import is then 'to cause to sound'. But the most likely explanation is that we are concerned with associative influence from *blow*, which already in OE. could in the active form be predicated of a musical instrument (cf. p. 347). The same is true of *ruff* predicated of a drum. Such verbs as *pull*, *push*, *steer*, *pay out* or *off*, all predicated of a boat (or a ship), probably owe their intr. construction to the fact that the notion of a boat (or a ship) may include the idea of the person (persons) who is (are) in the boat. It will be remembered that the verbs mentioned may be predicated of this person and that the grammatical object, *i. e.* 'boat', may be left unexpressed, which implies that the verb is used absolutely, *e. g.* 'he pulled, steered there', 'he pushed out'. But if so, it is only a natural extension of the sphere of those subjects with which these verbs in their intr. function may be combined, if they are also predicated of a boat (or a ship). Thus, in this case the grammatical subject includes both the subject and the object involved in the corresponding trans. construction, and thus far the sentences

have a sort of reflexive import. But on the other hand this dualistic import of the subjects does not favour the use of the verbs in a reflexive form. In the intr. constructions of these verbs a passive aspect is possible, only if the idea of the boat, *i. e.* the subject, as an instrument in the hands of the person (persons) on board becomes salient. The same reasoning is applicable in point of *draw up*, *pull up* predicated of a vehicle, since the idea of the vehicle often includes the persons that govern it and the horses that draw it. The intr. function of *adjourn* predicated of council may also be explained as an absolute use, *i. e.* the grammatical object (= proceedings, business, or the like) may be considered to have been omitted.

Let us turn to those verbs whose primary trans. sense does not readily stand out as causal and whose secondary intr. function, therefore, does not admit of the causative mode of explanation. The verbs *lade*, *unload*, *careen*, *pay off* may in the active form be predicated of a ship (boat). This intr. use may be due to associative influence from such verbs as *pull*, *push*, *row*, *steer*, *pay out*, all predicated of boats (ships), and admitting of a causative explanation. But they may also be due to the fact that the notion of a ship often involves the persons on board. In other words, we mean that the intr. function of the verbs mentioned may have originated in exactly the same way as was above indicated as a likely alternative in point of *pull*, *push*, *row*, *steer*, *pay out*. The same reasoning is applicable in the case of *dock*, when predicated of a ship. But here a causative explanation is not impossible, which involves that a causal aspect may be traced in the trans. sense. Besides, the intr. function may be explained as a desubstantival new formation. Also in the case of *illumine* predicated of a town an equivalent reasoning is applicable, since here the idea of a town includes the persons illumining it. The verbs *drive* and *coach*, predicated of persons, appear as an absolute use of the trans. sense, if the subject itself is the actual driver. They appear as a converted use of the trans. sense, if the fact becomes salient that the driver is another person than the grammatical subject. Thus the ultimate origin of the converted function of the verb is here the use of the verb in an absolute sense. It is evident, however, that in the case of *coach* a denominative explanation is possible or even preferable. The denominative explanation is indispensable in the case of *coach* in the



intr. function 'to read or study with a 'coach', to be coached'. Also the secondary sense of *mesh* predicated of fish, *i. e.* 'to go in the meshes of a net, to become enmeshed' should be interpreted as due to desubstantial new formation. As to the verb *peel* it is a collateral form of *pill* (< OE. \**pilian* < L. *pilāre*, cf. Luick, *Unters.* p. 291). The earliest recorded sense of the latter verb is the intr. meaning 'to come off, become detached, scale off', *e. g.* c 1100 (MS. a 1200) *Sax. Leechd.* III 114 þis lace cræft sceal to þan handan þe þæt fell off pyleþ. In spite of the chronological gap this sense is no doubt secondary as compared with the correlative trans. sense 'to decorticate', recorded a. 1225; cf. Lat. *pilāre*. It has no doubt originated in passive constructions where the sense oscillated towards this intr. meaning and therefore could easily be apprehended as an intr. verb conjugated with *to be*. Thus the intr. function of *peel* should be explained as a continuation of the sense of *pill*. In the case of the verb *catch* when predicated of a foot or a scythe-end, the salience of the passive sense is favoured by a local adjunct: 1787 His foot catching and hanging in the stirrup. 1875 The scythe-end caught in the rigging. For in the corresponding passive constructions these local adjuncts oscillate towards the import of a grammatical agent. The correlative trans. sense implies 'to seize and keep hold of'. The secondary intr. function should be apprehended as a blending of the passive construction 'to be caught in the stirrup, the rigging', and the trans. construction 'to catch the stirrup, the rigging', since the subjects (*viz.* a foot and a scythe-end in motion) may be apprehended as capable of the activity conditioned by the trans. sense. The reflexive explanation given by NED. is inadmissible. For the subjects mentioned are incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the trans. import.

#### D. Predications of direct object or of existence and relation.

The change of meaning involved in the present category consists in the fact that primary transitive verbs have adopted a secondary non-transitive sense oscillating between a passive import and an intransitive sense of existence or relation.

*Saliency of  
an intr.  
sense.*

The saliency of a collateral intransitive sense is due to the same causes as have been stated in the case of the preceding categories, i. e. the active form of the verb and, to some extent, the causative aspect of the primary transitive meaning.

The secondary intransitive sense of existence may be divided into three main categories. One of them involves the sense 'to lose existence'. Here belong: *adrench, aquench, quench, blow out, break, consume, depart, discuss, dislimn, dispel, disperse, dissipate, drench, drown, extinguish, extirp, overshake, purge off, wear away*. Another category implies the sense 'to come into (to get) existence'. Here belong: *breed, brew, engender, enkindle, evolve, form, gender, hatch, hoard, join, ken, kittle, new, put (forth), redouble, relight*. The intr. sense of *hoard*, i. e., 'to lie hidden', is our only instance of the sense 'to be in existence', but it may also be interpreted as implying 'to come into existence in a great quantity' e. g. 1567 In common weales what beares a greater sway than hidden hate that hoordes in haughtie brest? There is also a category that implies the sense 'to continue in existence'. Here belong the verbs *preserve* and *reserve*. Lastly, we may adduce the verb *brew* as constituting a particular category, since it involves a particular tense-aspect, i. e. 'to be in the process of origination'.

Though we may distinguish these general senses, they are, however, mostly associated with particular connotations of different kinds. Thus, for instance, *blow out*, when predicated of 'fire', refers to a current of air as causing the loss of existence, *dissipate* predicated of clouds, etc. refers to separation of the parts



constituting the subject, and *wear* intimates that the loss of existence is due to attrition. Likewise such verbs as *breed*, *engender*, *gender*, *ken* involve that 'coming into existence' is due to natural or procreative processes. When the verbs are used figuratively, these connotations are obscured and the general senses indicated above become entirely predominant. Thus, for instance, the verb *brew*, whose sphere of objects originally embraced only liquids (beer, ale, etc.), implies the pure sense of coming into existence, *i. e.* 'to be in process of origination', provided it be used figuratively, *i. e.* predicated of subjects such as 'doubts', 'mischief'. But if the verb in the active form could be predicated of its original objects (*i. e.* ale, beer, etc.), (which is not the case), then the verb would not lose its particular connotations and it is even questionable whether these would admit of the origination of an intransitive sense of existence.

The secondary intransitive sense of relation involves (as far as our material is concerned) a sense of identity, *viz. identify*, a sense of subsumption, *viz. class, number*, or else a sense of dependency, *viz. deduce, derive, evolve, found, feel, kindle*. In the case of *found*, the secondary sense implies general dependency. (*i. e.* 'to be dependent on'), yet with the connotation that one member of the relation is the necessary prerequisite for the existence of the other member. As to the other verbs of dependency adduced, we are concerned with a meaning conditioning a predication of origin, *i. e.* 'to give rise to a thing', 'to take (have) its rise from a thing'. As to the latter sense its only difference from a verb of existence denoting 'to originate', 'to come into existence' is that it indicates the source from which (the substance represented by) the grammatical subject has originated. Therefore, verbs denoting 'originate' often imply also 'to originate from a thing'. In point of our material, this is the case with *evolve* and in respect of *breed, gender, engender form, ken, enkindle, brew* (fig.), whose secondary sense implies 'to come into existence', they can (or could) no doubt be used also in predications of dependency, though this is not shown by our quotations. On the other hand, the obsolete, secondary sense of *kindle* is in our material recorded only as a sense of origin, *i. e.* 'to originate from a thing', but it would as readily have admitted of being used also in a sense of existence, *i. e.* 'to originate'. Again, the secondary intr. sense of *deduce* and *derive* is such as to only

condition a predication of origin, *i. e.* 'to have its provenance from a thing'.

We have previously (Essay I 53) made the distinction that predicates denoting sense-impression should be classed as conditioning predications of attribution, *e. g.* 'his manners are hateful, pleasant', but that, when the object of this sense-impression has been expressed, they should be described as conditioning a predication of dependency, *e. g.* 'his manners are hateful, pleasant to me', *i. e.* inspire me with pleasure, disgust (the members compared being 'his manners' and my pleasure, 'my disgust'). But if so, it follows that the secondary intrans. sense of *feel*, which denotes sense-impression and therefore with its necessary complement indicating the nature of this impression conditions a predication of attribution, should be apprehended as conditioning a predication of causality, provided an animate thing perceptive of this sense-impression has been expressed, *e. g.* 1768 *The weather* was extremely cold and *felt* particularly so to us.

According to our principle of classification quotations denoting intemporal sense should be assigned to the intemporal class of cat. F. This has in our material been neglected especially in respect of some verbs of relation, *viz. class, number, deduce, derive, found*. It should be noticed however that, unlike other kinds of predication, predications of relation mostly presuppose intemporal sense. It should also be noticed that the etymological explanation of the secondary intr. function whether it has temporal or intemporal sense, is here the same.

The semological relation between the secondary intr. sense, if a sense of existence, and the primary trans. meaning may in all cases (except in point of *hoard* 'when denoting 'to lie hidden', 'to have existence', but not when denoting 'to come into existence') be apprehended as the one between an intr. sense and its causative correlative. In other words, the correlative meanings may be described as (1) 'to lose existence' and 'to deprive of (to cause to lose) existence, *viz. adrench, aquench, blow out* (of a fire), *break up, consume, depart, discuss, dislimb, dispel, disperse, dissipate, drench, extinguish, extirp, overshake, purge off, quench, wear away*, (2) 'to come into existence' and 'to bring into existence', *viz. breed, engender, enkindle* (of lightning), *evolve, form, gender, hatch, (hoard), join* (of a battle), *ken, kindle, kittle, new, put forth, redouble* (of a sound), *relight* (of desire, etc.), (3) 'to continue in

*The relation between the trans. and intr. senses*



existence' and 'to cause to continue in existence', viz. *preserve*, *reserve*, (4) 'to be in the process of origination' and 'to cause to be in the process of origination', viz. *brew*.

It is a matter of course that the same relation, i. e. the relation between a causal sense and its intr. correlative, should be acknowledged in the case of verbs where the secondary intr. sense denotes not only 'to come into existence', but 'to originate from a thing', e. g. *evolve*, *kindle*. But this is not so, when we are concerned with other verbs of dependency or of relation. The transitive sense of the verbs *identify*, *class*, *number*, *deduce*, and *derive* may be said to involve a sense of action, i. e. 'to *say* or *maintain* (a thing) to be identical with, to belong to a class, to have its derivation from'. But the trans. sense may also be said to imply a sense of state, i. e. 'to *consider* (a thing) to be identical with, to belong to a class, to have its derivation from'. This analysis involves that the intr. sense constitutes an element of the correlative trans. meaning. So far there is a parallel with the relation between an intrans. sense and its causative correlative. But the difference is that in respect of causative verbs the transitive element implies activity or causality, but in point of the verbs here concerned, activity or state. In the trans. sense of *found*, however, it is sometimes possible to trace a causative sense, i. e. 'to cause to have as basis', 'to let (a thing) be dependent on (a thing)'. Again, in the case of *feel* it is the secondary sense that may be apprehended as causative as compared with the primary trans. meaning. For the sense 'to make a sense-impression on' is equivalent to the meaning 'to cause to feel or perceive (a sense-impression)'.

*Salience of  
a passive  
sense = its  
proximate  
origin.*

The salience of a collateral passive sense in the secondary intransitive constructions under consideration is dependent on the same factors as have been indicated in the case of the preceding categories. Therefore they need not be stated over again. From what has there been said it is evident that, here also, the salience of the passive sense may be of different force. Therefore we readily admit that there are instances in our material where the passive aspect is diminutive or even questionable. But we repeat that it is often a matter of individual linguistic instinct to decide upon the semological aspect of a secondary intransitive construction. As in the case of the preceding categories, so also in the case of cat. D the salience of a passive sense is very rarely

acknowledged by NED, when characterizing the general import of the verb. The sense is mostly described as 'intr.' (*viz. aquench, blow, brew, consume, deduce, derive, disperse, drench, engender, enkindle, extirp, identify, join, ken, kindle, kittle, new, number, overshake, quench, redouble, relight, reserve*) or else as 'intr. for refl.' (*viz. adreneh, break, also described as intr.*), *breed, class, depart, discuss, dislimb, dispel, dissipate, evolve, extinguish, form, found, preserve, purge, put*). Only in respect of the following verbs a passive aspect is acknowledged: *feel* (quasi-passive sense), *gender* (intr. for pass.), *hoard* (intr. in refl. or passive sense). And yet the passive aspect is not here more salient than in the other cases mentioned. But this very inconsistency seems also to testify to the fact that the import of secondary intr. constructions is of oscillating nature.

The extent of category D. is not very large, *i. e.* the verbs with a primary transitive sense whose secondary intr. constructions may denote existence or relation are few as compared with the verbs of the preceding categories. Yet the extent of cat D. is no doubt larger than appears from our material, though it cannot be exactly indicated. For — as already pointed out — it is precarious to determine as to when a secondary non-transitive sense involves only an intr. meaning and when the intr. sense oscillates towards a passive aspect. *Extent and chronology.*

The extent of cat D. was different in different epochs. In the case of verbs whose secondary intr. sense denotes existence, the vast majority of our examples belong to the NE. period. As in the preceding categories, so here also we may distinguish a number of cases where the verb itself or else the correlative trans. meaning originated in the NE. period, *viz. dislimn, dispel, dissipate, enkindle, evolve, extinguish, extirp* (1490), *kittle, put forth, redouble, relight*. There is also a category of verbs whose correlative trans. senses originated in the ME. period, whereas the secondary non-trans. import did not appear until the NE. epoch, *viz. break* (1483), *consume, discuss, disperse, form, gender, hatch, hoard* (fig.), *join* (battle), *preserve, purge, reserve, wear*. In the case of the ME. period, we may distinguish such verbs where also the primary trans. meaning took its rise in the ME. epoch, *viz. brew* (fig.), *depart, drench, engender, kindle, overshake, quench*. In point of some verbs the primary trans. sense is met with already in OE., *viz. adrench, aquench, breed, ken, new*. In our material we have adduced no examples where the secondary



intr. sense of existence appeared already in the OE. period. Yet this epoch was not entirely destitute of examples where the intr. sense of existence oscillated towards a passive aspect. As examples: *ā-lædan* (1) trans., note the sense 'to bring forth, produce' (Sweet, but not indicated by B.-T.), (2) intr. or passive, 'to grow, come forth, to be produced': *Phoenix* 233 Swylce hē of ægerum ūt ālæde (as it from an egg had been brought forth); *stregdan*, wk. vb. (1) trans., to strew, spread, (2) intr. or pass., to disperse, to be scattered, *e. g.* *Crīst* 940 steorra strēdaþ of heofone, stormum ā-bēatne; *læfan*, (1) trans., to leave, not take away, (2) intr. or pass., to remain over, be left remaining, Homl. Th. ii, 40, 14 (B.-T.) Gif hwæt læfde = if anything remained, Ju. Skt. Rush. 6, 12 Hia læfdan = *superaverunt*. Also the verb *scypian* presents an oscillation between a passive sense and an intransitive sense of existence (cf. p. 299, 300). But we are here concerned with the rare case that the oscillating passive sense is a *primary* sense. As already shown, this phenomenon may be met with in the case of certain Gothic *n*-verbs, but is of rare occurrence in English<sup>1</sup>.

If we turn to those verbs whose secondary intr. sense denotes relation, we shall find that all our instances are from the NE. period. In the case of *class*, *deduce*, *derive*, *identify*, also the correlative trans. sense is of NE. date. As to *found* and *number* the trans. meaning is met with in ME. times and, in regard of *feel*, in the OE. period. Apart from the case where the secondary sense denotes dependency (*i. e.* 'to give rise to a thing', or 'to originate from a thing'), there is nothing remarkable in the fact that the OE. period and even the ME. epoch are destitute of examples of a secondary intr. sense denoting identity or subsumption. For, the need of such a semological change can scarcely originate but in scientific speech.

Concerning the Gothic language we do not meet with examples of a secondary sense of relation or of existence.

Ultimate  
origin of  
the passive  
sense.

An indication of the ultimate origin of the passive sense is equivalent to a statement how the phenomenon originated that a primary trans. verb can adopt a secondary intr. sense of existence or of relation.

<sup>1</sup> Another example of this kind, though not denoting existence, is offered by *eclipse*, a denominative verb whose primary sense had the import 'to suffer eclipse', 'to become dark', now obsolete, *e. g.* 1393 Gower *Conf.* II 153. The sonne and mone eclipsen both.

The semological contrast between a causal sense and the correlative intr. sense of existence did not in OTeut. times require an expression differing from the one denoting the general distinction between a causal verb and its intransitive correlative. And in fact, there are in OE. some examples of the OTeut. mode of causative formation meant to express the semological contrast under consideration, *e. g.* *ā-cwincan*, str. vb., intr., to be extinguished (of fire, light), to be eclipsed (of moon), vanish, *ā-cwencan*, wk. vb., trans., to extinguish (fire, light); *cwelan*, str. vb., intr., to die, *cwellan*, wk. vb., trans., to kill; *be-līfan*, str. vb., intr., to remain, be left; *lāfan*, trans., to leave, bequeathe, not take away (also intr., to be left); (cf. Goth. *bi-leiban*, str. vb. intr., to be left; *bi-laibjan* wk. vb., trans., to leave, in pass., to be left). However, as already pointed out, this formative principle was no longer fertile in OE. Nor was there any other formative law that could uphold the OTeut. principle that the semological contrast between a causal sense and its correlative intr. meaning ought to be expressed by different morphems. This fact favoured indirectly the origination of the principle of letting the contrast mentioned be expressed by the same verb.

*The OE.  
period.*

The direct cause of the semological change presented by our OE. examples *ā-lādan* and *lāfan* was not of a reflexive nature. The reflexive mode of origin is however possible in the case of *stregdan*, but not in point of the other examples. For in the former case, but not in the latter, the grammatical subjects are generally capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the predicate-verb. We are instead no doubt concerned with the operation of the inflectional factor, *i. e.* the morphological identity between the passive form and the form of the perfect tenses of intr. verbs with a perfective sense (cf. Cats. B, C, p. 304, 356). This mode of explanation, which involves a misinterpretation of the inflection with *wesan*, *bēon*, *weorþan*, is also applicable in point of *stregdan*. It is sometimes possible that the intr. function may be due to influence from a foreign original. Such is perhaps the case with *lāfan*, whose secondary sense is met with in religious style. It may have been induced by Lat. *superare* = to remain, to be left over, which it renders at least in our 2nd quotation.

In respect of the ME. period all our examples are such where the primary trans. sense of the verb has a causative aspect. But the date of their secondary intr. function is generally too

*The ME.  
period.*



early to admit of a causative explanation. We must instead have recourse to the inflectional factor, *i. e.* the coincidence between the passive form and perfect tenses of intr. verbs with a perfective tense-aspect. As to examples see p. 319. In this way we should explain the secondary intr. function of *breed* (c 1205), *adrench* (1290), *aquench* (c 1230), and *overshake* (c 1415). Again, as to *drench* (1297) and *quench* (c 1290) it is evident that their secondary intr. function is due to associative influence from *adrench* and *aquench*. Likewise it is safe to assume that *breed* (c 1200) has induced the secondary intr. function of the allied verbs *engender* (1386), *ken* (14th c.) and *kindle* (c 1400), or even *brew* (in a figurative sense, c 1300). But naturally the inflectional interpretation is applicable in all these cases. As to *newe* the secondary intr. sense should be apprehended as a denominative new formation. The verb *depart*, of OF. provenance, occurred already in OF. in an intr. sense, predicated of persons. This function is evidently continued in English in sentences such as: 1523 *Than the bysshope sayd, Sirs, than our company shall depart.* In spite of the chronological gap we may assume that it is an extension of this function when the verb is predicated of such a notion as 'acquaintance', *e. g.* 1375 *Thusgat maid thai thar aquentance That nevir syne . . . Departyt quhil thai lyffand war.* A reflexive mode of interpretation is by NED suggested in the case of the intr. function of *depart* and *adrench*. As to *depart* this explanation may be applicable in the case of the OF. prototype. Concerning *adrench* the reflexive mode of origin is improbable. For, though the subject is capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the predicate-verb, the use of the reflexive form implies here voluntary (but not involuntary) activity on the part of the subject. But from this sense it is, at least in this particular instance, scarcely possible to derive an intr. function presupposing inactivity on the part of the subject.

*The NE.  
period.*

Let us pass on to the NE. period. We have already pointed out that, when the secondary intr. sense denotes existence, all the correlative trans. verbs adduced in our material present a causative aspect. Such is the case with (*blow*), *break*, *consume*, *discuss*, *dislimb*, *dispel*, *disperse*, *dissipate*, *enkindle*, *evolve*, *extinguish*, *extirp*, *form*, *gender*, *hatch*, (*hoard*), *join* (battle), *kittle*, *preserve*, *purge*, *put forth*, *redouble*, *relight*, *reserve*, and *wear*. On this account the secondary intr. construction of these verbs

may be ascribed to the causative law, which operated at least since the end of the ME. period. The reflexive mode of interpretation is by NED. employed in several of these cases, *viz.* *break*, *discuss*, *dislimb*, *dispel*, *dissipate* (in one sense), *evolve*, *extinguish*, *form*, *hoard*, *preserve*, *put forth*, *reserve*. When the subjects of the secondary intr. senses are capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the trans. senses, then we must admit that a reflexive origin is possible. Such is at least the case with *dispel* and *dissipate* (predicated of clouds, mist, and then metaphorically extended to immaterial things), *evolve* (predicated of a tree — which implies a predication of state — and, metaphorically, of 'political exigences', which implies a predication of existence), *form* (predicated of a cloud, a rainbow, a sheet of ice, since to an unlearned mind these things easily appear as self-originated), and *put forth* (predicated of a bud or a flower). But a reflexive form has in these cases scarcely been recorded, which should not be a matter of surprise in view of the existence of the causative law. In the case of *form* the reflexive mode of expression is recorded by NED., but predicated of an immaterial thing, *viz.* 1864 BRYCE *Holy Rom. Emp.* vii. 113 Very early . . . had the belief formed itself that . . . The reflexive form has here an intransitive or passive function. The use of this form may here be due to foreign influence. Otherwise it presupposes that such subjects as 'clouds', 'ice' may be predicated by the reflexive form and that this form has subsequently been employed also in point of immaterial subjects. Thus as to the instances just mentioned we admit the possibility of a reflexive origin, though the causative law is the most likely mode of interpretation.

With respect to the other verbs whose secondary intr. function is supposed by NED. to be of reflexive origin we must deny the possibility of this explanation. For, if we admit that *discuss* (predicated of erysipelas), *dislimb* (predicated of 'nocturnal pageant'), and especially the verbs *extinguish* (predicated of a 'conflagration' or 'alacrity'), *hoard* (predicated of 'hate'), *preserve* and *reserve* (predicated of material things like snow, water, manna, etc.) owe their intr. functions to a reflexive mode of expression, then we admit at the same time that this reflexive form had a purely intransitive or passive function. For the subjects are here incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by these verbs. But in English, the reflexive form has not yet acquired this function (exceptions are rare) and the verbs just mentioned have not been



recorded in the reflexive form. Therefore we must employ another etymological interpretation. The intr. construction of *discuss*, *dislimb*, *extinguish* is no doubt due to the causative law, since their primary trans. senses have a distinctly causative aspect. But the trans. senses of *hoard*, *preserve*, *reserve* involve such connotations (activity) as render the salience of the causative aspect not so conspicuous. Yet, also in point of these verbs we may use the causative mode of interpretation. In the case of *hoard* we must then presuppose that the intr. sense has the import 'to come into existence'. But other explanations may also be suggested. As to *hoard* the secondary intr. construction (1567, one record) should be explained as a desubstantival new formation on *hoard*, sb. meaning 'to form a hoard'. The intr. construction of the French loan-word *reserve* (1529—1641) may perhaps be due to French influence, in as much as the French reflexive form 'se réserver' expressing the corresponding sense may have suggested the use of the active form, whereas the intr. sense of the reflexive form and the non-existence of this form as an intr. or passive formative in English occasioned the omission of the reflexive pronoun. But this mode of explanation, though perhaps not impossible, should not be adopted, if the origin of the intr. function may be explained in another way. It is here also possible to assume that the intr. function has taken its rise from the use of the verb in the sense 'to admit of being reserved'. Again, the intr. construction of *preserve*, likewise of French provenance, (1585, one record), may be apprehended as due to associative influence from *reserve* or else it should be accounted for in the same way as the latter verb. The intr. function of *blow out* predicated of a fire (1842 The glass blew in, the fire blew out) has no doubt originated from the passive form since the agency is here the wind, a notion implied in the verb itself and, as a rule, not predicated by the verb in its trans. sense. The import of the passive form oscillated here towards an intr. meaning which therefore suggested the use of the active form. Again, the intr. construction of *break* predicated of a session or the like should be looked upon as an analogical extension from cases where the verb was predicated of subjects like 'convocation' or 'school'. In the former case the predominant sense of the verbs is 'to cease existing for the time being' (in reference to the work involved in the notion of the subject), e. g. 1612 Then vp the Session brake. In the latter case the sense of the verb is 'to cease work-

ing and separate' (in reference to the persons involved in the notion of the subject), *e. g.* 1536 The twentieth daie of Julie, the Convocation brooke upp at Poules. 1882 A few days later the school broke up for the summer holidays. As to the explanation of the intr. construction of the latter case see cat. C. (p. 363).

Let us pass on to those cases where the secondary intr. function of the verb conditions a predication of relation. In point of verbs conditioning predications of dependency we have already pointed out that verbs of existence denoting 'originate' are turned into verbs of dependency denoting 'to originate from a thing', if the provenance of the notion represented by the grammatical subject has been indicated. Such is the case with *evolve*. Compare the sentences 1799 When great political exigencies *evolve* . . they are usually, etc. 1863 Everything else will *evolve from it*. Such might easily have been the case with *kindle*, though by chance the only record of its rare intr. function implies only 'to originate from a thing', *viz.* a 1400—50, Pat euer he kyndild [Dubl. Ms. come] of his kynde kend he bot litill. It is evident that in these cases the intr. sense of dependency has originated in exactly the same way as the collateral sense of existence. Thus, as to *evolve*, we may ascribe also the former use to the causative law. In point of *kindle* the intr. construction should be explained as due to associative influence from the allied verbs *ken* and *breed*, both of which present their secondary intr. sense earlier than does *kindle*. For similar reasons it is also evident that the intr. function of *feel*, when conditioning a predication of dependency, has the same origin as when conditioning a predication of attribution (cf. cat. B. p. 335).

There are in our material a couple of verbs whose secondary intr. sense denotes dependency but whose correlative trans. meanings have not a causative aspect, *viz.* *derive* and *deduce*. It will be remembered, however, that these trans. meanings present the main characteristic of a causative sense, *i. e.* the correlative intrans. sense, *viz.* 'to have its derivation from', constitutes an element of the trans. meaning. But in the present case the transitive element is not 'to cause' or 'to make', but 'to maintain' or 'to consider'. It is a priori by no means impossible that this affinity between the semological structure of the two verbs on the one hand and causative verbs on the other hand, has brought about the intr. construction of the former, or in other words that this construction is indirectly due to the operation of the causative law. But as the intr. function of *deduce* (1866) is



found considerably later than that of *derive* (1794), it is evident that owing to semological proximity the latter verb has induced the intr. construction of the former. The intr. function of *derive* is by NED. considered to have sprung from a reflexive use of the trans. sense. True, the reflexive form has in this case actually been recorded and it has then the rare function of a purely intr. (or passive) formative, a use which no doubt passed into English from contemporary French, *e. g.* 1665 SIR T. HERBERT, *Trav.* 127 Sheraz then probably *derives it self* from Sherab, which in the Persian Tongue signifies a Grape. The OF. prototype did not present an intr. construction. But in English the intr. sense 'to arise, originate, have its derivation from' occurs equally early as the correlative trans. sense (recorded in the passive form), *i. e.* c 1386 CHAUCER, *Knt's T.* 2180 Conuertynge al vn to his propre welle ffrom which it is dirryued sooth to telle. *Ibid.* 2148 Wel may men knowe but it be a fool That every part dirryueth from his hool. It is obvious that this general sense of origination, recorded as early as the 14th c., has given rise to the narrowed sense of origination implied when the verb is predicated of 'word' (a predication not recorded until 1794). Again, the early intr. function of the verb in ME. may very well be regarded as due to the strong salience of an oscillating intr. sense in the passive form of the verb (*cf.* 1st quotation above), which may, but need not necessarily, involve that the passive form was here mistaken for a perfect tense of an intr. verb. Yet, we should perhaps admit that the ME. intr. construction may also be due to the OF. reflexive form, in as much as the latter suggested the active form in English, while the omission of the reflexive pronoun was due to the strong prominence of an intr. sense and to the non-existence of the reflexive form as an intr. or a passive formative in the English language.

As already pointed out the secondary intr. sense of *found* oscillating towards a passive aspect, implies almost a sense of general dependency, *i. e.* 'to have as basis', 'to be fundamentally dependent on', *e. g.* 1836—37 The legitimacy of every synthesis is . . dependent on the legitimacy of the analysis which its presupposes, and on which it founds. This intr. sense may be said to form an element of the correlative trans. meaning described by NED. as involving 'to set or establish on a firm basis', 'to give a basis or firm support to', but rather implying 'to let (something immaterial) have as basis or be dependent on'. But, if so, the transitive sense may be apprehended as causative. Hence it follows that

the intr. function of the verb may very well be due to the operation of the causative law. This explanation is more probable by far than the refl. mode of interpretation adopted by NED. (s. v. *found* 4, e). True, we find the reflexive form of the verb predicated of persons or even of 'understanding', a notion, however, apprehended as capable of self-originated activity, e. g. 1643 SIR T. BROWNE, *Relig. Med.* i., § 43 They that found themselves on the radical balsome, or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel lived not so long as Adam. 1644 MILTON, *Educ.*, Wks. 98. — Because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things. But it should be noticed that in English this reflexive form was not predicated of immaterial things (such as 'legitimacy of a synthesis', 'deliniation') incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. It should also be observed that there is a great chronological gap between the reflexive construction extinct in the 17th c. (cf. NED. s. v. *found* 4 c) and the intr. construction originating as late as the 19th c. On this account a reflexive mode of interpretation is inadmissible, unless we count as such the case that the Mod. French reflexive form, freely predicated of subjects incapable of reflexivity, has here suggested the active form, whereas the salience of an intr. sense and the non-existence of the reflexive form as a purely intr. or passive formative in English have conditioned the omission of the reflexive pronoun. We should perhaps in the present case admit the possibility of this explanation, but hardly its probability.

There are two verbs in our material, i. e. *class* and *number*, whose secondary intr. sense implies subsumption, e. g. 1816 This fine country . . whose people class morally so high in the scale of mankind. 1865 Those who class as believers. 1864 And tho' thou numberest with the followers Of One who cried 'Leave all and follow me'. The correlative trans. sense of *class* has an aspect offering the same affinity with a causal aspect as *derive* and *deduce*, viz. 'to place in a class', i. e. 'to consider (maintain) a person etc. to belong to a certain class or group'. Therefore, we may here ascribe the intr. function to the causative law. Also in point of *class* the intr. construction is regarded by NED. to be of reflexive origin. This implies that the reflexive form is here a purely intr. or passive formative. On this account a reflexive interpretation is here a priori most unlikely. Add to this that the reflexive form of the verb seems to have never been predicated of subjects such as those occurring in our material. As the verb is of denominative



origin, it is possible to regard the intr. construction as a denominative new formation on *class*, sb. This explanation is evidently the correct one, since the intr. construction seems to occur somewhat earlier (*i. e.* in 1748) than the correlative trans. construction (*i. e.* in 1776).

Also the verb *number* (< OF. *nombrer*) has such an intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to rank with', 'to belong to a class or category', as constitutes an element in the correlative transitive meaning, *i. e.* 'to consider (maintain) (a thing, etc.) to belong to a class or category or to rank with'. Therefore it is by no means impossible to regard the secondary intr. construction (quotation from the year 1864 in NED.) as due to the causative law. In the present case the secondary intr. construction cannot be described as a denominative new formation on account of the import of the substantive *number*. A reflexive explanation is as unlikely as in the former case. But we may very well look upon the intr. construction as due to associative influence from such verbs as *class*, *derive*, *identify*, whose trans. sense like that of *number* includes the correlative intr. meaning in addition to the transitive element 'to consider (maintain)'. However, the most likely interpretation is that, owing to close semological proximity, the verb *count* (cf. cat. E.) has induced the intr. construction of *number*.

There still remains to be considered the intr. construction of *identify*, conditioning a predication of identity: 1683 Only as . . conjoined with our affections, which commix, coincide, and as it were identifi with that grandest and Divinest Myserie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh. 1790 An enlightened self-interest, which . . they tell us, will identify with an interest more enlarged and publick. The intr. sense means here 'to become identical' and the correlative trans. meaning means not only 'to consider (maintain) (a thing, etc.) to be identical with', but 'to make (*i. e.* to cause to become) identical'. Therefore we may here unhesitatingly employ the causative mode of interpretation.

### E. Predications of direct object.

The distinctive feature of the present category of semological change is that primary transitive verbs have in the active form adopted a secondary sense of a predominant passive aspect.

Though we have here assumed the salience of the passive sense to be so strong as to preponderate, this preponderance does not imply that the salience of a collateral non-converted meaning is always entirely suppressed. In the case of the preceding categories we have already held forth that the active form itself in which the new meaning is dressed, is the principal factor that tends to bring about the salience of a non-passive sense and thus to counterbalance the influence of the primary trans. meaning which tends to make the secondary sense stand out as passive. As the new meaning is also in the present category dressed in the active form, an intr. sense is here, too, always struggling for salience. But we mean that this oscillating intr. sense is less perceptible than the passive meaning or even almost entirely obscured by it.

*The salience of the passive sense = its proximate origin.*

We have indicated on the one hand the vitality of the primary transitive meaning as compared with the secondary non-trans. sense, on the other hand the context as those factors which principally condition the salience of the passive meaning. We may therefore safely maintain that the more rarely the non-trans. sense occurs, the more readily does it appear as passive and *vice versa*. Therefore it is that the examples illustrating the predominance of the passive sense in the secondary meaning of verbs quoted in cat. E., are generally very scarce. The context may favour the particular salience of the passive sense, in as much as an agential element dressed in the form of a grammatical agent has been expressed. This expression of the agency, however, is not often met with in our material. As examples: 1657 A Minister, whom they can cordially . . affect, or *by whom* they can *edifie*. 1610 I haue not *edified* more truly *by man* . . since the beautiful light first shone on me. (cf. the synonymous



verb *convert*, whose corresponding secondary sense we have classed under cat. A, because the salience of its passive sense is not particularly conspicuous). 1819 If, in heaving the windlass about, any of the handspikes should happen to break, the windlass would *pawl of itself*. 1513 And all the cost be- live of *flambis scald*. But the influence of the context may be manifested also in another manner. Thus, for instance, it is evident that the context requires the passive sense — *i. e.* the idea of an agent, of a logical subject — and not the intr. meaning, in examples such as the following (where we are concerned with verbs presenting a co-alescence of a trans. verb with its intr. correlative): 1596 If I *hang*; Ile make a fat payre of Gallowes. 1712—14 Wretches *hang* that jurymen may dine; a 1225 Hwo ber ever fur wiðinnen hire þet heo ne *bernde*? c 1440 Boyle hom togedur with esy fire, that it *brenne* not. The same is true of examples such as: 1828 They were scarce gone ere the door of the glover's house *opened*. 1871 Till their flag *haul's down* to the foe.

There is however another factor that conditions the predominance of the passive sense. This factor, which may even be of greater importance than the others, is the semological nature of the primary trans. meaning. We may safely proclaim that the less readily this meaning may be apprehended causatively, the greater salience has the passive sense, provided the verb be employed in a correlative intr. construction that cannot be apprehended as an absolute or a reflexive use of the trans. sense or else be explained as a denominative new formation (*e. g. instance*) or as an impersonal construction (*say, quethe*). If we examine our material, we shall find that a causative aspect can scarcely or not at all be traced in a considerable number of our verbs. Such is the case with the two trans. verbs of attribution, *i. e. contain* and *hold*, or with the trans. verbs of state, *i. e. count, reckon*. Such is also the case with many trans. verbs of action, *viz. damn, do, draw up or out, instance, invest, let* (in the sense 'to grant the temporary possession or use of'), *light* (to set burning a lamp, etc.), *lock, play out* (a farce), *quethe, reach* (in the sense 'to crucify'), *reflect* (in the sense 'to mirror'), *rehearse, retail, say, sell*. Therefore, in the case of such verbs the secondary non-trans. sense has a particularly salient passive aspect. As examples: 1563 It doth cleanse the places where the stones *containe*. a 1654 Allodium . . signifies Land that *holds* of nobody. 1889 High birth . . among the haughty Castillians *has* always *counted* for a great deal. 1879 Such discretion . . *would* in the long run *reckon* to his credit and his advantage. 1611 *Cle.* Sir shall I lie? *King.* Yes, lie and *damn*, rather than tell me that. a 1300 þat þere er dedis *doand* neu, þat þai agh sare wit resun reu. 1886 The rope

*drew taut* and parted in the middle. 1823 The curtain *drew up* at the instant of his entrance. 1891 The harpoon did not penetrate sufficiently . . and therefore *drew out*. 1809 No more *entwines* with flowers his shining sword. 1602 How . . the Crowne-right of the House of Edward the first *inuested* in the Familie of York. 1885 There was some reason to suppose that all the mortgaged houses would speedily *let*. c. 1400 His Lampe schal *lighte* . . withouten touchinge of ony Man. 1590 Doubly disparted, it did *locke* and close, That when it *locked*, none might thorough pas. 1835 As though it mattered how the farce *plays out*, So it be quickly played. 1362 Bi him that *rauhte* on the roode. 1897 Turbot, brill, and halibut *retail* at 9 d. per lb. GOLDSM. I published some tracts upon the subject myself, which, as they never *sold*, I have the consolation of thinking were read only by the happy few. But however salient the passive sense may be in these and similar examples, we must admit that also in this case an intr. sense struggles for salience, though with poor success. Thus, for instance, in point of *contain*, *do*, *sell*, the passive sense tends to oscillate towards the import 'lie', 'happen', have a good market'. In the case of *instance* the salience of an intr. meaning, *i. e.* 'to have an instance', is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the secondary non-trans. construction may be apprehended as a denominative new formation. As to *cast* and *reflect* the vague salience of a collateral reflexive sense tends to diminish the preponderance of the passive meaning. Concerning *quethe*, *say*, *rehearse* we should admit that the impersonal expression *it says*, etc. presents not only a passive aspect but also a distinctly non-passive meaning, *i. e.* 'people say' or the like. But, if so, we are concerned with a sense which in fact is the primary trans. meaning. We therefore admit that it would have been preferable to assign these latter verbs to cat. C.

In the case of the other verbs adduced in our material it is less impossible to trace a causative sense. Hence it follows that in a correlative intr. construction the intr. sense tends to become distinctly salient, unless it is counterbalanced by the context and the predominance of the transitive meaning. According to the nature of the oscillating intr. sense we may here distinguish the same categories as occur in point of cats. A, B, C, D. Thus, the intr. sense tending to become salient may denote state or attribution. Such is the case with the following verbs: *be-smear*, *[burn]*, *damage*, *damnify*, *debruse*, *demolish*, *edify*, *entwine*, *fold*, *gull*, *[hang]*, *hatch* (of an egg), *hurt*, *ken* (of an egg), *lisse*, *modulate?*, *mould*, *oppress*, *polish*, *scald*, *scorch*. Here belong also such verbs whose trans. sense implies preparation of



food by the agency of heat, *viz. bake, boil, cook, fry, grill, roast*, and further such verbs as are their semological relatives, *viz. broil, concoct*. Moreover, the intr. sense struggling for salience may denote action: *brandish, cast, deposit, drag, draw, flourish, haul, impress, launch, let* (of blood), *open, throw, weigh*. Lastly, there are a few verbs where the secondary intr. sense denotes existence, *viz. hatch* (predicated of the young), *rub off*. Here belongs also *grin* in the following predication: 1749 The counterfeit Satisfaction which grinned in the features of the young one. The predication nature of this sentence is unique in our material, in as much as we are concerned with a predication of direct object oscillating towards a predication of cause (cf. to grin *with satisfaction*). The latter fact implies the salience of an intr. sense, and this sense denotes existence. Therefore the secondary intr. construction of *grin* should have been assigned to cat. D.

As was the case with the preceding categories, so in the case of the present category the salience of the passive sense is rarely acknowledged by NED. when indicating the general semological nature of the secondary sense. It is only in a few cases that the sense is described as 'intr. for pass.' or 'intr. in passive sense' or 'intr. for refl. in passive sense', or the like, *viz. count, damn, damnify, demolish, do, drag, draw, hatch, haul, hurt, let* (of houses, etc.), *pawl, play, polish, scald*. Otherwise the secondary sense is described as 'intr.' or 'intr. for refl.' It is impossible to trace any consistency in these indications. For the passive sense is just as salient in the other verbs as in those particularly acknowledged as passival. But this very inconsistency seems to indicate that the description 'intr.' does not only (or not always) regard the semology of the secondary sense, but also (or else exclusively) the morphological aspect of the latter. It seems also to intimate that the description 'intr. for refl.' does not always refer to the import of the verb but mostly to the origin of the secondary construction. However, when the secondary meaning is specified by NED., the salience of a passive sense is generally acknowledged.

*Extent and  
chronology*

The extent of the present category must naturally be very vague and indefinite. For its leading characteristic is the predominance of a passive sense. But, since we have admitted that, however preponderant the passive sense may be, an intr. sense is always struggling for salience, it is evident that the line of demarcation of the category is chiefly a matter of individual linguistic instinct, though, as shown above, it is not entirely destitute of also object-

ive criteria. Under such circumstances it is only natural that the extent of cat. E should be very vague. It is also natural that our material should be open to criticism. We have already admitted that the verbs *quethe*, *say*, *rehearse* should have been assigned rather to cat. C than to the present category and that the secondary sense of *grin* should have been classed under cat. D. We may here admit that in point of *drag* (of an anchor) and *polish* (of planets) an intr. sense successfully struggles for salience, so that they should have been described as belonging to cats. C and B respectively. We may also admit that in the quotations of the following verbs meant to illustrate cat. E, a passive sense scarcely predominates, viz. *debruisse*, *foil*, *hurt*, *ken*, *edify*, *rehearse*, *throw*, perhaps also the semological group constituted by *bake*, *boil*, *cook*, *fry*, *grill*, *roast*, *broil*, *concoct*. Lastly the intrans. construction of *hoist* assigned to cat. C should have had the same classification as the intrans. constr. of *haul*, its close semological relative, i. e. it should have been described as a specimen of cat. E. Further particulars as to the salience of an intrans. sense in our quotations illustrating cat. E. will be given in the sequel.

The extent of the present category was different in different epochs. The majority of our instances are from the NE. period. Among these we may distinguish such cases where the primary trans. sense or the verb itself originated either in NE. or in ME. The former case is illustrated by the following verbs: *concoct*, *cook*, *damage* (1477), *damnify*, *demolish*, *deposit*, *drag*, *entwine*, *grill*, *grin*, *gull*, *haul*, *instance*, *invest*, *modulate*, *mould* (c. 1475), *pawl*, *play out*, *reflect*, *rub off*, *wear*. The latter case is represented by verbs such as: *boil*, *brandish*, *broil*, *cast*, *contain*, *count*, *damn*, *draw* (as a rule), *foil*, *hatch*, *hold*, *launch*, *lock*, *reckon*, *retail*, *scald*, *scorch*, *weigh*. We have also to state a few verbs whose primary trans. sense is of OE. date, though its secondary sense did not originate until the NE. epoch, viz. *bake*, *besmear*, *let* (= to grant the temporary possession of), *sell*. The most interesting verbs of the present category are those whose primary trans. sense cannot be apprehended as causal. They belong as a rule to the NE. period (cf. p. 382).

The examples from the ME. epoch illustrating cat. E. are not very numerous as compared with those from NE. times, and only few of them can be apprehended as non-causal, viz. *do*, *reach*, *light*, *rehearse*. These facts are quite natural, since the appearance of a



passive sense in the active form is a phenomenon gradually developing in OE. and ME. and reaching its height in the NE. period. We may here distinguish such verbs where the primary trans. sense originated in the ME epoch and such where it occurred already in OE. Examples of the former case are: *debruisse, edify, flourish, fry, hurt, impress, light, lisse, oppress, polish, rehearse, roast, throw*. Examples of the latter case are: *burn, do, hang, ken, open, reach*.

As to examples from the OE. period we have only adduced *quethe* and *say* (= OE. *cweðan* and *secgan*), both incapable of being apprehended as causal. But equivalent constructions are also presented by a few other OE. verbs such as *swutelian, ā-liefan, cýþan*, e. g. *Dipl. Angl.* Thorpe (*Anglia* xxiii, 295). *Hēr swutelað on ðisum gewrite, þæt . . . Mk. 3, 4 (B.-T. Suppl.)* *Alýfð* (is *ālýfed*, L. R.) *restedagum wel to dōnne hweþer ðe yfele* = *licet sabbatis bene facere an male?* *Ibid.* 10. 2. *Hwæþer ālýfð* (*licet*) *ānegum men his wīf forlætan*. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 288, 301, 338. *Hēr cýþ on þysum gewrite, hū . .* Here the sense of the predicate-verbs appears as passival, if they are apprehended as being predicated of the subordinate clause or the infinitive construction. But the sense is apprehended as trans., if the constructions are considered as impersonal ones. Thus these sentences appear to oscillate between a trans. and a passive sense. That such an oscillation actually existed is proved at least in point of *āliefan*. For its impersonal construction has given rise to a personal construction where the predicate-verb in the active form involves a preponderant passive sense, viz. *Gūþ.*, 86, 6 *þā heofonlīcan gerýno þā nānegum men ne ālýfad to secganne* (lit. = those heavenly secrets which are permitted to no man to say). Also a few other OE. instances, though of another constructive type, seem to oscillate between a trans. sense and a passive import. Here belongs the following quotation: *Andr.* 991 *is þe gūð weotod, heardum beoruswengum scel þin hrā dælan*. Here belong also sentences of the following type, though, from a predication point of view, the import is such as characterizes the modal class of cat. F.: *Bēow.* 1365 *þær mæg nihta gehwām nīðwundor sēon, fȳr on flōde*. *Byrthn.* 215 *nū mæg cunnian, hwā cēne sȳ*. *Epist. Alex.* *Anglia* iv, 160, 579. *ðā ondsworadon hīe mec and sægdon, þæt nāre mūra weg þonne meahte on tȳn dagum gefēran*. From a modern point of view these predicate-verbs in the active form seem to present a predominant passive aspect, but from an OE. point of view we should here, too, admit the salience of also a trans. sense, which involves the assumption

that an impersonal (or personal) pronoun has been omitted (*i. e.* quot. *Andr.* 991 = your corpse shall be divided or people shall divide your corpse by hard blows of a sword, etc.). Lastly, in addition to *āliefan* there is another example where according to some scholars, a trans. verb appearing as predicate-verb in the active form has a predominant passive sense, *viz.* *Exod.* 158 *gāras trymedon*, *gūð hwearfode*, *blican bordhreodan*, *bȳman sungon*. Here *trymedon* is by B.-T. (Dic.) considered to imply 'to be arrayed', and by Grein (Köhler) (*Sprachschatz der Angelsächs. Dichter s. v. trymman*) it is with some hesitation interpreted as 'impetuous versari?'.

As to the Gothic language we are unable to adduce examples where a primary trans. verb has adopted a secondary non-trans. sense with a predominant passive aspect. We have previously admitted that several Gothic *n*-verbs present a passive meaning. But we are then concerned with *primary* senses, and we are also concerned with such passive meanings as scarcely preponderate so as to preclude the salience of a collateral intr. sense (cf. pp. 279, 280).

From a descriptive point of view we have considered us justified in establishing cat. E as an independent category. This was particularly due to the use of several non-causal trans. verbs in converted sentences without a change of the active form into the passive. For in this case the passive sense is, as a rule, particularly conspicuous. But also the use of causal verbs (in the active form) in converted sentences may occasionally involve the salience of a predominant passive meaning. The genesis of the E-class constructions is easily explained in point of the latter verbs (in view of the existence of the causative law and the factors that have given rise to it), but in the case of non-causal verbs it is at first sight mostly obscure.

*Ultimate  
origin of  
the passive  
sense.*

We have already held forth that the OE. period is almost entirely destitute of examples belonging to cat. E. We have admitted that the examples adduced by us almost always involve an oscillation towards a trans. meaning (of action) and that so far they are not on a par with the other instances of cat. E. The acknowledgement of this collateral transitive sense involves in fact the etymological explanation of the constructions. Let us first examine such constructions as *swā hit on bōcum cwið*; *swā swā hit hēr būfan sægð*; *hēr swutelað on ðisum gewrite, þæt . . .* *POGAT-*

*The OE.  
period.*



SCHER<sup>1</sup> justly maintains that the last expression and sentences of the same type such as *Hēr cȳð ymbe þā hālgan*, *Hēr ongynd be cristendōme*, *Hēr segð hū* (or *þæt*) . . (of which the first two sentences do not readily present a passive aspect) represent the original state of things as compared with the corresponding sentences with *hit* as formal subject. He holds forth that they are traditional formulæ implying an impersonal construction with an indefinite pronoun (OE. *mon*) omitted and no doubt handed down from OTeut. times. For in ON. we frequently meet with constructions of the same type, e. g. *Vols. ch. 1. hér hefr upp ok segir frá þeim manni, er . .* Later on, the OE. constructions of the type mentioned mostly adopted a formal subject, i. e. *hit*, e. g. *swā swā hit her būfan segð*, *swā hit on bōcum cwið*, *Hit segþ on bōcum þæt . .* This addition of a formal subject cannot be said to lend a passive aspect to such a construction as does not already appear as passival, e. g. *Hēr (hit) cȳð ymbe þā hālgan* (a passive sense is not salient). *Hit segþ on bōcum þæt . .*, *Hēr segð on ðissum bōcum, þæt . .* (In these two instances a passive sense is salient). That such OE. constructions could be apprehended passively is obvious from the mere fact that they have sometimes given rise to personal constructions, viz. *Gūþ. 86, 6 þā heofonlican gerȳno þā nānegum men ne alȳfað to secganne*. Thus it is easy to account for the origination of this remarkable OE. instance of a secondary intr. construction with a predominant passive aspect.

The same mode of explanation is adopted by Pogatscher also in point of the case when an active infinitive qualified by a modal or a temporal auxiliary presents an oscillating passive aspect. For here also he assumes the omission of an indefinite pronoun (OE. *mon*). Such is the case with the following quotation: *Bēow. 1365 þær mæg nihta gehwām niðwundor sēon*. Such is also the case with the sentences: *Epist. Alex. Anglia IV, 160, 579 ðā ondsworadon hīe mec and sægdon, þæt nāre māra weg þonne meahte on tȳn dagum gefēran*. *Andr. 952 is þē gūð weotod, heardum heoruswengum scel þin hrā dēlan*. The same is the case with the following example, where also another mode of explanation is possible: *Byrhtn. 215 nū mæg cunnian hwā cēne sȳ*. With respect to this sentence Pogatscher says,<sup>2</sup> »in 2. könnte, da der satz in einer rede Ælfwines steht und im folgenden zweimal ic erscheint, dieses in unseren satz hin-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ALOIS POGATSCHER, *Unausgedrücktes Subjekt im Altenglischen in Anglia XXIII 294 sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia XXIII, p. 296.*

über bezogen sein; aber der sinn des satzes ist doch wohl nicht 'ich will jetzt erfahren, wer tapfer ist', sondern wohl allgemeiner 'nun soll sichs erproben, wer tapfer ist'. Auch an einwirkung der altnordischen konstruktion [OE. *hēr cȳð on ðisum gewrite hū . .*, etc.] wird man kaum zu denken haben.\* The possibility of an equivalent supplementation is also held forth in the case of the quotation, *ðā ondsworadon hīe mec and sægdon, þæt nāre māra weg þonne meahte on tȳn dagum gefēran*. For Pogatscher says that here ›ist mir ein 'man' wahrscheinlicher als ein aus *mec* zu erschliessendes *ic* (i. e. *þonne ic meahte*, etc.).

There still remains to be considered the quotation where OE. *trymman* is supposed to be used in a predominant passive sense, viz. *Exod*, 154 *þā him eorla mōd ortrȳwe wearð, siððan hīe gesāwon of sūðwegum fyrd Faraonis forð ongangen, ofer holt wegan, ēored lixan (gāras trymedon, gūð hweorfode, blicon bordhrēoðan. bȳmon sungon) þūfas þunian, þēod mearc tredan*. If we translate *gāras trymedon* with 'were arrayed' or 'were vehemently shaken', then we are evidently concerned with a preponderant passive sense, though the correlative trans. meaning is causative. But, if so, we are in the presence of a case which, apart from *alīefan* whose secondary construction is easily intelligible, is unparalled in OE. literature and which is contrary to the semological development of the verbs in the OE. epoch. We may therefore safely assume that the translations proposed are untenable. But it is difficult to suggest a suitable import. We are perhaps concerned with the sense 'to be strong'. If so, the sense is of OTeut. date and on a par with Gothic and OE. *ja*-verbs implying an intr. sense of state or attribution with a durative tense-aspect, e. g. Goth. *balþjan* to be bold, OE. *wēdan* to be mad (cf. pp. 285, 295). This sense is applicable also to the two other instances where *trymman* appears to have an intr. function, viz. *Exon*. Th. 191, 1 (B.-T.). *Monig sceal siþþan wȳrt onwæcnan; ēac ðon wudubearwas tānum tȳdraþ, trymmaþ eorðwelan*. *Elene* 35 *Fōr fyrda mæst (fēðan trymedon ēoredcestum)*<sup>1</sup> *þæt on ælfylce deareðlācende on Dānūbie stærcedfyrhðe stæðe wicedon ymb þæs wāteres wylm, werodes breahme*. The former sentence is translated by Bothworth-Toller as 'the woods teem with branches, grow strong(?) with the wealth of earth'. Also in the case of the latter sentence it is more advisable to assume an intr. sense of *trymman* (i. e. to be strong) than to assume a reflexive function.

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is evidently a parenthetical remark.



*The ME.  
period.*

Let us turn to the ME. epoch and in the first place to those verbs whose primary trans. sense may with more or less of difficulty be apprehended as causal, which involves that a correlative intr. sense struggles for salience.

The verbs *burn* and *hang* are examples of a coalescence of two different, but etymologically allied, verbs. The former represents WSax. *bærnan*, Angl. *bernan*, wk. vb., trans., 'to consume by fire', and WSax. *birnan*, Angl. *beornan*, str. vb., intr., 'to be in a state of combustion'. These were still kept apart in the OE. period, but ran together early in the ME. epoch, 'the different types being used indiscriminately as to sense, though with dialectal preferences' (NED.). NE. *hang* represents OE. *hōn* (< \**hanyan*), str. vb., trans., to hang, also ON. *hengja*, wk. vb. trans., to hang, and OE. *hangian*, wk. vb., intr., to hang. How should this morphological coalescence be explained?

In the case of *burn* it is probable that in the Anglian dialect the coalescence started from the present stem forms. This implies here that the phonological structure of the trans. present stem and that of the intr. present stem was the same. ME. had five types of the present stem, viz. *börn-*, later *bern* (< OAngl. *beornan*, intr.), *bern-* (< OAngl. *bernan*, trans.), *brin-* (< WSax. *birnan*, intr.), and ON. *brinna*, intr.), *bærn-*, later *barn-* (< WSax. *bærn-an*, trans.), *bren(n)-* (< ON. *brenna*, trans., but partly from the native *bern-*, trans. or intr. stem). It is natural that on Anglian territory the intr. *bern-* (< *beornan*) and the trans. *bern-* (< *bernan*) should coalesce and that the same should be the case with the trans. and the intr. stem *bren-*. *Brenne*, *brent* was the most common type in late ME. and even down to the 16th century, when it was somewhat abruptly dispossessed by *burn*, *burnt*, apparently the descendant of the earlier *bern-*, *birn-*. On West Saxon territory the present stems were *bærn-* (*barn-*), trans., and *birn-*, intr. Therefore we must here start from the compound tenses and refer to the then oft-occurring morphological identity between the passive form and the periphrastic form of perfective intransitive verbs. In other words, the passive form was sometimes mistaken for the intr. form, because it oscillated towards an intr. sense, a phenomenon which operated also on Anglian soil. If this is true, then it is only natural that the strong past pple. and preterite (since they are intransitive) should be dispossessed by the weak forms, as is actually the case. The explanations

given account for the secondary sense II, 1 in our material, *i. e.* 'to be affected by burning', *e. g.* a 1225 *Ancr. Riwele* (Southern dial.), *Hwo ber euer fur wiðinnen hire þet heo ne bernde?* For here an intr. sense of state struggles for salience. But they need not account for the sense II, 2, *i. e.* 'to suffer death by fire', *e. g.* c 1604 *They should all burne for their wilde heresie.* This preponderant passive meaning of the active form is not met with until early NE. and is now superseded by the passive form *to be burnt*. However, we may explain this use of the active form as due to associative influence from cases of the type II, 1. Yet, note that the trans. sense correlative to the sense 'to suffer death by fire', may be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* 'to cause to be burnt'. True, the correlative non-trans. sense is then passival, *i. e.* 'to be burnt', but the causative aspect of the trans. sense may nevertheless have suggested the use of the active form to express this sense.

Let us turn to *hang*. We may here, too, assume that the coalescence of the trans. and the intr. verb started from the present stem. For the transitive form *hōn* (str. vb.) began already in the 13th century to be replaced by the form *hang(en)*, *hong(en)*, *i. e.* the form of the intr. verb. True, the new infinitive had the form of the intr. verb, but the transformation was no doubt due to influence from the trans. stem *hang-*, *hong-* of the pa. pple. on the analogy of strong verbs of class VI, *e. g.* OE. *faran* – *faren*. Note the similar development in the case of OE. *fōn* (< \**fanʒan*), *fēng*, *fangen* (-o-); about 1200 the stem *fang-* (-o-) of the pa. pple. appears as present stem (inf. *fangen*, *fongen*) and gradually superseded the older form. Now, as the new trans. present stem *hang-* happened to be identical with the intr. present stem, this stem *hang-* (-o-) became the starting point for the adoption of an intr. or a trans. sense on the part of the other forms of the trans. and the intr. verb, which brought about an amalgamation of the two verbs into one, *viz.* a strong verb. Though in the examples of *hang* given in our material a passive sense is predominant, yet also an intr. sense is slightly salient *e. g.* 1340 *þanne hit behoueþ þet hi yelde oþer þet hi hongi.* 1596 *If I hang; Ile make a fat payre of Gallowes.* Therefore we may consider the use of *hang* in these and similar examples as an analogical extension from those cases where the intr. sense is predominant.

It is perhaps possible to give a causative explanation in point of the passive sense of *light*, *i. e.* 'to be set burning (of a lamp, torch, candle)', *viz.* c. 1400 *His Lampe schal lighte . . withouten*



touchinge of ony Man. But this explanation is scarcely probable at this early epoch, since the trans. meaning involves such connotations (*i. e.* the activity of a person) as considerably obscure the salience of a causative aspect, *i. e.* 'to cause to take fire'. It is decidedly possible that the non-trans. function mentioned was suggested by the original intr. meaning of the verb, *i. e.* 'to give or shed light', 'to shine', which implies that the latter signification was meant to be expressed, though from the hearer's (reader's) point of view the sense appears as passival. Moreover it is possible that the use of the active form is due to analogical influence from a particular morphem, *viz.* *kindle* (< ON. *kynda*, trans. and intr.) which presented about the same semological contrast, *i. e.* (1) to set fire to, to ignite, to light, c 1200 (Ormin), (2) of a fire or combustible: to catch fire, burst into flame. Lastly, it is by no means impossible to consider the secondary sense as a desubstantival new formation on *light*, sb. 'light viewed as residing in or emanating from a luminary', *e. g.* LANGL. *P. P. A.* 1. 163, Chastite withouten Charite . . Is as lewed as a Laumpe þat no liht is inne. Thus we are here concerned with a case — oft-occurring in point of category E. — where the secondary intr. function with a passival aspect admits of several etymological interpretations.

A passive sense of *liss*, *i. e.* 'to be relieved of', is met with in the following quotation: c 1400 *Rom. Rose*, Than of my peyne I gan to lisse. Unless we want to consider this construction as reflexive in import and origin, which is scarcely a possible explanation, the only alternative left seems to be to assume a case of a blending of two constructions. In the same literary monument, *i. e.* 'The romaunt of Rose', the verb is employed also in the secondary intr. sense 'to abate, stop, cease', *viz.* *Rom. Rose* 4128 I trowe my peyne shall never lisse. This signification should be explained as due to the causative principle, since the primary trans. sense, *i. e.* to mitigate, relieve (pain etc.), has a conspicuously causative character. Thus we can state the existence of the two constructions: 'my peyne gan to lisse' and 'I gan to be lissed of my peyne' (cf. 1306 CHAUCER, *Frankl. T.* 442 In hope for to been lissed of his care). Therefore we may very well consider the sentence 'Than of my peyne I gan to lisse' as a blending of these two modes of expression.

We have described the intr. construction of *ken*, predicated of eggs, as having a preponderant passive sense in the following quot-

ation: 1399 [She] houeth the eyren . . And with hir corps keuereth hem till þat þey kenne. But this description is, no doubt, wrong, unless there existed also the trans. sense 'to hatch (an egg)', which then must be the primary meaning as compared with the sense in quot. 1399. It is possible that the trans. sense 'hatch' existed at that time. But as we have not been able to find a record of this sense, the intr. construction of the quotation mentioned should probably be apprehended as an absolute use of the primary trans. signification, *i. e.* 'to give birth to', which in the quotation given above involves the salience of only an intr. sense of action or relation.

From these native verbs where an intr. sense of state or attribution struggles for salience we will pass on to French loan-words with this semological aspect.

The passive sense of *debruisse* has been recorded only in Robert of Gloucester and is predicated of persons: 1297 He hupte & debrusede & deide in an stounde. We should consider this function as borrowed from OF., where the verb is employed also intransitively, but predicated of inanimate things only, *e. g.* *Chron. d'Angl.* La nef hurta a une roche e tantost debrisa. *Hist. de Foulq. Fitz Warin*, La launce debrusa et le tronchoun recuist en lo cors.<sup>1</sup> The fact that in English the trans. and the correlative non-trans. meaning do not present a chronological gap between them, indicates that in the intrans. function of the verb the passive sense does not preponderate. Therefore it would have been more appropriate to have assigned this verb to cat. B. From a Middle English point of view the same is true of *hurt*, where the non-trans. sense 'suffer injury' occurs as early as a 1300 and the correlative trans. sense, *i. e.* 'to cause bodily injury to', has about the same date, *i. e.* 1297. The verb is of French provenance, but OF. *h(e)urter* does not present the senses mentioned. It means instead 'to knock, strike, dash (a thing against something else)', trans., or else 'to strike (on or against something)', intr.; both senses occur also in ME. From the intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to strike (on or against)', the intr. sense 'suffer injury', 'come into an injured state' may easily originate, since in fact this sense is implied in the former sense. Hence it follows that the correlative trans. sense 'injure' may very well be secondary as compared with the meaning 'to suffer injury'.

<sup>1</sup> cf. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Paris, 1880—1902.



As to the passive sense of *edify* we have already admitted (p. 178) that it is scarcely predominant in quotations such as the following: a 1400 Mannys sowle in blys now xal edyfy. But owing to the expression of an agential adjunct, the passive sense is fairly predominant in the following quotation: 1657 A Minister, whom they can cordially . . . affect, or *by whom* they can edifie. But also in this example we can without difficulty trace an intr. sense of state, *i. e.* 'to profit in a spiritual sense', 'to become better spiritually'. Nay, as the subjects are here capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb, we may also trace a reflexive sense, *i. e.* 'to strengthen oneself spiritually', etc. But, if so, the secondary intr. function of the verb may very well have a reflexive origin. In fact, this is the best mode of explanation. For, though the trans. sense of the verb may easily be apprehended as causal, yet the date of the secondary intr. construction is somewhat earlier than the 15th c. But, when so, we should hesitate to apply the causative mode of interpretation. In view of the semological proximity between *convert* and *edify* it is also possible to assume that the secondary intr. construction of the latter is due to associative influence from the former verb (cf. p. 254).

Also in the case of the secondary intr. construction of *polish* we must admit that the predominance of the passive sense is questionable, *viz.* c 1400 Zeforus with softe wyndes soberly blew, Planetes in the pure aire pullishet full clene, And all softe was the see to sailers perin. For, in spite of the connotation of 'friction', the primary trans. sense readily appears as causative, which in the converted function of the verb favours the origination of the correlative intr. sense. Therefore, the predominance of a passive sense can here be based only on the rare occurrence of the intr. construction. As to the origin of this function it is possible to apply a reflexive mode of interpretation. For the subject (*i. e.* 'planets') may be apprehended as capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. If so, we must admit the slight salience of also a reflexive sense. It is also possible to assume that we are concerned with French influence, is as much as the writer may have had in mind the Fr. reflexive form (which admits of being employed irrespectively of the capability of reflexivity on the part of the subject), but omitted the reflexive pronoun owing to the salience of the intr. sense and to influence from the many ME. verbs presenting the contrast between a transitive sense and a correlative

intr. sense of state or attribution. With the latter assumption we have in fact approached the causative law. The operation of this law also in the present case is for chronological reasons somewhat doubtful.

As to the rare intrans. construction of *oppress*, predicated of a person, no reflexive sense can be traced, c 1485 Now I know well I xall not opprese. The primary trans. sense (the only one recorded in OFr.), *i. e.* 'to crush, overwhelm (a person)', has no doubt a causative aspect. In view of the date of the semological change, we may therefore ascribe the intr. construction to the causative law.

Let us pass on to those cases where in spite of the preponderance of the passive sense an intransitive sense of action struggles for salience in the secondary intr. construction.

The native verb *let*, *i. e.* 'to shed', 'to allow to escape (confined fluid)', may in the passive form (if a definite agent has not been expressed) present an oscillating intr. sense of action, *i. e.* to issue, because the trans. sense is causal. It is probable that this fact has given rise to the occasional intransitive construction of the verb, *viz.* c. 1330 R. BRUNNE, Chron. þe blode was boþe warme and fresh, þat of þe schankes lete. This presupposes that at that time the passive form of the verb could be mistaken for an intr. form conjugated with *to be*. However, in view of the rarity of the construction (one record), it is possible that the intransitive construction of *let* was proximately suggested by the AF. original (*i. e.* *le saunk pur veirs issist*) or rather the metre of the poem; but the possibility of using *let* intransitively was ultimately due to the facts mentioned above.

As to *open*, the preponderance of the passival aspect of its secondary intransitive construction is, in the examples quoted, entirely due to the nature of the subject (*i. e.* door, gate), *viz.* c 1375 Him þoȝt þe ȝate opened of heyuen. 1828 They were scarce gone ere the door of the glover's house opened. For this nature is such that it presupposes the salience of a definite agent causing the subject to be the object of the action involved in the verb. The intransitive construction is here only an extension of the general intr. use of the verb. In addition to a passival sense this use implies the salience of a collateral reflexive sense and an intr. sense of action. The origin of the latter use of *open* has already been explained (see p. 251). The same preponderance of the passive sense is met with also in the case of *close* and *shut* when predicated of a door



or the like, *e. g.* E. W. HORNING, *Raffles* (No sinecure). The bedroom door closed then . . . *Ibid.* (An old flame). With that his door shut in my face, and I had to go my way. Here also we are concerned with an analogical extension of the intr. construction of the verbs. This construction had better be explained as due to influence from *open*, whose intr. construction dates as far back as the OE. period.

We have adduced a couple of records of the intr. construction of *throw* with a passive aspect, *viz.* LAGL. *Piers Plowm.* B. 357. He stumbled on the thresshewolde and threwe to the erthe (= *Ibid.* A-text, 201 He þrumpelde atte þrexwolde and þreuh [to þe grounde.]). The NED. is able to give an earlier quotation: 1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls) 6831 þe king bi an laddre to þe ssip clam an hey & þreu vp to down in þe se. This dictionary admits that, in the examples quoted, the verb looks like an intr. or passive of the trans. sense 'to cause to fall to the ground, to cast down, lay low' (s. v. *throw* 29), but it points out that the intr. construction occurs earlier than the trans. sense, which is recorded in the 14th c. (*K. Alis.* 2219). If this is true, then we cannot here be concerned with a passival aspect, *i. e.* an example of cat. E, but only with an intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to fall with violence or force', as is indicated by NED. The general sense-development of the verb *throw* is strange. In OE. we meet only with the trans. sense 'twist, wring' and the correlative intr. sense 'twist, turn, writhe'. This original sense remained in the north and in certain technical uses. Otherwise in ME. it passed into the sense of OE. *weorpan*. This verb implied 'cast, fling' and was used transitively or intransitively, but constantly with a sense that presupposed the subject to be a *voluntary* agent of the verbal action. This implies that the verb did not possess the intr. sense 'to fall with violence or force', which involves involuntary activity. It will be observed that in ME. the trans. sense 'cast, fling, hurl' is not recorded earlier than a 1300 (E. E. Psalter, King Horn, refl. form in Sir Beues, 14th c.), but that the allied intr. sense 'cast or fling oneself impetuously, to spring, start, leap, rush' is found as early as c 1205 (Layamon), but not in the OE. period. Therefore, the latter sense is by NED. considered not to have sprung from the former meaning. As to the ME. trans. sense 'cast', this is by NED. supposed to have originated through an unrecorded sense, *i. e.* 'throw by a turn or twist of the arm, or with a sling'. But the previous existence of the intr. senses mentioned seems to

indicate another origin. However, as long as the date of the various senses of *warp* has not been fixed upon, it is advisable to refrain from conjectures as to the mutual semological influence presented by the verbs *throw* and *warp*. As to *overthrow* we may mention that, in OE., *oferweorpan* had already adopted the intr. sense 'to fall down' and that ME. *overthrow* presents this sense about equally early as the correlative trans. meaning.

Let us turn to the secondary intr. construction of *flourish*, e. g. 1388 A spere and scheeld schal flourische. In the corresponding trans. construction the grammatical object tends to oscillate towards an instrumental adjunct, i. e. it tends to imply 'to make sudden and violent movements *with* a spear or shield'. The truth of this assertion is substantiated by OE. *bregdan*, 'to make a sudden movement (with the hand, foot, weapon)'. In the sense mentioned this verb may be construed with a grammatical object, e. g. *Lcd.* ii, 38, 3 Bræd þæt hēafod hider and geond ofer þæt fȳr. But the normal construction of the verb in this sense required an instrumental adjunct (cf. ON. *bregða sverði*), e. g. *Bēow.* 1033 þær git . . mundum brugdon. *Ibid.* 3333 Ic þȳ wāpne gebræd. *Ælfred's Laws* (Liebermann, A. S. Gesetze 58) gif mon beforan ærce-biscepe gefeohte oððe wāpne gebregde, etc. But the most convincing proof is that *flourish* itself has occasionally employed an instrumental adjunct instead of a direct object, viz. 1584 SHAKS. *Tit. A.* I, i, 361 Goe, give that changing peece, To him that flourisht for her *with* his sword. Now we mean that the intr. construction of the verb should be ascribed to the fact that in the corresponding trans. construction the direct object oscillated towards an instrumental adjunct. In other words, the direct object was sometimes actually apprehended as an instrumental adjunct and was for this very reason (cf. p. 357) sometimes predicated by the verb in the active form. This explanation implies that such a predication oscillated towards a predication of instrumental adjunct.

The rare intr. construction of *impress* occurred in late ME., viz. c 1386 Heigh fantasye and curious bisynesse Fro day to day gan in the soule impresse Of Ianuarie aboute his mariage. c 1490 More and more impressen gan the dent Of Loves dart, while I beheld her face. This construction may be explained as having started from the passive form, since this oscillated towards an intr. sense, i. e. could occasionally be mistaken for an intr. form conjugated with *to be*. Also a reflexive interpretation is perhaps possible. But this involves that the subjects are apprehended as capable of



the reflexivity conditioned by the verb and that a collateral refl. sense is salient. The possibility is not precluded that the rare intr. construction was suggested by the French refl. form. If so, the refl. pronoun was omitted owing to the salience of an intr. sense and to the fact that the subjects are scarcely capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb.

The ME. instances hitherto considered have all that in common that the primary trans. sense may with more or less of difficulty be apprehended as causal. There are in ME. a few non-causal trans. verbs which present an intr. construction with a preponderant passive sense (apart from *it says* and its equivalents, which oscillate towards a trans. sense).

The verb *rehearse* of French provenance appears in the following quotation (not in NED.) in the impersonal form oscillating between the original trans. sense and a passive import. *viz.* MALORY, *Morte D'Arthur* 75, (17), as it reherceth after in the book of Balyn le saueage, that followeth next after. This construction is native and a survival from the OE. period, where — as already shown — we often find expressions such as *Hit seȝd on bōcum þæt . .* From the ME. period we can state the existence of *it says*, *e. g.* a 1300 *Cursor, M.*, þe ius sal convert, as it sais. This formula is still met with not only in the phrase 'it says in the Bible' (as is maintained by Pogatscher), but in colloquial speech (cf. NED.).

A very remarkable instance of a preponderant passive sense dressed in the active form is presented by *do* in the following ME. quotation, *viz.* a 1300 *Cursor M.* Pat þere er dedis doand neu, Pat þai agh sare wit resun reu. It will be remembered that this construction, *i. e.* *to be* + present pple in the active form but with a passive sense, so common in the NE. period (*e. g.* a 1715 BURNET *Own Time*, While these things were doing) is here recorded about two centuries earlier than usual. For the modern construction originated in the 16th c. from *to be* + the prepositional form of verbal substantives in *-ing* (cf. p. 104), *e. g.* 1489 CAXTON, *Faytes of Armes T.*, xiv, 37 Suche fortyfycacyons *are in dooyng*. Therefore our ME. example must have another origin, all the more as the very construction *to be* + the prepositional form of verbal substantives in *-ing* does not seem to occur as early as our ME. example (cf. NED. s. v. *in* 11, *a* 12, 13, *be* 15). In our opinion this occasional construction was conditioned on the one hand by the wish to express durative tense-aspect by the progressive

form, which already in OE. could have this function, and, on the other hand, by the want of a passive form on the part of the present participle. The explanation given is the most likely one. Otherwise the construction in the 'Cursor Mundi' must be explained as due to analogical influence from such verbs as in the progressive form offer an oscillation between a passive sense and an intr. meaning of the types involved in cats. A, B, C, D.

The use of the active form of *reach* in the following quotation is very singular: 1362 LANGL. *P. Pl.* (A), Bi him that rauhte on the roode. (Cf. c 1205 *Serving Christ*, 5 in *OE. Misc.*, Crist . . on rode *was rauht*). The subject is here of such a nature as to make a passive sense decidedly predominant, the more because the trans. sense is destitute of a causal aspect. A reflexive interpretation is here scarcely possible. But if we assume this explanation, then at the same time we admit that the passive import is not preponderant, but oscillates towards a reflexive sense. In our opinion the use of the active form has been conditioned by associative influence from the verbs *hang* and *pain* which in the very context in which *reach* occurs were often used intransitively, *e. g.* c 1000 ÆLFRIC, *Hom.* II 256 þes hālgas Hælend hangað hēr unscyldig; a 1225 *Ancren R.* 106 He [our Lord] ase he hongede, etc.; c 1315 SHOREHAM 38, And seue 3er thou scholdest, man, O dedlyche senne peyny; 1393 LANGL., *P. Pl.* C. þe croys . . þat crist . . for mankynde on peynede. As to *pain* we find that it was used intransitively in the same text as *reach*, *i. e.* Langland's 'Piers Ploughman'. The parallel becomes complete, if we remember that also the passive form of the verbs *hang* and *pain* could be employed in this context.

Let us pass on to the NE. period and let us then first examine such verbs whose primary trans. sense may with more or less of difficulty be apprehended as causal. In this case a correlative intr. sense struggles for salience, though successfully counteracted by other factors. This intr. sense may denote state or attribution or else action or existence.

*The NE.  
period.*

Let us begin with such intr. constructions where an intr. sense of state or attribution struggles for salience. The explanation easiest found is to consider the secondary intr. construction as a manifestation of the causative law. Though here the intr. sense is not very prominent, this circumstance is here dependent on factors, *i. e.* the context and the comparative vitality of the trans. sense, which have nothing to do with the genesis of



the construction. In all cases where the causative aspect of the primary trans. sense is distinctly prominent, the correlative converted construction in the active form may unhesitatingly be ascribed to the causative law. Here belong the verbs *besmear* (to bring [= to cause to come] into a greasy, viscous, or sticky condition), *damage* and *damnify* (to bring into an injured state) *gull*, *wear away*, and *rub off* (= to bring into a worn or consumed state by attrition, etc.), *breed* and *hatch* (of an egg), (to bring into development), *scald* and *scorch* (to bring into a scalded or scorched state). As to quotations see p. 172 seq. The same is true of *demolish* (to bring a thing into a crushed state, into desintegration of its fabric), whose secondary intr. construction in the only quotation adduced by NED. corresponds to a Latin deponent, *viz.* 1609 BIBLE, *Joel*, Through the windowes they shal fal and shal not demolish (Vulg.: et non demolientur). Also a reflexive interpretation is perhaps possible in point of this verb though it presupposes involuntary activity on the part of the subject. But this explanation is by no means likely on account of the force of the causative law and the scarceness of examples with a reflexive form implying involuntary activity (cf. *nettle oneself*, *burn oneself*).

As to *modulate* the intrans. sense struggling for salience implies activity, *i. e.* 'to sound in varying cadence or harmony with'. As the primary trans. sense may be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* 'to cause to sound, etc.', the intr. construction may be ascribed to the causative law. But in the only quotation adduced in our material the intr. sense struggling for salience seems rather to involve 'mingle', *viz.* 1815 I wait thy breath, Great Parent, that my strain May modulate with murmurs of the air . . . And voice of living beings. It is therefore likely that the notion of 'mingle' has slipped in and conditioned the active form of the verb.

The intr. construction of *foil* is probably no specimen of cat. E. For it seems necessary here to admit the salience of also an intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to come into a state of ruin, or confusion. or dejection', 'to collapse': 1591 His toil He took, lest that the English state might foil. 1639 There be mindes which foyle in reading a history of great length, humane patience being not of any great extent. This intr. sense may be apprehended as correlative to the trans. sense 'overthrow, discomfit', and, if so, the secondary intr. construction may be explained as due to the causative law. But, if we acknowledge the predominance of the passive sense, *i. e.* 'to be defeated' (= 'to have a defeat or repulse', 'to have a baffling

check'), then the intr. construction of *foil* should be explained as a desubstantival new formation on *foil*, sb. (a repulse, defeat, a baffling check), recorded as early as c 1478.

The intr. sense struggling for salience in the intr. constr. of *mould* is the elementary verb of the inchoative or perfective tense-aspect, *i. e.* 'to grow, become', 1858 When the Norman man-at-arms had begun to mould into the English country gentleman. The primary trans. sense may be apprehended as its causative correlative, *i. e.* 'to cause to become', 'to bring into a state'. But the lack of a material import on the part of the intr. sense obscures the parallelism with other causative verbs presenting a correlative intr. sense and renders unlikely a causative mode of explanation. The intr. construction is by NED. supposed to be of reflexive origin and this explanation is possible, since the subject is capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. We should then acknowledge that a reflexive sense struggles for salience, since it was meant to be expressed. It is also possible that the intr. construction has originated from the use of the verb in the progressive form with a passive sense, *e. g.* 1612 Blest raigne! The Golden worlde is molding new againe. But, though this inflectional factor no doubt has influenced the origin of secondary intr. constructions ever since the 16th century, it should not be employed as a means of interpretation, unless it is impossible to find another explanation. For secondary intr. constructions of non-causal verbs are met with before the origination of the progressive form with a passive sense. Lastly, we may also suppose that the operating factor has been associative influence from verbs offering a causal sense and a correlative intr. meaning and construed with the preposition *into*, the main import of the intr. sense being 'to pass into', *e. g.* *concoct into*, *develop into*, *change into*, etc.

We have pointed out that a distinctly causative sense is presented by the trans. sense of verbs of cookery such as *bake*, *bail*, *cook*, *fry*, *grill*, *roast*, *broil*, *concoct*. We may therefore safely ascribe their correlative intr. function to the causative law. A reflexive mode of origin is adopted by NED. in point of *bake*, *boil*, *cook*, *concoct*. But a reflexive form has in these cases not been recorded, and would besides involve that the reflexive form could be employed as a passive or an intrans. formative, which is at variance with the linguistic usage of the English language. But another explanation is possible. As all these verbs present a close semo-



logical proximity to each other, it is evident that those of them which were the first to present also a correlative intr. sense, easily induced such a signification in point of the other verbs. The earliest instance of this semological contrast is presented by *fry*, trans. sense since 1340, intr. function in the 14th c., and in a transf. sense since 1583. The OF. prototype *frīre* had the intr. sense 'brûler de désir, frémir', but it is also employed (cf. Godefroy Complément) as a term of cookery in the trans. sense 'faire cuire dans une poêle avec de la graisse, etc.' It is most probable that also the intr. function of the verb as a term of cookery is of OF. date. The earliest recorded sense of *boil* of French provenance, is intransitive, *i. e.* 'to bubble up in agitation through the action of heat' (of a liquid, a 1225). The trans. sense 'to subject (food, etc.) to heat in boiling water', 'to cook' is found since c 1325. There is a great proximity between the former sense and the correlative intr. function of the latter. This is at least the case when the latter sense is predicated of liquids used as food (and not of solid articles), *e. g.* 'the milk boiled'. Therefore the secondary intr. function of the verb may very well be due to its primary intr. function. For it is only a natural extension of its predication sphere, if the verb in its secondary intr. use is predicated also of solid articles. The origin and history of the verb *broil* is somewhat doubtful. But it is likely that the prototype is the OF. verb *bruillir*, recorded by Godefroy in the intr. sense 'broil, burn' (*bruillir de soleil*). If so, the intr. sense of *broil* met with as early as 1642, is of French origin. The secondary intr. function of the other verbs, *i. e.* *bake* (1605), *concoct* (1677), *cook* (1891), *grill* (1842), *roast* (a 1400) may very well be due to associative influence from the verbs mentioned, *i. e.* *fry*, *boil*, *broil*.

We have now to consider such intr. constructions where, in spite of the preponderance of the passive sense, an intr. sense of action struggles for salience. Whenever the correlative trans. sense of these verbs has a distinctly causative aspect, the intr. construction may be ascribed to the causative law. For — as previously pointed out — the preponderant salience of a passive sense in the intr. construction (from the hearer's, reader's point of view) has nothing to do with the genesis of this construction. Here belong at least *cast* (in sense 'to cause (light, shadow) to fall'), *deposit* ('to cause a substance in a solution

to sink or lie down'), *drag* (in phrase 'to drag the anchor' = to let the anchor trail along the bottom), *draw* (in sense 'to drag'), i. e. to let (e. g. an article of dress) trail on the ground, cf. *draw* II., 1,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ); *launch* ('to cause [a vessel] to move or slide from the land', etc., 'to set afloat'). A reflexive interpretation is by NED. employed in point of *cast* and *drag*. As to *cast* this explanation is possible, when it is predicated of 'light' and 'shadow', since these notions are easily apprehended as capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. But as to *drag* predicated of an anchor, a reflexive interpretation is for equivalent reasons inadmissible. On the other hand *deposit* predicated of silver in a solution and in this function described by NED. as 'intr.', may be explained also in the reflexive way, since the subject may be apprehended as capable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb. If we adopt a reflexive explanation in point of *cast* and *deposit*, then we should at the same time admit that also a refl. sense is in some measure salient.

There are in our material several verbs whose intr. construction offers a slight salience of an intr. sense of action, but whose correlative trans. meaning may only with a certain amount of difficulty be apprehended as causal. Such is the case when the verb has connotations implying a particular intensity of activity on the part of the subject. Examples of this kind are *brandish*, *cast* (an anchor), *draw out* (a spear), *draw tight* (a rope) *draw up* (a curtain), *haul down* (a flag) and *hoist*<sup>1</sup>, *pawl* (a windlass), *weigh* (an anchor). Now the question is whether the slight salience of a causative aspect cannot here have directly occasioned the intr. construction, which implies that the latter is due to the causative law. True, this implies that the force of this law has been manifested in an extraordinary way. But it seems to us that as long as we acknowledge even a slight salience of a causative aspect, we are scarcely entitled to deny that the intr. construction of these verbs may be due to the causative law. But, though this explanation seems to be possible, it is by no means so likely as to be

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<sup>1</sup> We have assigned *hoist* to cat. C., thus acknowledging the distinct salience of an intr. sense. But, descriptively speaking, the verb seems to be on a par with *haul*. In other words, the trans. sense seems to imply a connotation of particular activity and admits therefore only with difficulty of being apprehended as causative. But, if so, its intr. function must have a predominant passive aspect.



preferable to other means of interpretation. It will be remembered that the intr. sense of all the verbs just mentioned imply passive motion. There is no doubt that this sense often becomes salient in the passive form of the verbs. Therefore, as intr. verbs denoting passive motion are still in the NE. period frequently conjugated with *to be*, it is not altogether impossible to assume that the secondary intr. sense of the verbs under consideration may be due to this inflectional fact. A reflexive explanation is employed by NED. to account for the intr. construction of *brandish* (predicated of a sword), *cast* (predicated of an anchor), *draw (up)* (predicated of a curtain), *haul down* (predicated of a flag). In all these instances a reflexive form has not been recorded and the subjects are incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the several verbs. A reflexive interpretation, therefore, is here inadmissible. But there are other explanations which are equally or else far more likely than the causative and the inflectional interpretation.

In the case of *brandish*, the intr. construction should be explained in the same way as in point of *flourish*. In other words, the direct object of the trans. sense oscillates towards an instrumental adjunct and the possibility of apprehending the complement in the latter way gave rise to the intr. construction. Also in the present case we may sometimes come across an instrumental adjunct instead of a direct object. *e. g.* c 1430 *How Gd. Wyf taugt Dan.* in Babees Bk. (1868) 39 Brandische not *with* þin heed.

Also the intr. construction of *pawl* recorded in the following example admits of a particular explanation: 1819 If, in heaving the windlass about, any of the handspikes should happen to break, the windlass would pawl of itself. True reflexivity involves that the grammatical subject is indicated as the actual performer of the verbal action and at the same time as the object of this action. Therefore the adequate form of the predicate-verb is the active form + a reflexive pronoun, which, however, sometimes may be suppressed. Again the reflexivity offered by the present case is of a somewhat different kind. The adjunct 'of itself' implies rather a causal than an agential adjunct, *i. e.* the grammatical subject is indicated rather as the cause than as the performer of the verbal action. Therefore, as the grammatical subject at the same time is meant to be indicated as the object of the action, the adequate form of the predicate-verb is the passive form, *i. e.* 'the windlass was pawled of itself'. It is this very fact that makes the sentence

'the windlass pawled of itself' present a preponderant passive import. The use of the active form must be anomalous, if it is meant to have a trans. sense with a reflexive pronoun tacitly implied, *i. e.* a truly reflexive sense. For, apart from being described as the object of the verbal action, the grammatical subject is indicated both as the performer of the action and as its originator, its cause, which appears as tautological. The construction 'the windlass pawled of itself' may therefore be explained as a blending between the two constructions 'the windlass pawled itself' and 'the windlass was pawled of itself'. However, in the present case we should admit that the trans. sense of *pawl* may be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* 'to cause (a windlass) to come to a standstill by means of a pawl', though the instrumental element of the import (*i. e.* 'by means of a pawl') counteracts the salience of a causal aspect. If so, the use of the active form may be ascribed to the causative law and the salience of also an intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to come to a standstill (by means of a pawl)', must be acknowledged. As the verb *pawl* is desubstantival, it is perhaps also possible to consider the use of the active form as a desubstantival new formation. But, if so, we must acknowledge the salience of also another intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to put in the pawl (so as to come to a standstill)'.

In the NE. period admit-class constructions in the active form but with a passive sense had become a formative law also in point of non-causal trans. verbs (cf. cat. F). We may suppose that the frequent use of such verbs in these constructions has sometimes contributed to using the same verbs in E-class constructions. In other words, from such constructions as 'this spear will not draw out, draws out readily', we may easily come to the construction, 1891 The harpoon did not penetrate sufficiently . . and therefore *drew out*. We cannot deny the possibility of this manner of origin, but the prerequisite is that the verb is likely to often occur in 'admit-class' function. Such is in our opinion the case with *draw out* (of a spear), *draw tight* (of a rope), *haul down* (of a flag), but scarcely with *draw up* (of a curtain) or *weigh* (of an anchor).

We have previously shown that the infinitive and the present participle combined with *to be* may be used in a passive sense, *e. g.* 1711 *Were* they like Spanish Jennets *to impregnate* by the Wind. 1797 I found . . the Spanish ensign *hauling down*. 1755 The French [language] for these last fifty years *has been polishing*, as much as it



will bear. It would be a natural extension of the passive function of the verb in these constructions to use the verb with the same sense and in the same form also in E-class constructions. In point of fact this analogical extension is so natural that the constructions mentioned must in some measure often have influenced the origination of E-class constructions. But a necessary prerequisite is that the verb in question is likely to often occur in the constructions mentioned. Such is perhaps the case with *draw tight*, *haul down*, *weigh*, *cast* (of an anchor). However, this mode of explanation ultimately based on the frequent use of the verb in a certain construction, should be very rarely employed.

We have now to consider such secondary intr. functions where an intr. sense of existence struggles for salience, though the passive sense preponderates. Here belong the verbs *wear away* (predicated of a feeling, etc.) and *rub off* (predicated of 'the plating of Anglicism') implying loss of existence, and *grin* (predicated of satisfaction) involving existence. The trans. sense of the two former verbs may be apprehended as causal (though with some difficulty, since they imply a connotation of particular activity, *i. e.* attrition), *i. e.* to bring into a consumed state or non-existence by attrition, etc. Therefore the intr. function may be explained as due to the causative law. In the case of *rub off*, however, the intr. function has most probably sprung from the use of the verb in admit-class sense, which is recorded two centuries earlier than the intr. function (cf. p. 214).

Let us pass on to such verbs whose primary trans. sense must be apprehended as non-causal.

The only trans. verbs of attribution recorded by us in a converted function in the active form, are *contain* and *hold*, *i. e.* to be contained in (to be situated in, to remain), to be held of, *e. g.* 1528 Asia contenis in the Orient. 1563 It doth cleanse the places where the stones containe. 1654 *Allodium* . . signifies Land that holds of nobody. 1648 A Lease which holds of your College. 1665 My crown is absolute, and holds of none. The intr. construction of *contain* is no doubt due to that confusion with the verb *continue*, 'to remain', which occurred in late ME. and early NE.<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the case with quot. 1563, where the sense of the verb oscillates between 'to remain' and 'to be contained'. Again, quot. 1528 where the sense 'to remain' cannot be traced had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NED. s. v. *contain* 17 b., *continue* III 17.

better be explained as formed on the pattern of sentences such as quot. 1563. Otherwise there is no alternative left but to consider the intr. construction as having been suggested by the reflexive form in French. If so, the reflexive pronoun has been omitted owing to the salience of an intr. sense and the non-occurrence of the reflexive form as an intr. or passive formative in English. This reflexive explanation may also be true of the intr. function of *hold* whose trans. sense 'to own, have as property *of* or *from* (a person)' evidently is of French origin (cf. 11 . . . *Ronc.* p. 7, De vos [il] tenra Espagne a governor (Littré)). Otherwise it is impossible to find an explanation, unless we are of opinion that the intr. construction originated from cases where it was meant to represent the intemporal class of cat. F, as in quotes. 1654, 1665 and that this function here requires an explanation of its own. This possibility will be discussed in the sequel (cf. the ultimate origin of the intemporal class).

As to the secondary intr. construction of *count* and *reckon*, let us examine its origin in connection with the genesis of the intemporal class. For the converted function of these verbs occurs also in an intemporal sense.

The verb *grin*, originally only intr., appeared since the 17th century also with trans. force implying 'to express by grinning', *e. g.* 'to grin one's praise (1681)', 'to grin defiance (1732)', 'to grin approbation (1748)', 'to grin applause (1822)', 'to grin farewell (1894)'. The kind of adjunct represented by the complement was at least originally an object of result, *i. e.* to grin so as to result in praise, defiance, etc. But the complement may here also be apprehended as a direct object, since the sense 'express (by grinning)' is distinctly salient. A converted use of this trans. sense dressed in the active form is rarely met with, *e. g.* 1749 The counterfeit Satisfaction which grinned in the features of the young one. This sentence may also be apprehended as a predication of causal adjunct, the corresponding logical construction being 'the young one grinned from satisfaction'. The intr. function in question should be considered as being meant to condition a predication of causal adjunct and therefore as formed independently of the trans. construction. But it is the existence of the latter that lends the sentence the aspect of a predication of direct object.

The secondary intr. construction of *damn* is rarely met with and only in desiderative expressions, *viz.* 1611 Sir shall I lie? Yes,



lie and damn, rather than tell me that. 1625 So he serve My purpose, let him hang or damn, I care not. Let it be noticed that the trans. sense 'to doom to eternal punishment in the world to come, to condemn to hell' implies a desiderative or hortative element, *i. e.* to wish (order) (a person) + an intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to come (go) to hell'. Thus the semological structure of the trans. sense offers a striking parallel of a causative sense, in as much as an intr. sense constitutes an element of the trans. import. We may therefore ascribe the intr. function of the verb to analogical influence from the causative law, all the more as the desiderative element has found a particular expression in the desiderative form of the sentences.

The verb *entwine* is employed in a distinctly converted sense in the following quotation, 1809 No more entwines with flowers his shining sword. This use of the verb is by NED. described as 'intr. for refl.' But, as the subject is incapable of the reflexivity conditioned by the verb, a reflexive interpretation presupposes that the subject is metaphorically apprehended as capable of reflexivity or, at any rate, that the intr. construction is due to associatiave influence from such cases where the subject is capable of true reflexivity. In the former case a collateral reflexive sense must be acknowledged as salient, which here involves that the construction is of a direct reflexive origin. In the latter case the assumption of the salience of a reflexive sense is not necessary, since already in cases where the subject is capable of reflexivity the verbal import oscillates towards an intr. sense, which has caused the suppression of the reflexive pronoun. To assume a direct reflexive origin of the construction in our quotation is scarcely allowable, since it involves an unlikely personification of 'sword'. But to assume the indirect reflexive origin implied in the latter alternative, is of course possible, though, owing to the nature of the grammatical subject, a preponderent passive sense becomes salient. In other words, the causal aspect presented by the trans. sense of *intertwine* when combined with certain grammatical objects is in the present case not permissible and therefore the passive sense is predominant in our quotation. But this fact should not prevent us from admitting that the construction in our quotation may very well be due to influence from such cases where the intr. construction of the verb is of reflexive origin or else an outcome of the causative law. It is also possible to apprehend the active form of the verb as

suggested by the examples of the admit-class, since the import of the sentence seems to oscillate, though slightly, towards admit-class sense (= can no more be entwined with). Cf cat. F.

As to *instance*, the quotation adduced in our material should not have been classed as a representative of cat. E: a 1667 This story does not only instance in Kingdoms, but in families too. For its import oscillates between the intemporal class and the admit-class of cat. F (= is usually instanced or admits of being instanced). Cf. cat. F, ultimate origin.

As to *invest*, which is rather of French provenance (Fr. *investir*) than of Latin origin (L. *investire*), the secondary intr. construction is rare: 1602 How . . the Crowne-right of the House of Edward the first inuested in the Familie of York. We have perhaps rashly denied the possibility of tracing a causal sense in the trans. meaning of the verb, *i. e.* 'to settle (a right or power) in (a person)', though this sense is very much equivalent to the verb *give*. But in both cases we may perhaps say that the trans. sense implies 'to cause to come or pass into a person's possession'. If so, the active form of *invest* should here be explained as due to the causative law. But if this law is not applicable in the present case, we may have recourse to the reflexive interpretation, in as much as the intr. construction may have been suggested by the French reflexive form, whereas the refl. pronoun was omitted, since in English it had not got the function of a passive (or an intr.) formative. The intr. construction of the verb may also be due to its function in admit-class sense, *i. e.* 'will (not) invest' or the like. This function, though not actually recorded in the case of the verb, was possible at that time. These are the only explanations that can be thought of, unless we can prove that the intr. construction is due to influence from another verb. Such a verb may be *devolve* (< Lat. *devolvere*, roll down), whose secondary sense, *i. e.* 'to pass down by inheritance or legal right to (another person)', is allied to and earlier than the non-trans. sense of *invest*. The correlative trans. sense is here distinctly causative, *i. e.* 'to cause to pass into the hands of another', and is a figurative use of the primary causative sense of 'roll down'. The intr. function of *devolve*, if secondary in English, is therefore due to the causative law.

The active form of the desubstantival verb *lock* predicated of a door is no doubt due to associative influence from the allied verbs *close*, *shut*, *open*, which already early appeared in the active form with a passive sense.



The intr. construction of *play out* predicated of a farce (1835) is due to associative influence from the expression *play off*, of fireworks and figuratively also of a farce (1767). Again, the intr. function of *play off* is due to the causative law since the correlative trans. sense may be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* let off (fireworks), cause to go off.

Let us turn to the secondary function of *reflect*, predicated of clouds etc. (= to be mirrored). The preponderance of the passive sense is here due to the trans. sense 'mirror', which is non-causal. But the intr. construction itself is only an analogical extension of the intr. use of the verb, when predicated of beams or rays of light. In this case the verb means 'to turn back after striking or falling upon a surface', 'to be reflected'. The correlative trans. sense has then a distinctly causal aspect and the intr. construction is consequently due to the causative law.

The late use of *let* ('to grant the temporary possession of') in a passive meaning dressed in the active form, occurs in our material both in a temporal and an intemporal sense and will therefore be explained when we examine the ultimate origin of the intemporal class of cat. F. The same is the case with *sell* and *retail*.

The following quotations of *realize* present an oscillation between cat. E (= præd. obj.) and the resultative class of cat. F: 1863 if the same pictures realised a hundred guineas each (= was actually realized at a h. g. each or brought a h. g. each when realized). 1885 His duty was to see that the property realised its full value (= was actually realized at its f. v. or brought its f. v. when realized). The ultimate origin of the construction will therefore be explained when we examine the genesis of the resultative class.

An oscillation between cat. E and the modal class of cat. F must be rare, since the instances of the modal class are mostly intemporal and therefore, if oscillating, oscillate not towards cat. E but towards the intemporal class of cat. F. Cf. p. 443.

To our instances of cat. E we may add the verb *tell* in the following quotation where the primary trans. sense is 'to count as', 'to count for': 1774 BURKE *Corr.* (1844) I 448 Lord Verney . . has told in parliament, including himself, for four members. The origin of the construction will be explained when we deal with the intemporal class of cat. F.

## F. Predications of direct object & attribution.

The verbal change of meaning involved in the present category consists in the adoption of a sense which implies not only a conversion of a primary transitive meaning but such connotations as make the verbal import appear as a more or less characteristic quality of the grammatical subject. Thus the secondary signification implies a sense of attribution but with a passival aspect. Consequently its predication is such as to condition at the same time a predication of direct object and a predication of attribution.

This general description of the category comprises three different subclasses. One of these may be called the intemporal class, since the only difference from the other descriptive categories (*i. e.* cats. A, B, C, D, E) is that the predicate-verb has intemporal sense. This sense involves that the import of the predicate-verb when qualifying the subject is not restricted to a particular time, but that this qualification is always or usually true. Consequently, owing to the passive aspect of the predicate-verb, the grammatical subject is described as having the quality of always or usually being the object of a specified action. Thus, but for the intemporal sense, every such verbal import would belong to one of the other descriptive categories into which we have divided our material. As examples: *cat. A*: 1753 The knotty Oaks *bend* before the Blast. 1519 These elements . . . *commix* together daily. 1742 Thoughts *disentangle* passing o'er the lip. a 1673 Boughs usually catch, and *intangle* one in another. 1748 Prejudices in disfavour of a person at his first appearance, *fix* deeper . . . than prejudices in favour. 1614 And from his springs A vertue takes, which *neuer mings* With other streame. — *Cat. B*, *e. g.* 1638 The fruit [banana] put into your mouth,

*Different kinds of prædication objecti & attributionis.*

(1) *The intemporal class.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NOREEN, *Vårt språk*, V, 3, p. 273, 279, Lund 1898. The terms 'temporal' and 'intemporal' sense corresponds to Sweet's terms 'definite' and 'indefinite' tenses. Cf. SWEET, *A New English Grammar* I, 103.



*dissolves* and yeelds a most incomparable relish. 1873 Olefiant gas *dissolves* considerably in water. 1614 Sophi by all likelyhood was giuen him with regard to his reformed profession, as the word *interprets*. 1686 The oftener it is sublimed, the more it does *dulcify*, and . . 1832 Last week the coach travelled nearly empty . . [Now] the coach *loads* better than ever. 1893 This coach always *loads* well. 1712 The Fire of Youth will of course abate, and is a Fault . . that *mends* every Day. 1635 Blessings unus'd *pervert* into a Wast, As well as Surfeits. 1842 Those fair complexions, they *freckle* so. 18 . . The implements . . are of sandstone [or] quartzite, neither of which *fractures* properly when subjected to heat. a 1618 The right Cube's Figure . . Whose quadrat flatnesse never doth *disfigure*. a 1643 The Field unplowed *overgrows* with weeds. — *Cat. C, e.g.* 1851 The steam *exhausts* through the centre opening. 1725 A white Liquor which *filtrates* thro' the Glands of Women's Breasts. — *Cat. D:* 1626 Fleas *breed* principally of Straw or Mats, etc. 1866 The words Comus and Encomium *derive* thence . . 1840 Conventions . . in constant succession bubble up, *form*, and *dispel*. 1640 Libels neglected quickly find their own graves, and *dissipat* to ayr. 1567 The Cristall . . *engendreth* not so much of the waters coldnesse. 1881 A tree *evolves* in obedience to his [God's] laws. 1683 Only as . . conjoined with our affections, which commix, coincide, and as it were *identifi* with that grandest and Divinest Myserie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh. 1585 The snow . . *preserveth* all the whole Sommer in hys accustomed nature and coldnesse without melting. 1805 This sort of leaven soon *purges off*. 1834 Peter, that's just the first feeling which *wears away* after a time. — *Cat. E: Mod.* In this examination the first 250 marks do not *count* at all. 1820 The carambole *counts* two. 1833 First and last, we *counted* as eight children . . though never counting more than six living at once. 1889 High birth . . among the haughty Castilians *has always counted* for a great deal. 1893 A little corner flap-table which *makes* into a good-sized square when the flap is up. 1864 And tho' thou *numberest* with the followers Of One who cried, Leave all and follow me. 1870 Law offices *opened* at eight o'clock in those days. 1898 After the fashion . . of the sailors, with whom strength of arm *reckons* before style. 1881 Bartlett's compilation . . *retails* for three dollars. 1892 Yours [*i. e.* hair] *takes off* at night. SHAKS. Like the brooch and the toothpick, which *wear* not now.

(2) *The modal class.*

Another subclass of verbal senses conditioning predications of object & attribution may be called the modal class. True, the verb is here generally (but not always) used in an intemporal sense, but the characteristic feature of the category is that the predicate-verb has a modal modification implying that the grammatical subject is of such a quality that it *admits* of being or, rarely, *should* (*must*) be the object of a specified action.

Let us first consider the former case, which may be called 'the admit-class'. The modal element is very often not expressed



by a particular modal auxiliary, whether the sentence is negative or affirmative. As examples<sup>1</sup>: 1875 Gold and iron *alloy* with ease. a 1619 Quicksilver easily *amalgams* with metals. 1790 This test *applies* to every supposition. 1873 One particle of ore *beats out* such leaf! 1839 A jacket that *buttons* up close to the neck. 1751 Alabaster *cuts* very smooth and easy. 1574 Weathers over olde are to be refused in eating in that they . . smally nourish and hardly *digest*. 1861 A plate well washed . . *developes* cleaner than one washed insufficiently. 1894 I remember a carriage . . with curtains that *drew* in front of it. 1747 The Skin *drew* or *stretch'd* like a Piece of Doe-Leather. c 1575 Meates w<sup>ch</sup> *endew* sonest and maketh the hardest panell. 1730 The rough part of them *fastens* very well with Mortar. 1398 That cassia is best that *brekyth* not soone but *bendyth* and *foldeth*. 1884 The Florentine artist . . only adopted those principles which *grafted* most readily on his preconceived ideas. 1857 On inquiry of butchers . . I find that one characteristic of a beast which *kills* well, is to have a little stomach. 1846 It *leams* well. 1598 An old Cloake *makes* a new Ierkin. 1870 Scotch barley . . does not *malt* well. 1763 The flax thus managed *dresses* and *manufactures* much better. 1864 When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and do not *mesh* well. 1762 It [the word 'glorification'] found favour among their long-winded divines, only because it was so long, and *mouthed* so well. 1477 Upon Nature thei falsely lye For Mettalls doe not *Multiplie*. 1879 The harder metals which *do not oxidate readily*, being preferred. 1867 It all *takes* to pieces, *packs* up easily. 1641 They [pease] *pull* the best when they are the most feltered together. 1866 This rule *reads* both ways. 1895 They *reduce* to two classes. 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight . . *retracts* within a strong sheath. 1683 When the Shank of a Letter has a proper Thickness, Founders say, It *Rubs* well. 1726 A white sort of Stone . . which *Saws* easier than Wood itself. 1860 War was always detrimental . . But in old times . . it *painted* well, *sang* divinely, furnished Iliads. *Mod.* Cloth that *tears* readily. *Mod.* Colours that do not *wash* well.

On the other hand, the modal element of the 'admit-class' is very often expressed by a particular auxiliary, *i. e.* *will*, and, comparatively rarely, *may*, *can*.

As examples of *may* as modal auxiliary may be given: c 1450 Thei ben so fewe that thei *may not compare* with them. 1577 In daintinesse and goodnesse of meat, the [turkey] Hennes *may compare* with either the goose, or the Pehen, and the Cocke farre excell them. 1874 This volume . . *may count* among the scarcest works of its time. 1703 That the String *may draw* tight upon the Work. c 1230 Hare weden *ne mahen evenen* to hare. 1646 That plants and ligneous bodies *may*

<sup>1</sup> Several of these examples oscillate towards the intemporal or the resultative class.



*indurate* under water . . we have experiment in Coralline. 1822 My mester *may lead*, but he winna drive. 1693 Their matter must be of good temper'd Steel, so that the edge *may* neither turn, or *notch* easily. 1546 The best car *maie ouerthrowe*. 1778 They [beans] *may not pull* so easily in dry weather. 1470—85 Thenne he . . was ware of a damoyssel that came ryde ful faste as the horse *myghte ryde*.

As examples of *can* as modal auxiliary may be adduced: 1864 I am a foreign material, and *cannot assimilate* with the Church of England. 1796 Wha wi' Jeanie *could compare*? 1876 As athletes men *cannot* for a moment *compare* with horses or tigers or monkeys. 1578 A hurt . . vnto the Nerue before it enter into the Muscle . . *can not* by any meanes *conioyne*, or *knitte* together agayne. 1857 The lower classes *can count* for little in [their] eyes. a 1763 The Coach was full as it *could cram*. 1839 Who would think that a nonentity *could cut* into so many somethings? 1607 My heart is fast, and *cannot disentangle*. 1681 Grace *can no more incorporate* with sin, than oyle with water. 1705 When he is to be buried I can't tell, but they say he *can't keep* long. 1889 Your story, however, *can keep*. 1727 The main yard *could not lower*. 1877 The lower one [lamination line] . . consists of coarse sand which *could not mash*, and therefore has been thrown into folds. SHAKS. *Macbeth*, Till Byrnem wood remoue to Dunsinane I *cannot taint* with Feare.

As examples of *will* as modal auxiliary may be quoted<sup>1</sup>: 1677 Iron . . if it be too cold . . *will not batter* under the Hammer. 1684 Its edges *will never blunt*. 1884 It *will not coke*. 1675 They *will commix* as Iron and Clay. *Mod.* A landscape which *will compare* not unfavourably with the masterpieces of the Dutch School. 1851 Definite dogma, intelligible articles, formularies which *would construe*, a consistent ritual. *Mod.* This sentence *will not construe*; I can make nothing of it. *Mod.* His verses did not scan, and *would barely construe*. 1796 The strong lands . . are much chilled . . and *will cross badly* . . for want of dry winds. 1829 The whole [manure] . . *will cut out* like a jelly. 1854—56 The best [fare], Wanting this natural condiment . . *will not digest*. 1786 But Facts are cheels that *winna ding*, An' downa be disputed. 1572 When . . their ensignes *will not displaie* abroad but fold about the stander-bearers heads. 1718 We find Sugar *will dissolve* in the strongest Solution of Common Salt that can be made. 1864 This land *won't drain*. 1819 The present set . . *will not dramatize*. 1836 The story *would dramatize* admirably. 1802 A rove-ash oar that *will dress* clean and light, is too pliant. 1806 This dish *will dress* very well with the cheese of our own country. a 1774 At twenty-six yards distance it [the ball] *would drive* through an oakboard half an inch thick. 1793 The trenail *would drive* no further. 1837 Things, which lie very black in our Earth's Annals, yet which *will not erase*

<sup>1</sup> Some of these instances oscillate towards the resultative class.



therefrom. 1837 This conflagration of the South-East will abate . . *extinguish* it *will not*, till the fuel be all done. 1604 Women are flax, and *will fire* in a moment. 1774 Gunpowder *will* readily *fire* with a spark. 1666, till the Menstruum *would guild no more*, when [etc.]. 1664 It is observ'd that Oak *will not* easily *glue* to other Wood. 1886 Sheldon adjoined Winston, and *would groove* into that estate nicely. 1625 Truth and Falshood . . are like the Iron and Clay . . ; They may Cleaue, but they *will not Incorporate*. a 1600 This . . *will kepe* but one yeare good. 1626 Grapes . . it is reported . . *will keep* better in a vessel half full of wine, so that [etc.]. 1847 He brought home more venison than *would keep* in the hot weather. 1792 She wailing, in most piteous case, Of stubborn stays — that *would not lace*. 1680 This is a fine pliable principle . . 'twill *lap* about your finger like Barbary Gold. 1607 Till hee be so tame . . that he *will leade* vppe and downe quietly. 1887 In the morning the pupils [colts] have learnt their lesson, and *will lead* anywhere. 1844 The windows *would not lift*. *Mod.* The door *will not lock*. 1592 Doost thou think to liue till his olde doublet *will make* thee a new trusse? 1861 Her striped silk, turned, *will make up* as handsome as ever. 1625 Is't a Cleare businesse? *will* it *mannage* well? My name must not be vs'd else. c 1400 His herte is hard, that *wole not meke*, whan men of mekenesse him biseke. 1801 After which they [mackerel] *will not mesh*, but are caught with hooks. 1863 The Burnet . . *will not mill*, but simply gets its wings broken off. 1530 Oyle and water *wyll never mengyll together*. 1889 It is often the way with heroes: they *will not mix*. 1884 A thin layer of solution *will nitrify* sooner than a deep layer. *Mod.* This door *will not open*. c 1400 The see may never be so stil, That with a litel winde it *nil Overwhelme* and turne also. 1880 Anxious . . whether his sentences *will parse*. 1393 In kase be that this wytword *will noght perfurnysche*, I will it be abrydged. 1794 The yarn . . *will pick* into oakum. 1622 Buckram . . is too stiffe and unplyable, by which means it *will not quilt* like the other. 1727 The book *will read* without it. 1884 The liabilities are estimated at £ 130,000, and the assets *will*, it is assumed, *realise* well. 1632 The water of Jordan . . *will reserue* vnspoiled, both moneths and yeares. 1632 The Dromidory . . *will ride* aboue 80 miles in the day. 1699 A Tree we call Cypress . . ; it is soft and spungy, *will not Rive*. 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, *will cut* and *rive* in any direction. 1726 It is very soft, and *will easily rub* to pieces. 1859 They [marks] *will easily rub out*. 1877 Dirt *will rub off* when it is dry. 1857 Martin . . proceeded . . to convert these . . into Latin that *would scan*. H. J. BYRON, *Won't the picture sell?* O'CURRY, and I know several old poems that *will sing* to it. SHAKS. *ILL.*, if virtue's gloss *will stain* with any soil . . MRS. GASKELL, And I dare say lavender *will wear* better than sea-green. GOLD-SMITH, but such qualities as *would wear well*. BUNYAN, and shoes that *would not wear out*. *Mod.* I want a cloth that *will not wear*.

In all these examples *will* (*would*) may be apprehended as a modal auxiliary (= may, can). But in all of them it is possible



to trace, though faintly, also another sense (cf. the salience of an intr. sense).

The predicate-verbs of the admit-class have very often a *descriptive adverbial extension*. The occurrence of this extension seems to be as follows.

When the predicate-verb is destitute of a modal auxiliary, a descriptive adverbial extension is but rarely wanting. As examples: 1775 Gold and iron alloy *with ease*. 1763 The flax thus managed dresses and manufactures much *better*. 1864 When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and do not mesh *well*. 1751 Alabaster cuts *very smooth and easy*. 1866 This rule reads *both ways*. 1598 An old Cloake makes *a new Jerkin*. 1790 This text applies *to every supposition*. 1839 A jacket that buttons *up close to the neck*. 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight...retracts *within a strong sheath*. In our material we meet with only a few instances destitute of an adverbial extension and all of them (except *fold*) occur in negative sentences. These instances are: 1477 Upon Nature thei falsely lye For Mettals *doe not Multiplie*. 1794 It *does not inflame*, unless mixed with atmospheric or with vital air. 1834 The coarse [gravel], it is true, *does not bind*. 1846 *Do not* the hot and cold water *intermix?* 1846 Swedish transplant very well like the common cabbage, but the true turnip, the white globe or yellow, *do not transplant*.<sup>1</sup> 1884 Mild steel containing from 0.05 to 0.20 per cent. of carbon will weld, but *does not temper*.<sup>1</sup> 1884 One advantage you swarthy people have over us — you *don't tan*. *Mod.* His verses *did not scan* and would barely construe. 1793 Having a joint in the middle, it *folds*.

When the predicate-verb has a modal auxiliary, the number of our instances without an adverbial extension is but little inferior to the number of those with this extension. It is then immaterial whether the sentence is a negative or an affirmative one. As examples: a) 1699 A Tree we call Cypress . . , it is soft and spungy, *will not Rive*. 1777 If it had not been tighter '*would neither have hooked nor buttoned*. 1792 She wailing, in most piteous case, Of stubborn stays — that *would not lace*. 1819 The present set . . *will not dramatize*. 1851 Definite dogma, intelligible articles formularies which *would construe*, a consistent ritual. 1857 Martin . . proceeded . . to convert these . . into Latin that *would scan*. 1879 Indeed, he once so far forgot himself as to inquire 'Whether it [the tone] *would wash?* 1863 The Burnet . . *will not mill*, but simply gets its wings broken off. 1880 Anxious . . whether his sentences *will parse*. *Mod.* This door *will not open*. *Mod.* This door *will not lock*. 1607 let us like merchants show our foulest wares and think perchance they'll *sell*. b) c 1600 This will kepe but *one* yeare *good*. 1604 Women are flax, and will fire *in a moment*. 1607 Till

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material addeed in our dealing with the extent of cat. F.

hee be so tame . . . that he will leade *vppe and downe quietly*. 1622 Buckram . . . is too stiffe and unplyable. by which means it will not quilt *like the other*. 1677 Iron . . . if it be too cold . . . will not batter *under the Hammer*. 1726 It is very soft, and will *easily* rub to pieces. 1766 but such qualities as would wear *well*. 1796 The strong lands . . . are much chilled . . . and will cross *badly* . . . for want of dry winds. 1798 I do not think it will wash *well*, I am afraid it will fray. 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, will cut and rive *in any direction*. 1836 The story would dramatize *admirably*. O'CORRY, I know it [Ossianic hymn] myself very well, and I know several old poems that will sing *to it*.

As to *the nature of the descriptive adverbial extension* it is appropriate to make a distinction between the case when, directly or indirectly, the extension denotes the degree of facility with which the grammatical subject admits of being made the object of the verbal action, and the case when its import is another. This distinction is of importance, since in *affirmative* admit-class sentences destitute of a modal auxiliary, the predicate-verb almost always seems to require at least an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility'. It does not seem to be common to say, *e. g.* 'His verses scan' in sense of 'His verses admit of being scanned'. From our material we can only adduce two instances of this type, *viz.* 1793 Having a joint in the middle, it *folds* (= admits of being folded). 1881 RAYMOND *Mining Gloss.* s. v., A metallic compound in which these qualities [hardness and elasticity] can thus be produced is said to *temper*, or to take temper (= to admit of being tempered).<sup>1</sup> Unless we employ a modal auxiliary, *i. e.* 'His verses will scan', it seems to be almost necessary to add an adverbial extension denoting the degree of facility with which the verses admit of being scanned, *e. g.* *easily, with ease, readily, well, nicely, admirably, divinely, naturally, favourably*, etc. (*badly* = not well, *ill* = not well, *hardly* = not readily, *barely* = not very readily, etc., involve at the same time a negation). It is obvious that adjuncts of this kind bear upon the modality of the sentence. For, if the affirmation or the negation of a sentence belongs to the category of mood, then adjuncts indicating the degree of facility with which the affirmation or the negation may be apprehended as true, have a modal reference. To the category of adverbial extensions denoting degree of facility we should mostly assign also adjuncts of comparison, *i. e.* *like* + a substantive,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material adduced when we deal with the extent of cat. F.



etc, may in admit-class sentences, as a rule, be apprehended as being equivalent to 'as readily (as badly) as the substantive in question'.

As examples of adverbial adjuncts denoting degree of facility: 1604 Women are flax, and will fire *in a moment* (= readily admit of being fired). 1607 Till hee be so tame . . . that he will leade uppe and downe *quietly* (= readily admit of being led up and down or else prove to be quiet or to behave quietly when led up and down). a 1619 Quick-silver *easily* amalgams with metals. 1625 Is't a Cleare businesse? will it manage *well*? 1626 Grapes . . . it is reported . . . will keep *better* in a vessel half full of wine, so that the grapes touch not the wine. 1626 Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh doth assimilate more *finely*. 1641 They [pease] pull *the best* when they are the most feltered together. 1668 'Tis a play that shall read and act *with any play* that ever was born (= admit as readily as any play of being read or acted). 1672 Say your hat did not cock *handsomely* (= readily admit of being cocked [with a favourable result]; this sense is perhaps less salient than the senses: admit of being cocked so as to look handsome' or 'prove to look handsome when cocked'). 1675 They will commix *as Iron and Clay* (= admit as readily as iron and clay of being commixed). 1680 This is a fine pliable principle . . . 'twill lap about your finger *like Barbary Gold* (= admit as readily as B. g. of being lapped). 1726 A white sort of Stone . . . which Saws *easier* than Wood itself. 1747 The Skin drew or strech'd *like a Piece of Doe-Leather* (= admit as readily as a piece of doe-leather of being drawn or stretched). 1796 The strong lands . . . are much chilled . . . and will cross *badly* . . . for want of dry winds. 1800 His Muse assorts *ill* with the personages of Christian mythology. 1829 The whole [manure] . . . will cut out *like a jelly* (= admit as badly as jelly of being cut out or prove to be like a jelly when cut out). a 1834 Your taste and mine do not always *exactly* identify. 1836 The story would dramatize *admirably*. 1837 Finding that it is harmonious, — that it dovetails and *naturally* assorts with other parts. 1860 War was always detrimental . . . But in old times . . . it painted *well*, sang *divinely*, furnished Iliads. c 1865 Different kinds of wax bleach *with different degrees of facility* (= admit with different degrees of facility of being bleached). 1866 It will apply *no less* to our own case (= admit just as readily of being applied to our own case). 1867 *Fair-lead*, is applied to ropes as suffering the least friction in a block, when they are said to lead *fair*. 1884 The Florentine artist . . . only adopted those principles which grafted *most readily* on his preconceived ideas. 1884 A thin layer of solution will nitrify *sooner* than a deep layer. 1886 Sheldon adjoined Winston, and would groove into that estate *nice*ly. 1897 The names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to compound *comfortably* with these terminatives. *Mod.* This compares *favourably* with the inertness of England. *Mod.* A landscape which will compare *not unfavourably* with the masterpieces of the Dutch School. *Mod.* The vessel steers *with ease*. *Mod.* His verses did not scan, and would *barely* construe.



As examples of adverbial adjuncts denoting a sense other than degree of facility: 1530 Oyle and water wyll never mengyll *together*. 1572 When . . their ensignes will not displaie *abroade* but fold about the stander-bearers heads. 1590 if virtue's gloss will stain *with any soil*. 1598 An old Cloake makes *a new Ierkin*. a 1600 This . . will kepe but one yeare *good*. 1626 A kind of steel . . which would polish almost as *white* and *bright* as silver. 1632 The water of Iordan . . will reserue *vnspoiled*, both moneths and yeares. 1632 The Dromidory . . will ride *about 80 miles in the day*. 1677 Iron . . if it be too cold . . will not batter *under the Hammer*. 1691 [They] put them over a Fire till they are more than Blood-warm; which will make them [skins] ladder and scour perfectly *clean*. 1703 These Hook-Pins . . drive *into the Pin-holes through the Mortesses and Tennants*. 1726 Beech . . will saw *into extreme thin Planks*. 1733 This Kind of Lint heckles away *almost to nothing*, and is indeed in Appearance very fine. 1765 My malt . . does not shrink so much when it comes to be laid in the kiln; of course it measures *to more advantage*. 1790 This test applies *to every supposition*. 1791 He carried with him a gun, which screwed *into three parts*. 1794 The yarn . . will pick *into oakum*. 1802 A rove-ash oar that will dress *clean and light*, is too pliant. 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, will cut and rive *in any direction*. 1837 Things, which lie very black in our Earth's Annals, yet which will not erase *therefrom*. 1846 When the small balls did not pack perfectly *tight*. 1847 He brought home more venison than would keep *in the hot weather*. 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight . . retracts *within a strong sheath*. 1866 This rule reads *both ways*. 1887 In the morning the pupils [colts] have learnt their lesson, and will lead *anywhere*. O'CURRY, I know it [Ossianic hymn] myself very well, and I know several old poems that will sing *to it*. *Mod.* The cloth does not cut *to advantage*.

Such are the morphological and semological characteristics of the admit-class sentences. We may add that, as already intimated, the predicate-verbs are, as a rule, used in an intemporal sense. There are, however, in our material several examples where the predicate-verb of 'the admit-class' has a temporal sense, *i. e.* the qualification lent to the subject by the predicate-verb is true only in point of a particular time. As examples: 1727 The main yard *could not lower*. 1793 The trenail *would drive* no further. 1847 He brought home more venison than *would keep* in the hot weather. 1844 The windows *would not lift*. *Mod.* The door *will not lock*. *Mod.* This door *will not open*. 1897 The child seemed languid and *would not nurse*.

Lastly it should be observed that in our material we have described as admit-class sentences also some quotations of a type other than that hitherto considered. Their characteristic trait is that the admit-class sense is not the proximate sense of the sen-



tence but a secondary sense, a synonymous meaning. Moreover the admit-class sense is always the same, *viz.* 'to admit of being seen'. Here belong: *disclose*, 1494 The displeasure atwene the Kynge & his barons began to appere and disclose (= to be brought to light, to come to light, to show itself = to admit of being seen). 1627—77 Vices . . which I can see, when they do disclose in them; *evolve*, 1800 The excellence of that character which gradually evolved on his admiring countrymen (= was unfolded, was brought to light, came to light, showed itself = admitted of being seen); *exhibit*, 1768—74 It is in the nature of the mind to assent to whatever appearances that exhibit when all other evidence that might correct them is removed out of her reach (= bring to light, come to light, exhibit themselves = admit of being seen): *kithe*, -y-, a 1300 Luken lune at þe end will kith (= will be brought into view, will come into view, will show itself = will admit of being seen). 1535 The langer ay the better it did kyth. 1585 Our true humility shall appear, and the fruit of our forming to that work kythe. 1821 A kindly spirit, which would sometimes kythe in actions of charity; *open*, 1745 The Town of Payta . . began to open in a direct line with it (= to be opened to sight, to be brought into view, to come into view, to make itself open or visible = to admit of being seen). a 1822 The stainless sky Opens beyond them like eternity. 1844 Down through the wood . . Till the chapel-cross opens to sight.

It is evident that, from a genetic point of view, such pseudo-admit-class sentences are not on a par with true admit-class constructions and that for this reason, too, they must be kept apart from them. Yet, sometimes even a true admit-class sentence may offer the secondary sense 'admit of being seen'. As example: *develop* (in fotogr.), 1861 A plate well washed . . developes cleaner than one washed insufficiently (= admits of being developed cleaner or proves to become or to appear cleaner when developed = admits better of being seen [of the latent image of the plate]).

Let us turn to the other variety of the modal class, *i. e.* the should or must-class. This category has such a small extent that it is superfluous to apply the morphological and semological distinctions made in point of the admit-class. For we cannot here be concerned with a living formative principle of considerable vitality where such considerations may be of moment. Let us, however, point out that even here the modal element may, though rarely, be destitute of a modal auxiliary as a representative.

As examples of the case when no modal auxiliary has been expressed: 1823 Now arose a difficulty — whether the property of the late King *demised* to the King or to the Crown (= should [or even must] be demised). 1881 The face-plate which *screws on* the mandrils (= should be screwed on . . or perhaps is always screwed on . .').



As examples of the case when a modal auxiliary represents the modal element: 1606 They *should* be vtterly rooted out, and the posteritye of their name *extirp*. 1845 The fruit should be finely flavoured, and . . . *should* boil easily. 1888 Shoes . . . *should* . . . lace from the toe, as high up the foot as is possible. 1861 Oxford ought to be the place . . . where money *should* count for nothing. 1894 If possible, the theme *should* graft on to a vigorous and well grown stock of native interest. — 1791 I *must* either *cure* or die. 1837 All delineation . . . *must* either *found* on Belief and provable Fact, or have no foundation at all.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> of the sub-classes into which predications of object & attribution should be divided, may be called the resultative class. Proximately this term seems to be appropriate only in the case when the whole predicate involves that the grammatical subject *gets* a specified qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action. This sense, however, usually occurs only as an oscillating variant of certain admit-class sentences. As examples: 1583 A sworde *frieth* in the fire *like a blacke ele* (= admits of being fried so as to become like a black eel or proves to become like a black eel when fried). 1726 It is very soft, and will easily *rub to pieces* (= easily admits of being rubbed to pieces or will easily drop to pieces when rubbed). 1733 This Kind of Lint *heckles away almost to nothing*, and is indeed in Appearance very fine (= admits of being heckled away almost to nothing or proves to become almost nothing [*i. e.* very fine] when heckled). 1691 [They] put them over a Fire till they are more than Blood-warm; which will make them [skins] *ladder* and *scour perfectly clean* (= admit of being lathered and scoured [so as to become] perfectly clean or prove to become perfectly clean when lathered and scoured). 1841 It [soil] never failed . . . to *harrow down as mellow as possible* (= to admit of being harrowed down [so as to become] as mellow as possible or to prove to become as mellow as possible when harrowed down). 1861 Her striped silk, turned, will *make up as handsome as ever* (= admits of being made up [so as to become] as handsome as ever or will prove to become as handsome as ever when made up). 1873 One particle of ore *beats out such leaf* (= admits of being beaten out into such a leaf or proves to become such a leaf when beaten out). 1891 The drawings . . . *reproduce* in monochrome-plate process *with greater strength* than might be expected (= admit of being reproduced in m. p. so as to become stronger [= more visible], or prove to become stronger [= more visible] when reproduced in m. p.). 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants *have reared well* (= have turned out well in course of or after rearing; the admit-class sense is less salient, *i. e.* have admitted of being reared well [= so as to become good]). When the sentences do not oscillate towards the admit-class, this resultative sense is only rarely met with. From our material we are able to adduce the following quotations: 1760—72 A door that

3) *The resultative or turn-out class.*



*opened* into a garden; and . . another door that opened to the street (= got the qualification of giving admission to a garden, to the street when opened). 1802 A rove-ash oar that *will dress clean and light*, is too pliant (= becomes clean and light when dressed). 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they *will make up to nearly 2 lbs heavier* (= will amount to or become nearly 2 lbs heavier when made up = fattened). 1886 I wish there was space here to say more about all this; but the great book before me *would print up into several volumes* (= would amount to several volumes when printed).

Yet ultimately the term is applicable to any sentences of the 3<sup>rd</sup> class of cat. F. For, if their imports are not equivalent to the sense mentioned above, we are, however, always concerned with a result of the verbal action. For then the whole predicate implies that the grammatical subject *proves* or *turns out to have* a specified qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action. As examples: 1607 Being dressed they *eat like Barbles* (= turn-out to taste like barbles when dressed). 1607 The wine . . *drunk too flat* (= turned out to taste or to be too flat when drunk). 1727 If they *handle moist or clammy* when you squeeze them they are fit to bag (= turn out to be or to feel moist or clammy when handled). 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it *counts right* (= turns out to be right when counted). 1854 The Hampshiredowns . . *cut a heavier fleece* than the Southdowns (= turn out to yield or to have a heavier fleece than the S. when cut). 1877 He marched [them] into the camp before his own troop, which *did not reckon nearly so many* (= did not turn out to be or to amount to nearly so many when reckoned). 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She *killed 34 stones* (= turned out to yield or to weigh 34 stones when killed).

Thus, in one case it is the very qualification of the subject that is the result of the verbal action, *i. e.* the subject *gets* a specified qualification. In the other case it is *the knowledge* that the subject actually *has* a specified qualification that is the result of the verbal action. But in either case we may distinguish a semological element in common, *i. e.* 'to turn out' or 'to prove' (to *get* or else to *have* a specified qualification (when being [having been] made the object of a specified action)). Therefore the resultative class may, if we so will, also be called the turn-out class.

In short, the characteristic trait of the present subclass of cat. F is that the whole predicate indicates that the grammatical subject turns out to get or, oftener, to have a specified qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action and that this sense is expressed by a predicate-verb in the active form together with a descriptive adverbial extension. The discrepancy between this sense and this form is so great that, as is sometimes the

case with the sentences of the admit-class, it cannot be removed by using the passive form instead of the active one.

Thus in the sentences of the resultative class the predicate-verb has always an adverbial extension. In respect of parts of speech this extension may be of various nature. It may be an adjective, *e. g.* 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it counts *right*. It may be an adverb, *e. g.* 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants have reared *well*. It may be a substantive with or without a preposition, *e. g.* 1863 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She killed *34 stones*. 1886 I wish there was space here to say any more about all this; but the great book before me would print up *into several volumes*. It may even be a subordinate clause, *e. g.* 1881 If the balance is not the same, they will handle *as if of different bends*.

Thus, as far as parts of speech go, the adverbial extension is multifarious and cannot be taken as a characteristic basis when we subdivide the instances of the resultative class.

Functionally and semologically speaking, too, the adverbial extension may be of various kinds. It may be a predicative adjunct, *e. g.* 1607 The wine . . drnk *too flat* = was to flat when drunk. It may be a direct object, *e. g.* 1854 The Hampshiredowns . . cut *a heavier fleece* than the Southdowns. It may be an adjunct of result, *e. g.* 1886 I wish there was space here to say more about all this; but the great book before me would print up *into several volumes*. It may be an adjunct denoting manner, *e. g.* 1692 A Chestnut Gelding . . rideth *gracefully*, paceth a little (= proves to go gracefully when ridden; also = admits of being ridden gracefully). It may be an adjunct denoting amount or quantity, *e. g.* 1819 They counted *thirty*. 1885 His duty was to see that the property realised *its full value*. 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She killed *34 stones* (= proved to yield or weigh 34 stones when killed). It may be an adjunct denoting locality, *e. g.* 1760—72 A door that opened *into a garden*; and . . another door that opened *to the street*. It may be an adjunct denoting comparison, *e. g.* 1607 Being dressed they eat *like Barbles*. 1881 If the balance is not the same, they will handle, *as if of different bends*. It may be an adjunct denoting co-existence, *e. g.* 1682 A Chine of this Beef . . Eat *with a savour like Marrow*. Thus the function and the semology of the adverbial extension is multifarious and cannot form a characteristic basis when we subdivide the instances of the resultative class.

The relation between the actual adverbial extension and the corresponding adverbial extension required by the predicate-verb in its trans. function is twofold. Either the morphology of the adverbial extension may in both cases be the same, *i. e.* the latter



adverbial extension has been kept in the resultative class construction, or else it may be different, *i. e.* the latter adverbial extension has not been kept.

In the former case the morphology of the adverbial extension may either be in harmony or else in disharmony with the morphology required by that part of the import of a resultative class sense which involves 'to prove to get or to have a specified qualification'.

As examples of an harmonious morphology: 1854 The Hampshiredowns . . . *cut a heavier fleece* than the Southdowns (= prove to yield a heavier fleece [when cut]; trans., to cut a heavier fleece from a sheep). 1879 There were . . . sheep in the pen that would *clip as much or more wool* (= prove to yield as much or more wool [when cut]; trans., to clip as much or more wool from a sheep). 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . . they *will make up to nearly 2 lbs heavier* (= prove to amount to or to become nearly 2 lbs heavier; trans., to make up, *i. e.* fatten, fowls to nearly 2 lbs heavier). 1886 I wish there was space here to say more about all this; but the great book before me would *print up into several volumes* (= prove to run up into several volumes [when printed]; it is possible to say, 'it would print up the book into several volumes, if we said more about all this'). To these examples may be added several instances which distinctly oscillate towards the admit-class. As examples: 1726 It is very soft, and *will easily rub to pieces* (= readily admits of being rubbed to pieces or proves to easily drop to pieces [when rubbed]; trans., to rub a thing to pieces). 1747 The Skin *drew or stretch'd like a Piece of Doe-Leather* (= admitted of being drawn or stretched like a piece of doe-leather or proved to be like a piece of doe-leather [when drawn or stretched]); trans., 'you can draw or stretch this like a piece of doe-leather'). 1841 It [soil] never failed . . . to *harrow down as mellow as possible* (= admit of being harrowed down as mellow as p. or prove to become as mellow as p. [when harrowed down]; trans., to harrow down soil as mellow as possible). 1861 Her striped silk, turned, *will make up as handsome as ever* (= admit of being made up as handsome as ever or prove to become as handsome as ever [when made up]; trans., to make up a gown as handsome as ever). 1802 A rove-ash oar that *will dress clean and light*, is too pliant (= admits of being dressed [so as to become] clean and light or proves to become clean and light [when dressed]; trans., to dress an oar clean and light). 1632 The water of Jordan . . . *will reserve vnspoiled*, both moneths and yeares (= admits of being reserved unspoiled or proves to remain unspoiled [when reserved]; trans., to reserve water unspoiled). 1844 'He's the sort of man', added Tapley musing, 'as *would squeeze soft* I know' (= admit of being squeezed soft or prove to become soft [when squeezed]; trans., to squeeze a thing soft).<sup>1</sup> 1733 This Kind of Lint *heckles away almost to nothing*, and is indeed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material adduced when we deal with the extent of cat. F.



in Appearance very fine (= admits of being heckled away almost to nothing or proves to dwindle away almost to nothing when heckled; trans., to heckle a thing away almost to nothing). 1891 The drawings . . . *reproduce* in monochrome-plate process *with greater strength* than might be expected (= admit of being reproduced with greater strength or prove to appear with greater strength when reproduced; trans., to reproduce a thing with greater strength). 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants have *reared well* (= prove to turn out well; also, though faintly, admit of being reared well; trans., to rear fowls well).

It is evident that we may circumscribe the import of several of these resultative class senses so as to make the morphology of the adverbial extension appear incongruous, *e. g.* 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . . they will make up *to nearly 2 lbs. heavier* (= prove to *become* [instead of amount *to*] nearly 2 lbs. heavier [when made up]). 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants *have reared well* (= prove to *become excellent* (instead of turn out well), [when reared]). But a discordant morphology should be recognized only when it is impossible to find an import making the morphology of the adverbial extension appear to be in harmony with the first part of the resultative class sense.

Instances of a disharmonious morphology seem to be very rare. In fact, we are unable to adduce instances of this kind which have only a resultative class sense, and also in point of sentences which oscillate towards the admit-class and therefore have the same genesis as this category, it is difficult to find any examples. For, when the adverbial extension is an adverb, *e. g.* *well, badly, nicely, handsomely*, etc. — and chiefly such sentences can be taken into consideration —, the trans. expression involves that the credit of doing a thing 'well', 'badly', etc., goes to the grammatical subject and not to the object of the sentence, while the reverse is the case in the correlative admit-class sentence, *i. e.* the grammatical object of the trans. construction is here the subject and the adverbs refer to a quality of this subject. Thus, if we say, 'he washed this cloth *well*', 'he crossed (= cross-ploughed) the land *badly*', 'he cocks this hat *handsomely*', etc., the adverbs refer to the manner in which the grammatical subject carries out the verbal action. But, if we say, 'this cloth washes *well*', 'the land crossed *badly*', 'this hat cocks *handsomely*', then the adverbs refer to a characteristic quality of the grammatical object in the corresponding trans. construction. Thus, for instance, 'this cloth washes *well*' is equivalent to 'is such as to admit of being washed well (or very well admit of being washed) or proves to be of good quality when



whashed'. Therefore we must state that in such admit-class sentences oscillating towards the resultative class sense, the adverbs cannot be used in the corresponding trans. constructions, if they are meant to refer to the quality of the grammatical object. The morphology of the adverbial extension is, however, harmonious with what is required by the import of the admit-class, but it is incongruous with the import of the oscillating resultative class sense, unless we use such an interpretation as 'turns out well, badly, nicely, etc. when being made the object of a specified action' instead of 'turns out to be nice, etc., when being made the object of a specified action'.

In the case when the adverbial extension is another than the one required by the predicate-verb in its trans. function, the morphology of the adverbial extension or the very extension itself is almost always in harmony with what is required by the resultative class sense, *i. e.* that part of this sense which implies 'to prove to get or to have a specified qualification'. There is no doubt that the morphology of the adverbial extension or the extension itself has been conditioned, *not* by the predicate-verb, the sense of which appears in the temporal subordinate clause of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'when being (having been) made the object of a specified action', but by the other part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'prove to get or have a specified qualification'.

We may here make a distinction between the case when the morphology of the adverbial extension is another than the one required by the predicate-verb in its trans. function, and the case when the adverbial extension itself, irrespective of its form, does not occur in point of the trans. function of the verb.

As examples of the former case: 1769 Pinnaces . . are somewhat smaller, and never *row* more than *eight oars* (= prove to employ eight oars when rowed; trans., to row a boat *with* eight oars). 1829 She *pulls six oars* (= prove to employ six oars when rowed; trans., to pull a boat *with* six oars). 1863 if the same pictures *realised a hundred guineas* each (= prove to bring or amount to *a hundred guineas* each when realised; trans., to realise a picture *at a hundred guineas*). Sometimes we are concerned with only a seeming accommodation to the morphology required by the resultative class sense. As examples: 1751 Alabaster *cuts very smooth and easy* (Here the sense is not 'proves to be very smooth and easy when cut', but 'admits of being cut smoothly and easily'; the adjectival form of the adverbial extension has the function of an adverb, a common phenomenon in earlier English). 1846 The wood *splits clean and easy*, and is best adapted for splitpal-

ing and laths (Here, too, we are concerned with an admit-class sense only, *i. e.* admits of being split clean and easily. The use of the adjectival form *easy* has, no doubt, been induced by the adverb *clean* [= cleverly, neatly]). An equivalent interpretation cannot be applied in point of the following quot.: 1828 Nothing can *read* more *free* and *easy* than his present translation. For such an interpretation would be unlikely not only for chronological and semological reasons but for the sake of the actual occurrence of the phenomenon consisting in a conformation of the morphology of the adverbial extension to what is required by the resultative class sense which is the only sense salient in our quotation (cf. p. 428). Moreover, take the following sentence: 1846 When the small balls did not *pack* perfectly *tight*. 'True, the sense is to 'prove to be or to lie very *tight* when packed'; but 'tight' may be apprehended as an adverb, *i. e.* it is possible to say 'to pack balls *tight*', which involves a clever packing, whereas 'to pack things *tightly*' involves a bad packing, *i. e.* 'to pack things so that they are squashed'. Another example: 1873 One particle of ore *beats out such leaf*! Here the sense is 'to prove to become *such a leaf* when beaten out'. If we take as the basis of comparison the trans. construction with a direct object and an adjunct of result, *i. e.* to beat out a particle of ore *into such a leaf*, then we are concerned with a morphological accommodation. But the basis of comparison should instead be 'to beat out *such a leaf* from a particle of ore'. For the latter construction gives a more natural explanation of the genesis of the resultative class construction and at the same time an explanation of the disharmonious morphology appearing, if we compare it with the admit-class sense which also is salient, *i. e.* 'to admit of being beaten out *into such a leaf*'.

As examples of the latter case: 1727 If they *handle moist or clammy* when you squeeze them they are fit to bag (= prove to be or to feel moist or clammy when handled; impossible to say, 'to handle a thing moist or clammy' in sense of 'being moist or clammy'). 1819 They *counted thirty* (= proved to be thirty when counted; impossible to say, 'to count them thirty'). 1837 The whole garrison *mustered but six or eight men* (= proved to be or to amount to six or eight men when mustered; the corresponding trans. expression is inadmissible). 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it *counts right* (= proves to be right when counted; impossible to say, 'to count a verse right' in the sense of 'the verse counted is right'; but it is possible to say, 'to count a verse right', if the verse is right in itself). 1847 When the soil *treads loose* in the spring, it is very important to use the heavy roller, or some other means of consolidating the soil (= proves to be or to feel loose when trodden



upon; impossible to say, 'to tread a soil *loose*' in sense of 'being loose'). 1863 There are lives that *read like one long sorrow* (= prove to be like one long sorrow when read; impossible to say, 'to read a thing like one long sorrow'). 1885 They *touch rough* — dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused (= prove to be or to feel rough when touched; impossible to say, 'to touch them rough' in sense of 'being rough'). 1770—4 We say this beast *touches nicely upon its ribs* (= proves to be or to feel nice upon the ribs when touched; impossible to say, 'to touch a beast nicely upon the ribs' in sense of 'being nice upon the ribs'; the adequate form of the complement ought to be *nice* instead of *nicely*, cf. 'touch rough'; the form of *nicely* has evidently been influenced from admit-class constructions with adverbs as complements or by the corresponding trans. expression [*i. e.* to touch a beast nicely upon the ribs] where *nicely* refers to the manner in which the verbal action is performed by the subject). 1910 Smith's Glasgow Mixture . . Always smokes *evenly and cool* (The co-ordination of 'evenly' and 'cool' involves a twofold interpretation of the first part of the resultative class sense, *viz.* to prove to burn evenly and to feel cool [when smoked]; it is possible to say, 'to smoke a cigar, etc., evenly', but it is impossible to say, 'to smoke tobacco cool'). 1701 His honesty is right sterling, and *touches as well as it looks* (= proves to be as well as it looks, when touched = tested; it is impossible to say, 'to touch a thing as well as it looks'). 1805 Can you get me a nag That will *ride* very *quiet*? (= prove to be quiet when ridden; impossible to say, 'to ride a horse quietly', if it is meant to imply that a horse ridden is quiet [*i. e.* if it is meant to refer to a quality of the horse]; yet it is possible here to use also *quietly*, since the resultative class sense may involve 'to prove to behave *quietly* when ridden'; cf. 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full *gently rides*). 1828 Nothing can *read* more *free and easy* than his present translation (= can prove to be more free and easy when read; impossible to say, 'to read a translation free[ly] and easi[ly]'). 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She *killed 34 stones* (= proved to weigh or to amount to 34 stones when killed; impossible to say, 'to kill 34 stones'). 1895 The sheep . . should *dress about 75 lbs* each (= prove to weigh or to amount to 75 lbs when dressed; it is possible to say, 'to dress a sheep' or 'to dress 75 lbs', but not 'to dress 75 lbs from a sheep'). 1682 A Chine of this Beef . . *Eat with a savour like marrow* (= proves to have a savour like marrow when eaten; impossible to say, 'to eat a chine of this beef with a savour like marrow'; the adverbial extension has only seemingly an incongruous morphology; the form of a direct object [on the part of the complement] would be very striking and almost destitute of analogies [cf. however, the sentence 'the boat rows six oars']; it is less striking to use an adjunct of co-existence, since thus it is actually expressed that the subject *has* the quality involved in the complement). 1714 Commonly *Rides with her Tongue out of her mouth* (= proves to commonly have her tongue out of her mouth when ridden; we may say, 'to ride a horse with its tongue out of its mouth', but this involves then



no habit as is mostly the case in resultative class constructions; as to the morphology of the complement, see quot. 1682).

Though the morphological facts under consideration offer considerable interest, they do not, however, form a suitable basis when we subdivide the instances of the resultative class. The morphology of the descriptive adverbial extension or its very existence is, as a rule, dependent on that part of the resultative class sense which implies 'to prove to get or to have a specified qualification', or, if we so will, the import of the latter is dependent on the nature of the adverbial extension. From a semological point of view, it is this part of the resultative class sense which is the most important one. For it varies according to the nature of the complement, whereas the other part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'when being (having been) made the object of a specified action', always preserves the import of the predicate-verb, yet with a passive sense in spite of the active form. Also from a genetic point of view the first part of the resultative class sense seems to be of importance. Therefore, the subdivision of the instances of the resultative class should be based on the semological nature of this sense. From this point of view we may make the following subdivision:

a) The sense = to prove to *taste* or *feel* in a specified manner (when being or having been made the object of a specified action). As examples: 1607 Being dressed they *eat like Barbles* (= prove to taste (or to be) like barbles when eaten). 1607 The wine . . . *drunk too flat* (= proved to taste (or to be) too flat when drunk). 1727 If they *handle moist or clammy* when you squeeze them they are fit to bag (= prove to feel (or to be) moist or clammy when handled).

b) The sense = to prove to *amount to* a specified number, etc. (when being or having been made the object of a specified action). As examples: 1819 They *counted thirty* (= proved to amount to or to be thirty when counted). 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . . they will *make up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier* (= will prove to amount to (or to become) nearly 2 lbs. heavier when made up).

c) The sense = to prove to *yield* or *weigh* a specified amount, etc., (when being or having been made the object of a specified action). As examples: 1858 The half-breds *cut less wool* than the Shropshire Downs (= prove to yield less wool . . . when cut). 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . . She *killed 34 stones* (= proved to yield or to weigh 34 stones after being killed).

d) The sense = to prove to *be* or *become* such as is implied in the complement (when being or having been made the object of a specified action). As examples: 1583 A sworde *frieth* in the fire



*like a blacke ele* (= proves to become like a black eel when fried). 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it *counts right* (= proves to be right when counted).

e) The sense = to prove to *have* a specified quality or to *act* in a specified way (when being or having been made the object of a specified action). As examples: 1829 She [boat] *pulls six oars* (= proves to employ six oars when pulled). 1682 A Chine of this Beef . . . *Eat with a savour like Marrow* (= proves to have a savour like marrow when eaten). 1692 A Chestnut Gelding . . . *rideth gracefully*, paceth a little (= proves to behave or step gracefully [or be graceful] when ridden or admits of being ridden gracefully). 1760—72 A door that *opened into a garden*; and . . . another door that *opened to the street* (= proved to give admission to a garden, to the street when opened).

Oscillation  
between the  
subclasses  
of cat. F.

We have drawn the lines of demarcation between the three subclasses of prædicatio objecti & attributionis. These lines, however, are sometimes very vague, inasmuch as several instances oscillate in point of import, so that they may be described as belonging to more than one of the subclasses of cat. F.

1) Oscilla-  
tion between  
the intemp-  
oral class  
and the  
modal class.

An oscillation between the intemporal class and the modal class is on the whole no common phenomenon. For, to begin with, this oscillation must be confined to sentences which are destitute of a modal auxiliary and which offer an intemporal sense. We are not entirely wanting in criteria for deciding upon the question as to whether such sentences involve an oscillation or not. In point of true admit-class sentences we may mostly tacitly supply a conditional subordinate clause such as 'if we try', 'if we want to', or the like. It is the omission of this condition which lends a modal character to the sentence and this modality denotes possibility, *i. e.* the grammatical subject is described as *admitting* of being (= *can*, *may* be) the object of the action involved in the predicate-verb. As examples: 1790 This test *applies* to every supposition (= can, may be applied or admits of being applied, if we try or want to). 1866 This rule *reads* both ways (= can, may be read or admits of being read, if we try or so wish).

On the other hand, in most cases when such a conditional subordinate clause cannot readily be tacitly supplied, we are concerned with a sentence of the intemporal class. The possibility of making such a mental addition seems to be regularly (but not always) prevented by actually expressing a condition (be it in the form of a subordinate clause or not) but of another semological type than 'if we try' or the like. As examples: 1893 A little corner flap-table which *makes into* a good-sized square, *when the flap is up* (= the flap-

table is always made into a good-sized square when the flap is up). 18 . . The implements . . are of sandstone [or] quartzite, neither of which *fractures* properly *when subjected to heat* (= they are never fractured properly when subjected to heat). 1635 Blessings *unus'd pervert* into a Wast, as well as Surfeits (= blessings are always perverted into a w., if they are unused). a 1643 The Field *unplowed overgrows* with weeds (= if a field is unplowed, it is always overgrown with weeds). 1638 The fruit [banana] *put into your mouth, dissolves* and yeelds a most incomparable relish (= if the fruit is put into your mouth, it is always dissolved). 1742 Thoughts *disentangle passing o'er the lip* (= thoughts are always disentangled when or if they pass over the lip). SHAKS. Though marble *wear with raining* (= marble is always worn when exposed to rain). 1592 What wax so frozen but *dissolves with tempering?* (= wax is always dissolved, if tempered). 1753 The knotty Oaks *bend before the Blast* (= oaks are always bent, if there is a blast). 1626 This sheweth that Bodies *doe . . by the Coldnesse of the Quick-silver, Indurate* (= are always indurated, if they are exposed to . .).

In the classification of our material we have in point of a couple of instances overlooked that they are entirely on a par with these and similar sentences and that consequently we are concerned not with an oscillation between the admit-class and the intemporal class but with a specimen of the intemporal class only, *viz. combine*, 1812 Silver *combines* with chlorine . . *heated with the gas* (= is always combined with chlorine, if it is heated with the gas); *calefy*, 1658 Soils, which *calify* and indurate *by the sun's reflection* (= are always calefied and indurated, if they are exposed to . .).

As another criterion of admit-class sense (when we have to decide as to whether in seemingly dubious cases we are concerned with a specimen of the admit-class or a representative of the intemporal class) we should take the occurrence or non-occurrence of an adverbial extension such as *easily, readily, well, hardly*, etc., also often an adjunct of comparison, in short an adjunct denoting 'degree of facility'. Whenever such an adjunct has been expressed, we are as a rule concerned with a specimen of the admit-class (provided of course that the other semological and morphological characteristics of the sentence admit of this interpretation). For — as already pointed out — the notion of 'degree of facility' involves modality, since it refers to the degree of facility with which the grammatical subject can or may be (admits of being) the object of the action involved in the predicate-verb. As examples: 1775 Gold and iron *alloy with ease* (= easily admit of being alloyed). a 1619 Quick-silver *easily amalgams* with metals (= easily admits of being amalgamated with m.). 1884 The Florentine artist . . only adopted those principles which *grafted most readily* on his preconceived ideas (= most readily



admitted of being grafted on ..). 1870 Scotch barley .. does not *malt well* (= does not well [= readily] admit of being malted). 1747 The Skin *drew* or *stretch'd* like a Piece of Doe-Leather (= admitted as readily as a piece of d. of being drawn or stretched).

The criterion of supplying an assumption, *i. e.* 'if we try' or the like, is of course here, too, applicable. But this semological criterion is inferior to the present one, inasmuch as the latter is more tangible. In the classification of our material we have in point of a few instances overlooked the fact that an adverbial adjunct denoting 'degree of facility' may be taken as a criterion of admit-class sense only. These are the following instances where we have been wrong in admitting that the admit-class sense oscillated towards the intemporal class sense, though only the former is salient: *attend*: 1398 þis tre »Abies» *atenteþ ful sone*, and *brenneþ* with *ly3te leye* (= readily admits of being lighted); *blot*, 1860 The soul in this resembling paper which, where it has been blotted once, however careful the erasure of the blot may have been, there *more easily blots* and runs anew than elsewhere (= more easily admits of being blotted); *digest*, 1574 Weathers over olde are to be refused in eating in that they .. smally nourish and *hardly digest* (= hardly admit of being digested); *draw*, 1856 It is a common belief that water *draws better* down a curved drain than a straight one (= better admits of being drawn ..); *endue*, c 1575 Meates w<sup>ch</sup> *endew sonest* and maketh the hardest panell (= best admit of being endued); *humect*, 1685 This Salt .. *easily humects* and dissolves into a liquor (= easily admits of being humected when or if put into a liquor), 1864 When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and do not *mesh well*. In a couple of instances we have recognized an intemporal class sense only, though the adverbial extension denotes 'degree of facility' and we therefore are concerned with an admit-class sense only, *viz.* *fur*, *Mod.* This kettle *soon furs* (= easily admits of being furred); *lead*, 1881 The barrel also leads very *quickly* (= very readily admits of being covered with lead).

Thus we have narrowed down the possibility of meeting an oscillation between the intemporal class and the admit-class to such sentences as are at the same time destitute of a modal auxiliary, a complement denoting degree of facility, and (mostly also) a complement denoting a condition other than 'if we so will' or the like. We have maintained that, in point of true admit-class sentences, it is mostly possible to add mentally a conditional subordinate clause of the type, 'if we so will', 'if we try', etc. From this it follows that an oscillation between the intemporal class and the admit-class is met with only when at a semological analysis of a sentence such an addition may but need not be made. True, this criterion is not very tangible



and therefore the assumption of an oscillation is usually a matter of individual interpretation.

As to our material an oscillation between the intemporal class and the admit-class may with more or less of certainty be recognized in point of the following quotations (as has already been done in our collection of material except in the case of 'bind' and 'instance'): *bind*, 1838 The coarse [gravel], it is true, does not bind (= does not admit of being bound or is not bound); *corrode*, 1868 Gold and silver . . do not rust, *corrode*, or decay (= does not admit of being corroded or is never corroded; in this instance however, the intr. sense, *i. e.* to come into a corroded state, tends to predominate); *draw*, 1794 'The sub-soil is so concreted . . that water does not *draw* or *filter* beyond a few feet of distance (= does not admit of being drawn or filtered or is never drawn or filtered . .); *exchange*, 1848 Demand and supply always rush to an equilibrium, but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things *exchange* for each other according to their cost of production (= admit of being exchanged or are generally exchanged . .); *instance*, a 1667 This story doth not only instance in kingdoms, but in families too (= admits of being instanced, perhaps also is generally instanced); *intermingle*, 1626 Visibles doe not intermingle, and confound one another . . but Sounds doe (probably = do not admit of being intermingled or are never intermingled); *outlaw*, 1895 Honour is a harder master than the law. It cannot compromise for less than a hundred cents on the dollar, and its debts never *outlaw* (= never admit of being outlawed or are never outlawed).

Apart from those instances mentioned above (p. 432) we have wrongly acknowledged an oscillation between the intemporal class and the admit-class in point of the following quotations where we are concerned with an intemporal class sense only: *count*, 1892 There is Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire . . and Somersetshire; but all these *do not count*! They like to leave out of account the 21 seats we won at the by-elections, but they *do count* upon a division ('do not count' = are never counted; perhaps also = do not admit of being counted; again, 'they do count upon a division' can only imply 'are always counted'). *Mod.* In this examination the first 250 marks *do not count* at all (= are never counted); *combine*, 1800 The oxide of manganese . . combines with the oxygen (The context does not even indicate whether we are concerned with a temporal or an intemporal sense; in short, the predication import of the sentence is uncertain and therefore the quotation should have been disregarded).

An oscillation between the intemporal class and the should-class is very rarely distinguishable. We have, though perhaps unjustly, recognized such an oscillation in the following instance: *screw*, 1881 The face-plate which screws on the mandrils (= is always screwed on . . or should be screwed on . .). The same oscillation seems to be at hand in the following quotations, though not acknowledged in our material: *class*, 1816 This fine country . . whose



people class morally so high in the scale of mankind (= are generally classed or should be classed); *deduce*, 1889 The very first principles from which it *deduces*, are so little axiomatic that . . . (= is generally or always deduced or should be or even admits of being deduced); *derive*, 1804 Upholsterer is declared against as a corruption. Whence does it *derive*? (= is generally derived or should be derived). 1866 The words *Comus* and *Encomium* *derive* thence (= are derived or should be derived).

2) Oscillation between the modal class and the resultative class.

An oscillation between the modal class and the resultative class is a common phenomenon. Theoretically speaking, this oscillation is not restricted to the admit-class, though, owing to its small compass, the should or must-class as represented in our material does not present any examples of the oscillation in question. Let us therefore study this semological phenomenon as it occurs in admit-class sentences.

The oscillation is independent of the expression or non-expression of a modal auxiliary; but it is self-evident that it can appear only in such admit-class sentences where the predicate-verb has a descriptive adverbial extension. For, as already mentioned, the characteristic trait of the resultative class is that the grammatical subject proves to get or to have a certain qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action. Therefore, in sentences of this kind, the predicate-verb must always have an adverbial extension specifying the qualification in question. In point of an oscillation towards the resultative class on the part of admit-class sentences the semological nature of the adverbial extension is by no means immaterial.

When the adverbial extension exclusively refers to the degree of facility with which the grammatical subject admits of being made the object of a specified action, *e. g. readily, easily, with ease*, no oscillation can take place, since then only the modal element of the sentence is qualified. As examples: 1884 The Florentine artist . . . only adopted those principles which *grafted most readily* on his preconceived ideas. 1867 It all takes to pieces, *packs up easily*. 1846 The wood splits *clean* and *easy*, and is best adapted for splitpaling and laths (only = admits of being split clean [= neatly, etc.] and easily). In these and similar instances we are concerned with an admit-class sense only, unless there is also another adverbial extension which may be apprehended as a resultative qualification, *e. g.* 1726 It is very soft, and will *easily rub to pieces* (= easily admits of being rubbed to pieces or proves to easily drop to pieces when rubbed; the latter sense is less salient than the former).

However, an adverbial extension denoting degree of facility may sometimes oscillate towards an import implying a qualific-



ation of the material sense of the verb. When so, the adverbial extension is apprehended as a qualification which the grammatical subject proves to have or to get when being (having been) made the object of the action involved in the predicate-verb, *i. e.* the whole predication import oscillates towards that of the resultative class. The oscillation mentioned is only natural, since the import 'readily, easily admits of being made the object of a specified action' is often synonymous with 'admits of being made the object of a specified action with a good, admirable, etc. result', and the latter sense, in its turn, is synonymous with 'proves to get or to have a good, admirable, etc. aspect, when being (having been) made the object of a specified action'. Here belong, but not always, such adverbial extensions as *well*, (*better*, *best*), *ill*, *badly*, *nicely*, all of which more readily refer to 'degree of facility' than to the material import of the verb and sometimes involve the former sense only. Here belong also such extensions as *admirably*, *divinely*, (*un*)*favourably*, *comfortably*, *naturally*, etc., all of which in admit-class sentences predominantly qualify the material import of the verb but at the same time more or less oscillate towards expressing 'degree of facility'. Moreover, here belong mostly also adjuncts of comparison. For, in admit-class sentences such an adjunct as '*like* + a subst.' may usually be apprehended as equivalent to 'as readily (badly) as the subst. in question' but at the same time also as qualifying the material import of the verb, which involves resultative class sense.

Let us turn to such examples where the adverbial extension is *well*, *badly*, etc. and an oscillation towards the resultative class is salient: *assort*, 1800 His Muse *assorts ill* with the personages of Christian mythology (= very badly admits of being assorted with . . . or proves to suit badly when assorted with); *dye*, *Mod.* This material *dyes very well* (= very well admits of being dyed or proves to be of good quality or to look nice when dyed); *group*, 1820 Massinger is so much more modern than the other writers noticed in this lecture, that they do not *groupe well together* (= do not readily admit of being grouped together or prove to present a heterogeneous aspect when grouped together); 1871 The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still *groups well* with the soaring towers (On account of the immobility of the substantives meant to be grouped together, a secondary sense only, *i. e.* 'suit well with', is salient. This sense has developed rather from the admit-class sense, *i. e.* very well admits of being grouped together, than from the resultative class sense, *i. e.* proves to suit well when grouped together); *make up*, 1892 It is a modest, unobtrusive stone, and *makes up so well* with diamonds, that . . . (= so readily admits of being made up with . . . or proves to look so nice when made up with . . .); *mix*, 1815 The Afghaun Humsauyehs *mix well* with the Dooraunees (= very well admit of being mixed with



or prove to suit well when mixed with = go well along with . .); *paint*, 1860 War was always detrimental . . But in old times . . it *painted well*, sang divinely, furnished Iliads (= very well admitted of being painted or proved to be a good subject when painted); *realize*, 1884 The liabilities are estimated at £ 130,000, and the assets will, it is assumed, *realise well* (= will readily admit of being realized [with a good result] or will prove to bring a large amount of money when realized); *scan*, *Mod.* Lines that *scan well* (= readily admit of being scanned [with a good result] or prove to agree with the rules of metre when scanned); *wash*, 1859 I had no idea your mouseline-de-laine would have *washed so well*. Why, it looks just out of the shop (= would have so readily admitted of being washed or would have proved to look so nice when washed); Equivalent interpretation of quotes. 1798 and *Mod.* (cf. p. 216); *wear*, MRS. GASKELL, And I dare say lavender *will wear better* than sea-green (= better admits of being worn or used . . or will prove to last or hold out better when worn or used). The same interpretation in point of quotations 'Goldsmith' and 'Maxwell Gray' (cf. p. 216). As to all these examples, the oscillation mentioned has been acknowledged in the semological classification of our material. However, we readily admit that the resultative class sense is mostly not very salient and that with equal justification we should have acknowledged the salience of the oscillation in such instances as the following: *keep*, 1626 Grapes . . it is reported . . will *keep better* in a vessed half full of wine, so that the grapes touch not the wine (= better admit of being kept or prove to better remain in their proper condition when kept); *lead*, 1867 *Fair-lead*, is applied to ropes as suffering the least friction in a block, when they are said to *lead fair* (= readily admit of being led or prove to run well when led); *groove*, 1886 Sheldon adjoined Winston, and would *groove* into that estate *nicely* (= would very well admit of being grooved into [with a favourable result] or would prove to suit well when grooved into). On the other hand there are instances where the adverb *well* seems to exclusively denote 'degree of facility', i. e. an admit-class sense only is salient. This is decidedly the case with the following instance: *mesh*, 1864 When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and *do not mesh well* (= do not very well admit of being meshed). The same seems also to be case with *malt*, 1766 Old barley mixed with that of the last harvest, *does not malt well* (= does not readily admit of being malted); 1870 Scotch barley . . *does not malt well* (= does not readily admit of being malted). — It is only natural that the salience of an oscillation towards the resultative class should vary in sentences of the type under consideration, so that it is sometimes precarious to decide upon the existence of an oscillation. But the very possibility of this oscillation is proved by the fact that sometimes the resultative class sense may even preponderate, so as to almost suppress the admit-class sense that may be inferred from the morphological struc-



ture of the sentence. Such a case is offered by the following quotation where the expression 'have reared well' is by the NED. interpreted as 'have turned out well in course of or after rearing': *rear*, 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants *have reared well*.

Let us turn to admit-class sentences where the adverbial extension is *admirably*, *divinely*, etc. Here an oscillation towards the resultative class is always distinguishable. As examples: *assort*, 1837 Finding that it is harmonious, — that it dovetails and *naturally assort*s with other parts (= very well admits of being assorted with or proves to suit naturally when assorted with); *cock*, 1672 Say your hat *did not cock handsomely* (= very well admits of being cocked [with a favourable result] or admits of being cocked nicely or proves to look nice when cocked); *compare*, *Mod.* This *compares favourably* with the inertness of England (= very well admits of being compared with [with a favourable result] or proves to have a favourable aspect when compared with); *Mod.* A landscape which *will compare not unfavourably* with the masterpieces of the Dutch School (= the same interpretation as above); *compound*, 1897 the names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to *compound comfortably* with these terminatives (= very well admit of being compounded with [with a good result] or prove to present a comfortable aspect when compounded with . . .); *dramatize*, 1836 The story *would dramatize admirably* (= would admirably admit of being dramatized or would prove to present an admirable aspect or to be an admirable subject when dramatized); *draw* II b, 1892 The Irish outside cars . . . *draw lighter* than an ordinary English cart (= more readily admit of being drawn or prove to run lighter or to be lighter when drawn); *lead*, 1607 Till hee be so tame . . . that he *will leade vppe and downe quietly* (= readily admits of being led up and down or will prove to be quiet or to behave quietly when led up and down); *paint* and *sing*, 1860 War was always detrimental . . . But in old times . . . it *paint*ed well, *sang divinely*, furnished Iliads (= readily admitted of being sung or proved to present an admirable aspect or to be an admirable subject when sung). — In point of all these instances (except 'compound') we have already in the semological classification of our material acknowledged an oscillation towards the resultative class.

Lastly, let us turn to those admit-class sentences where the adverbial extension is an adjunct of comparison. In this case the admit-class sentence mostly seems to oscillate towards the resultative class. As examples: *cut*, H. G. WELLS, The damned stuff *cuts like butter*, he said (= admits as readily as butter of being cut or admits of being cut like butter or proves to be like butter when cut); *cut out*, 1829 The whole [manure] . . . *will cut out like a jelly* (= the same interpretation as in point of the preceding instance); *draw*, 1747 The Skin drew or stretch'd like a Piece of Doe-Leather (= admitted as readily as a piece of d. of being drawn or stretched or admitted of being drawn



or stretched like a piece of d. or proved to be like a p. of d. when drawn or stretched); *fry*, 1583 A sworde *frieth* in the fire *like a blacke ele* (= admits of being fried like a black eel or proves to be like a black eel when fried); *lap*, 1680 This is a fine pliable principle . . 'twill *lap* about your finger *like Barbary Gold* (= admits as readily as Barbary gold of being lapped or proves to be like Barbary gold when lapped . .). In point of all these examples, except *fry*, we have, in the descriptive interpretation of our material, acknowledged the salience of an admit-class sense only. Though this sense, no doubt, is preponderant, it is not impossible to distinguish also a resultative class sense. Again in the case of *fry* (quot. 1583) we have acknowledged the salience of only a resultative class sense, but an admit-class sense is probably also salient. We are face to face with an adjunct of comparison also in an instance such as the following: *act, read*, 1668 'Tis a play that shall *read and act with any play* that ever was born (= admits as readily as any play of being read or acted or proves to be equal to any play when read or acted). — However, there are not rarely admit-class sentences where the adverbial extension is an adjunct of comparison referring to 'degree of facility' only. When so, no oscillation towards the resultative class can take place. As examples: *commix*, 1675 They will *commix as Iron and Clay* (only = admit as readily as iron and clay of being commixed, scarcely = prove to be like i. and c. when commixed); *quilt*, 1622 Buckram . . is too stiffe and unplyable, by which means it *will not quilt like the other* (only = does not like the other admit of being quilted); *preserve*, 1748 The water . . is excellent, and *preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames* (only = admits as readily as that of the Thames of being preserved). — There are sometimes instances where an adjunct of comparison cannot be apprehended as denoting 'degree of facility' but only as a qualification of the material import of the verb. And yet we may in this case be concerned with an oscillation between the admit-class and the resultative class. Such is the case with the following instance, though, on the authority of the NED, we have there recognized the salience of a resultative class sense only: *read*, 1805 This Pamphlet is so pious as to *read more like a sermon* than a political address (= admits of being read like a sermon or proves to be like a sermon when read). There are, however, sentences which contain an adjunct of comparison and have the same morphological structure as admit-class sentences, but which present a resultative class sense only. This is the case with *eat*, 1607 Being dressed they *eat like Barbles* (= prove to be or to taste like barbles when eaten). We are here scarcely entitled to

recognize the salience of an admit-class sense, *i. e.* 'admit of being eaten like barbles'. And this semological fact harmonizes with the genesis of this sentence, which does not seem to have anything to do with the origin of admit-class sentences in general.

We have now to consider the case when the predicate-verb has an adverbial extension denoting a sense other than 'degree of facility' and therefore always qualifying the material import of the verb. When so, we often meet with an oscillation between the admit-class and the resultative class.

An oscillation towards the resultative class is always at hand when the adverbial extension is an *adjective* functioning as a predicative adjunct of the resultative type. For it is only natural that a sense involving 'admit of being made the object of a specified action so as to get a certain qualification' should oscillate towards the synonymous import of 'prove to get a certain qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action'. Here belong the following instances in our material: *draw*, 1703 That the String *may draw tight* upon the Work (= may be drawn so as to become tight or may prove to become tight when drawn); *dress*, 1802 A rove-ash oar that *will dress clean and light*, is too pliant (= admits of being dressed so as to become clean and light or proves to become clean and light when dressed); *harrow*, 1841 It [soil] never failed to *harrow down as mellow* as possible (= admit of being harrowed down so as to become as mellow as possible or prove to become as mellow as possible when harrowed down); *keep*, c 1600 This . . . *will kepe* but one yeare *good* (= admits of being kept [so as to remain] good or will prove to remain good when kept); 1825 It *will keep sweet* a very long time (= the same interpretation as in quot. above); *lather, scour*, 1691 [They] put them over the Fire till they are more than Blood-warm, which will make them [skins] *ladder and scour perfectly clean* (= admit of being lathered and scoured so as to become perfectly clean or prove to become perfectly clean when lathered and scoured); *make up*, 1861 Her striped silk, turned, will *make up as handsome* as ever (= admits of being made up so as to become as handsome as ever or will prove to become as handsome as ever when made up); *pack*, 1846 When the small balls did not *pack perfectly tight* (= did not admit of being packed so as to lie perfectly tight or did not prove to lie perfectly tight when packed); *polish*, 1626 A kind of steel . . . which *would polish almost as white and bright as silver* (= admitted of being polished [so as to become] as white and bright as silver or proved to become as white and bright as silver when polished); *reserve*, 1632 The water of Jordan . . . *will reserve vnspoiled*, both moneths and yeares (= admits of being reserved [so as to remain] unspoiled or prove to remain unspoiled when reserved); *squeeze*, 1844 'He's the sort of man', added Tapley, musing, 'as *would squeeze soft* I



know' (= would admit of being squeezed [so as to become] soft or would prove to become soft when squeezed).<sup>1</sup>

Again when the adjectival predicative adjunct is non-resultative, the adjectival form of the complement has been conditioned by the resultative class sense and may therefore be taken as a criterion that such a sense is meant to be expressed. As examples: 1805 Can you get me a nag That *will ride* very *quiet* (= will prove to be quiet when ridden). 1828 Nothing *can read* more *free and easy* than his present translation (= can prove to be more free and easy when read). We have already seen that the adverbial extension may be an *adverb* and that then the adverb may mostly be apprehended as referring to 'degree of facility'. But apart from such adverbs as 'easily', 'readily' and sometimes also 'well', 'badly', they do not exclusively refer to degree of facility but also or even mainly to the material import of the verb, *e. g.* *favourably*, *admirably*, or even *quietly*, *gently*, etc. In the latter case we have assumed that the admit-class sense always oscillates towards a resultative class sense. When so, we believe that there is a tendency on the part of instinctive linguistic consciousness to look upon the adjectival form as an interchangeable equivalent to the adverb, but only on the condition that the resultative class sense is sufficiently salient and that the import of this sense is not such as to require an adverb instead of an adjective as the morphological form of the complement. If the import of the resultative class sense is 'prove to *be* such as is implied in the adjectival notion contained in the adverb (when being [having been] made the object of a specified action)', then the adjective may be used instead of the adverb, and the adjectival form involves a conformation to the morphology required by the resultative class sense. Therefore we actually find on the one hand such instances as: 1805 Can you get me a nag That will ride very *quiet* (= will prove to be very quiet when ridden); 1828 Nothing can read more *free and easy* than his present translation (= can prove to be more f. and e. when read), and on the other hand such quotations as: 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full *gently* rides (= admits of being ridden gently or proves to behave gently when ridden); 1607 Till hee be so tame . . . that he will *leade* vppe and downe *quietly* (= admits of being led quietly or will prove to behave quietly when led). Again, when the import of the oscillating resultative class sense is 'to prove to *act* in a specified way when being [having been] made the object of a specified action', then the resultative class sense

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material adduced when we deal with the extent of cat. F.

is such that, if the morphology of the complement is conformed to this import, the adverb must be kept. Therefore the adverb cannot be exchanged for an adjectival complement in sentences such as: 1883 These 'churchwardens' [pipes] smoke *freely and softly* (= admit of being smoked freely and softly or prove to draw freely and softly when smoked). The fact we are stating is particularly illustrated by the following instance with its incongruous co-ordination of an adverb and an adjective as adverbial extensions: 1910 Smith's Glasgow Mixture . . Always smokes *evenly and cool* (= admits of being smoked evenly or proves to burn evenly when smoked; as to 'cool' we are concerned with a resultative class sense only = proves to be or to feel cool when smoked). Thus we believe — and no doubt justly, cf. p. 426 — that the use of an adjectival form in these and similar sentences involves a morphological conformation to a predominant resultative class sense. This being so, the use of an adjectival form instead of an adverb may in Modern English generally be taken as a criterion that we are concerned with a resultative class sense only<sup>1</sup>. But we cannot reverse this statement and maintain that the use of an adverb instead of an adjective as complement, always implies an admit-class sense oscillating towards a resultative class sense. For there are instances where a resultative class sense is predominant and where the adjectival form would be preferable, but where nevertheless the adverbial expression is represented by an adverb. As example: 1770—4 We say this beast *touches nicely* upon its ribs (= proves to be or to feel nice when touched, cf. p. 428).

In admit-class sentences there are, however, also such *adverbs* as can by no means be apprehended as having even a secondary reference to 'degree of facility'. Such is the case with expressions where, in the corresponding trans. construction, the adverb represents a predicative adjunct of the resultative type, *e. g.* *display abroad, mingle together, screw off, screw together, tread down*. As examples: 1572 When . . their ensignes will not *displaie abroade* but fold about the stander-bearers heads. 1530 Oyle and water *wyll never mengyll togyther*. 1821 The head [of the vessel] *screws off* at the middle of the neck. 1776 The Rods were in three Pieces . . which *screwed together* occasionally. 1837 The Gironde . . has trodden on it, and yet not trodden it down . . It is a well-spring, as we said, this black-spot, and *will not tread down*. In these examples an admit-class sense only is distinguishable which, in some measure at least, is due to the fact that in these expressions the adverbs seem

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, adverbs appear in the adjectival form, especially in earlier English.



to have become more or less amalgamated with the verbs so that the whole expression approaches the nature of a compound word.

Let us turn to the case when the adverbial extension is a *substantive* with or without a preposition. An oscillation towards the admit-class seems then to occur only when the substantive denotes the result of the verbal action. Thus we may acknowledge this oscillation in the following instances, though it has not been expressly recognized in the descriptive review of our material: *beat out*, 1873 One particle of ore *beats out such leaf* (= admits of being beaten out into such a leaf or proves to become such a leaf when beaten out); *cut*, *Mod.* The cloth *does not cut to advange* (= does not admit of being cut to advantage or does not prove to be advantageous or appear to advantage when cut); *heckle*, 1733 This Kind of Lint *heckles away almost to nothing*, and is indeed in Appearance very fine (= admits of being heckled away almost to nothing or proves to dwindle away almost to nothing when heckled; the latter sense is the more salient one); *measure*, 1765 My malt . . . does not shrink so much when it comes to be laid in the kiln; of course it *measures to more advantage* (= admits of being measured to more advantage or proves to appear to more advantage when measured); *rub*, 1726 It is very soft, and *will easily rub to pieces* (= easily admits of being rubbed to pieces or proves to easily drop to pieces when rubbed); *spin*, 1780 The 8 lb. [of flax] *will spin into . . . 20 hanks* or 5 spangles fit for a ten hundred cloth (= admit of being spun into 20 hanks or prove to become or yield 20 hanks when spun)<sup>1</sup>; *weave*, 1842 It *will not spin into good yarn*, nor *weave* into wearable cloths (= does not admit of being spun into good yarn or woven into wearable cloths or else does not prove to become or yield good yarn or wearable cloths when spun or woven).<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand there are admit-class sentences where the adverbial extension is a substantive denoting result but where nevertheless an oscillation towards the resultative class cannot readily be traced. As examples: 1839 Who would think that a non-enty *could cut into so many somethings?* (only = admitted of being cut into so many somethings); 1592 Doost thou think to liue till his olde doublet will *make thee a new trusse?* (only = will admit of being made into a new truss); 1598 An old Cloake *makes* a new lerkin (only = admits of being made into a new j.); 1794 The yarn . . . *will pick into oakum* (only = admits of being picked into oakum); 1772 The body of the willow tree *rives into pales* (= admits of being riven into p. or perhaps 'is generally riven into p.'; the context is not clear); *saw*, 1726 Beech . . . *will saw into extreme thin Planks* (only = admits of being sawn into . . .); 1791 He carried with him a gun, which *screwed into three parts . . .* (only = admitted of being screwed into three parts).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material adduced when we deal with the extent of cat. F.

Again, when the substantive representing the adverbial extension denotes an import other than result, no oscillation towards the resultative class can be distinguished in the instances presented by our material. As examples: 1790 This test *applies to every supposition* (only = admits of being applied to . .); 1793 The trenail *would drive no further* (only = did not admit of being driven further); 1837 Things, which lie very black in our Earth's Annals, yet which *will not erase therefrom* (only = do not admit of being erased therefrom); 1847 He brought home more venison than *would keep in the hot weather* (only = admitted of being kept in the hot weather); 1866 This rule *reads both ways* (only = admits of being read . .); 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight . . *retracts within a strong sheath* (only = admits of being retracted within a s. s.); 1632 The Dromidory . . *will ride above 80 miles in the day* (only = admits of being ridden above 80 miles in the day); 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, *will cut and rive in any direction* (only = admits of being cut and riven in any direction); O'CURRY, I know it [Ossianic hymn] myself very well, and I know several old poems that *will sing to it* (only = admit of being sung to it); SHAKS., if virtue's gloss *will stain with any soil* (only = admits of being stained with any soil); 1683 Solid Blocks of Wood . . *will scarce Squeeze by the strength of a Pull* (only = admit scarcely of being squeezed by . .); 1866 The Belvoir Senator and the Brocklesby Harbinger *traced directly to the Fitzwilliam* (= admitted of being traced directly to the F.; scarcely [though perhaps not entirely impossible] = proved to go back to the Fitzwilliam when traced).

Thus admit-class sentences are by no means destitute of criteria indicating when an oscillation towards the resultative class should be assumed and when not. Yet it is self-evident that it is not always easy to decide upon the existence of such an oscillation, all the more as the oscillation may appear with different degrees of salience.

As to an oscillation between the admit-class and cat. E, see p. 410. We may here add that the assumption of this oscillation may be dependent on the nature of the modal auxiliary, *i. e. will*, inasmuch as this morphem often seems to oscillate towards a non-modal aspect (cf. p. 459 sqq.). As a rare example of the oscillation mentioned we can adduce the following quotation where the modal element is devoid of a particular expression: 1890 An English sovereign *exchanged* a little while ago for thirteen rupees (= admitted of being exchanged for . . or was actually exchanged for . .).

An oscillation between the resultative class and the intemporal class is very rare. It is impossible to give any criteria of this oscillation other than the context of the sentence, and it is there-  
 3) Oscillation between the resultative and the intemporal class.



fore evident that the acknowledgement of the phenomenon is mostly a matter of individual linguistic instinct.

In the descriptive semological review of our material we have not expressly recognized an oscillation of this type. It seems, however, to be possible to admit the existence of this oscillation in the following instances: *develop*, 1861 A plate well washed . . . develops cleaner than one washed insufficiently (of the latent image = is usually developed cleaner or proves to appear cleaner when developed) *reproduce* II 2, 1891 The drawings . . . reproduce in monochrome-plate process with greater strength than might be expected (= are always reproduced with greater strength, or prove to appear with greater strength when reproduced).

An oscillation between the three subclasses of cat. F. seems sometimes to be distinguishable. The only example in point which we are able to adduce is *realize*, 1845 notwithstanding the high rate of profit it realises in the States (= is generally realized at or admits of being realized at or proves to bring when realized).

As to an oscillation between the resultative class and cat. E. see p. 410.

*Salience of  
an intr.  
sense and  
the relation  
between this  
sense and  
the trans.  
meaning.*

We have seen that in cats. A, B, C, D the predicate-verbs oscillate towards an intr. (or refl.) sense and that in point of cat. E there is a tendency to this oscillation. Let us consider to what extent such collateral intr. senses are distinguishable in the various subclasses of cat. F. and which predicationæ aspects they then condition.

*1) The  
intemporal  
class.*

As to the intemporal class the salience of a collateral intr. sense is principally dependent on the semological nature of the trans. import of the predicate-verb. The more readily this trans. sense may be apprehended as causal, the more easily appears an intr. sense and *vice versa*. Therefore, a statement of the occurrence of a collateral intr. sense in the intemporal class is, on the whole, equivalent to a statement of the occurrence of causal or non-causal verbs in this predicationæ category. Accordingly we must examine the semological nature of the trans. sense of the predicate-verbs.

The vast majority of the trans. verbs occurring in our material in the intemporal class sense have a distinctly causal aspect. Such is the case with the following verbs: *bend* (to cause to bow), *bind* (to cause to come into cohesion), *breed* (to bring [= cause to come] into existence), *calefy* (to make [= cause to become] warm or hot), *combine* (to bring into combination with . . .), *commix* (to bring into commixture with . . .), *concoct* (to cause to pass by con-

coction into . .), *corrode* (to bring into a corroded state), *develop* (in fotogr., to bring out and render visible [the latent image]), *disentangle* (to bring out of a tangled state), *disfigure* (to bring into a disfigured condition), *dispel* (to bring into dissolution), *dissipate* (to bring into disintegration), *dissolve* (to bring into dissolution), *draw* II  $\alpha \beta$  (to cause to trail), II 2 b (to cause to drain off or percolate), *dulcify* (to neutralize [= to cause to lose, to lessen] the acidity of), *entangle* (to bring into an entangled condition), *evolve* (to bring into a developed state), *exhaust* (to cause [steam] to escape [from the cylinder]), *filtrate* (to let pass [as] through a filter), *fix* (to make firm or stable in position), *foil* (to bring into a state of disappointment or bore), *form* (to bring into existence), *fracture* (to bring into a fractured condition), *freckle* (to cause to get freckles or spots), *identify* (to make identical, to consider or maintain [a thing] to be identical with; the latter sense is non-causal), *indurate* (to make hard), *intermingle* (to bring into mixture with . .), *knit* (to cause to grow together, to bring into close union with), *make into* (to cause to become), *mend* (to make better, to remove = to cause to lose existence), *meng* (to bring into mixture with . .), *open* II 4  $\gamma$  (to make open), *outlaw* (to deprive of [to cause to lose] legal force), *pervert* (to turn [= cause to come] aside from its right course, aim, etc.), *preserve* (to cause to continue in existence or in the same condition), *purge off* (to cause to disappear by some cleansing process), *reproduce* (to bring into existence new individuals, to produce a new copy of), *wear (away)* II 1 (quot. 1834), II 2 b quot. Shaks. (to cause to disappear by attrition).<sup>1</sup>

Whenever these verbs occur in the intemporal class sense, there is always an oscillation towards an intr. sense. True, the latter sense may offer more or less of salience according to the context and the vitality of the primary trans. meaning as compared with that of the intr. use of the verb, i. e. those factors which chiefly condition the salience of the passive sense, but there is always at least a tendency to such an oscillation. It is sufficient to take a few examples only: 1753 The knotty Oaks *bend* before the Blast (= are bent or bend themselves or bow). 1873 Olefiant gas *dissolves* considerably in water (= is dissolved or comes into dissolution). a 1618 The right Cube's Figure . . Whose quadrat flatnesse

<sup>1</sup> We have included in the reckoning also such verbs as oscillate towards the admit-class or the resultative class.



never doth *disfigure* (= is never disfigured or never comes into a disfigured condition). 1683 The oftener it is sublimed the more it does *dulcify*, and . . . (= is dulcified or loses its acidity). 1851 The steam *exhausts* through the centre opening (= is exhausted or escapes). 1585 The snow . . . *preserveth* all the whole Sommer in hys accustomed nature and coldnesse without melting (= is preserved or remains). 1805 This sort of leaven soon *purges off* (= is purged off or disappears).

The relation between the intr. sense and the correlative trans. meaning is here always congenial, inasmuch as the intr. sense forms an element of the correlative trans. meaning. It is this very fact that favours the salience of an intr. sense in the constructions under consideration, since it considerably reduces the difference between the primary meaning and the secondary one.

The predication import conditioned by these oscillating intr. senses is (apart from one case) always a predication of attribution. This is due to the intemporal sense of the predicate-verb, which involves that the qualification lent to the subject by the oscillating intr. sense is not restricted to a particular time but is always or usually true. This sense is accordingly a characteristic quality of the grammatical subject. But for the intemporal sense, the oscillating intr. meaning would make the intemporal class sentences belong to one of the other descriptive categories, *i. e.* cats. A, B, C, D, into which we have divided our material (cf. p. 411 seq.). However, in the case of predications of relation, the existence or non-existence of a temporal sense should mostly be disregarded, since, as a rule, it belongs to their nature to have an intemporal sense. Therefore in sentences such as the following the oscillating intr. sense conditions not a predication of attribution but a predication of relation: 1626 Fleas *breed* principally of Straw or Mats, etc. (= are bred or originate from = a predication of dependency). 1567 The Cristall . . . *engend'reth* not so much of the waters coldnesse (= is engendered or originates from . . . = a predication of dependency). 1683 Only as . . . conjoined with our affections, which com-mix, coincide, and as it were *identifi* with that grandest and Divinest Myserie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh (= are identified or are or become identical with . . . = a predication of identity).

There are, however, in our material illustrating the intemporal class not a few instances where the trans. sense of the predicate-verb must be described as non-causal. Such is the case with the following verbs<sup>1</sup>: *class*, *count*, *deduce*, *derive*, *exchange*, *hold*,

<sup>1</sup> We have included in the reckoning also such instances which oscillate towards the admit-class.

(*identify*), *instance*, *interpret*, *let*, *load*, *number*, *overgrow*, *realize*, *reckon*, *retail*, *ring up*, *rive*, *screw*, *shear*, *sing*, *take off*, *tell*, *wear*. In this case the passive sense is, no doubt, as a rule predominant. Nay, it may even predominate to such a degree that it seems impossible to trace even a faint salience of an intr. sense. As examples: 1848 Demand and supply always rush to an equilibrium, but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things *exchange* for each other according to their cost of production (= are actually exchanged or admit of being exchanged). 1587 Those same goates which doe vpon The mount of Gilhad *sheure* (= are shorn).<sup>1</sup> 1873 Those verses . . which *sing* to the air of *Ar Eire*, etc. (= are sung).<sup>1</sup> 1892 Yours [*i. e.* hair] *takes off* at night (= is taken off).

However, we must admit that also in point of non-causal trans. verbs used in an intemporal class sense, there is, at least as a rule, a tendency to let an intr. sense become salient. And this tendency is principally conditioned by the general tendency of the morphems to oscillate towards a synonymous import and by a natural struggle after removing the discondant relation between sense and form, *i. e.* between the passive sense and the active form of the predicate-verb. It is evident that the tendency mentioned is strengthened the oftener the active form of the predicate-verb is used in a passive sense. Accordingly we must expect to meet with different degrees of salience on the part of the oscillating intr. sense. But, if so, it is chiefly a matter of individual linguistic instinct to acknowledge the salience of this intr. import. In the descriptive classification of our material we have recognized a salience of an intr. sense in point of *exchange*, *interpret* and *wear*, *viz.* 1848 . . but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things exchange for each other according to their cost of production (= are generally exchanged or admit of being exchanged; also = have the same value as). 1614 Sophi by all likelyhood was giuen him with regard to his reformed profession, as the word *interprets* (= is usually interpreted or usually means, signifies). SHAKS. Like the brooch and the toothpick, which *wear* not now (= are generally worn or are in fashion). But, in most of the other instances of non-causal trans. verbs used in the intemporal class sense it is possible to trace an intr. sense, but so faintly that, at a descriptive etymological interpretation, it is mostly unnecessary to acknowledge its existence. As examples: 1865 Those who *class* as believers (= are classed; tends to involve 'to belong to the class of believers'). 1850 They *count* as kindred

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the additional material adduced when we deal with the extent of cat. F.



souls (= are counted; tends to imply 'to belong to the class of k. s.'). 1820 The carambole *counts* two (= is counted; tends to involve 'has the value of two'). 1889 The very first principles from which it *deduces*, are so little axiomatic that, etc. (= is deduced or should be deduced, also = has its derivation from). 1866 The words *Comus* and *Encomium* *derive* thence (the same senses as 'deduce'). a 1667 This story doth not only *instance* in kingdoms, but in families too (= admits of being instanced or is generally instanced, also = 'has instances'). 1855 Lands *let* at from 10 *d.* to 4 s. 6 *d.* per acre (are let, tends to involve 'cost in respect of rent'). 1893 This coach always *loads* well (= is loaded well; tends to imply 'has a considerable load'). 1864 And tho' thou *numberest* with the followers Of One who cried, 'Leave all and follow me' (= art numbered; tends to involve, 'belongst to the class of the followers . .'). a 1643 The Field unplowed *overgrows* with weeds (= is overgrown; tends to imply 'becomes full of'). 1898 After the fashion . . of the sailors, with whom strength of arm *reckons* before style (= is reckoned; tends to imply 'has a higher value than style'). 1897 Turbot, brill, and halibut *retail* at 9 *d.* per lb. (= are retailed, tends to imply 'cost').

The relation between the oscillating intr. sense and the non-causal trans. meaning is here disparate, inasmuch as, unlike the case with causal verbs, the intr. sense does not constitute an element of the trans. import, except in point of a few verbs. These verbs are: *class*, (trans. = to maintain or consider [a thing] to belong to a specified class; intr. = to belong to a specified class); *count* (trans. = to maintain or consider [a thing] to belong to a specified class [quot. 1850] or to have a specified value [quot. 1820]; intr. = to belong to a specified class or to have a specified value); *identify* (cf. p. 445); *number* (trans. = to maintain or consider [a thing] to belong to or rank with [quot. 1864]; intr. = to belong to, to rank with); *reckon* (trans. = to maintain or consider [a thing] to have a specified place or value; intr. = to have a specified place or value); *deduce* (trans. = to maintain or consider [a thing] to have its derivation from; intr. = to have its derivation from); *derive* (the same senses as 'deduce'). Thus in point of the relation between the intr. sense and the primary trans. meaning, these verbs are on a par with causal verbs and therefore it is here easier for the intr. sense to become salient. This fact is of moment in the case of the etymological explanation of the use of these non-causal verbs in intemporal class sentences.

As to the predication aspect conditioned by the oscillating intrans. senses originating in point of non-causal trans. verbs employed in the intemporal class function, this is always a pre-

dication of attribution, since the predicate-verbs have intemporal sense. We must, however, here, too, make an exception in favour of predications of relation (cf. the reasons mentioned above). In several of the examples quoted above the oscillating intr. sense involves a predication of relation, *viz. deduce, derive* (predications of dependency), *class, count* (quot. 1850), *number* (predications of subsumption).

Let us turn to the modal class and to its first subcategory, *i. e.* the admit-class. We cannot here unconditionally apply the same statement made in the case of the intemporal class, namely that the salience of an oscillating intr. sense is principally dependent on the semological nature of the trans. import of the predicate-verb. True, also in the case of the admit-class the salience of an oscillating intr. sense is to a large extent dependent on the semological nature of the primary trans. sense but by no means to such a degree as in the case of the intemporal class. This assertion will prove true, if we proximately examine those instances of our material where the primary trans. meaning of the predicate-verb has a causal aspect.

The following verbs of our instances of the admit-class may be apprehended as causal<sup>1</sup>: *alloy* (trans. = to cause to enter into combination with another metal; intr. = to enter into combination with another metal); *amalgam* (in quot. a 1619 = alloy); *assimilate* (trans. = to bring, *i. e.* to cause to come, into an assimilated condition; intr. = to come into an assimilated condition); *attend* (trans. = to set on fire = to cause to catch fire; intr. = to catch fire); *bake* (trans. = to cause to undergo the process of baking; intr. = to undergo the process of baking); *bend* (trans. = to cause to bow; intr. = to bow); *bleach* (trans. = to make white; intr. = to become white); *blot* (trans. = to make blotted; intr. = to become blotted); *blunt* (trans. = to make blunt; intr. = to become blunt); *break* (trans. = to bring into a state of brokenness; intr. = to come into a state of brokenness); *coin* (trans. = to convert into coin; intr. = to turn into coin); *coke* (trans. = to convert into coke; intr. = to turn into coke); *commix* (trans. = to bring, *i. e.* to cause to enter, into commixture with); *compose* (trans. = to cause to enter into composition with); *compound* (gram., trans. = to bring into combination with); *conjoin*

<sup>1</sup> We have included in the reckoning also those instances which oscillate towards the resultative class, but not those which involve a secondary admit-class sense, *viz. disclose*, etc., cf. p. 420.



(trans. = to cause to enter into connexion with); *convert* (trans. = to cause to turn to and embrace a [specified] religious faith); *cook* (trans. = to cause to undergo the process of cooking); *cram* (trans. = to fill to repletion = to cause to become overfull); *develop* (photogr., trans. = to bring out [the latent image] = to cause to become visible); *digest* (trans. = to bring into a digested condition); *disentangle* (trans. = to bring into a disentangled state); *display* (trans. = to cause to spread out); *drain* (trans. = to cause [land, etc.] to become rid of moisture); *draw* II 2 b (trans. = to cause [water] to drain off); *drive* II 2 (trans. = to force, i. e. to cause to pass, by blows into anything solid; the causal sense is not so readily salient on account of the particular activity presupposed on the part of the subject); *endue* (trans. = to bring into a digested condition); *erase* (trans. = to cause to disappear; the causal sense is not so readily salient on account of the element of activity involved [scraping, etc.]); *extinguish* (trans. = to cause to die out); *fasten* (trans. = to cause [a thing] to stick fast); *fire* (trans. = to cause to catch fire); *fix* (trans. = to cause [attention] to rivet); *fold* (trans. = to cause to perform the movement involved in folding); *freckle* quot. 1842 (trans. = to cause to get freckles or spots); *fry* (trans. = to cause to undergo the process of frying); *fur* (trans. = to bring into a furred condition); *gild* (alch., trans. = to cause [a liquid] to enter into composition with); *glue* (trans. = to join or fasten with glue = to cause to enter into connexion or cohesion with a thing by means of glue); *groove* (fig., trans. = to cause to fit into); *hatch out* (of eggs) (trans. = to bring into maturity); *humect* (trans. = to make humid or moist); *identify* (trans. = to make identical, to consider or maintain [a thing] to be identical with; the latter sense is non-causal); *incorporate* (trans. = to bring into [a kind of] connexion with); *indurate* trans. (= to make hard); *inflame* (trans. = to cause to burst into flames); *intermix* (trans. = to cause to enter into commixture with); *keep* (trans. = to cause to continue in existence or in its proper condition); *knit* (trans. = to bring into close union with, to cause to grow together [of bones, etc.]); *lead* (< sb. lead), (trans. = to make foul with a coating of lead), *lead* (< OE. lǣdan), (the trans. sense may only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal, i. e. to cause to go ); *lift* (trans. = to cause to rise, etc.); *lock* (the trans. sense may only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal, i. e. to cause to become locked); *lower* (trans. = to let down gradually, to bring down in rank, etc.);

*make* (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* to cause to become); *malt* (trans. = to convert, *i. e.* to cause to turn, into malt); *mash* (trans. = to bring into a mashed condition); *meek* (trans. = to make meek); *mingle* (trans. = to bring into mixture with); *míx* (trans. = to bring into mixture with); *multiply* (trans. = to increase [= make more numerous] the precious metals, as by transmutation of the baser metals); *nitrify* (trans. = to convert into, *i. e.* to cause to turn into, nitre); *notch* (trans. = to make, *i. e.* to cause to get, notches in); *nurse* (trans. = to let [an infant] take the breast); *open* (trans. = to make open); *overthrow* (trans. = to cause to topple over); *overwhelm* (trans. = to cause to tumble over, etc.); *oxidate* (trans. = to cause to unite with oxygen); *polish* (trans. = to make, *i. e.* to cause to become, smooth and glossy [by friction]); *preserve* (trans. = to cause to continue in existence or in its proper condition); *reduce* (trans. = to bring down to a smaller number, amount, extent, etc.); *reserve* (trans. = preserve, keep); *ride* (the trans. sense may in spite of its complex import, be apprehended as causal, though with some difficulty, *i. e.* to sit on horseback and cause the horse to go); *scorch* (trans. = to bring into a scorched condition); *shut* (trans. = to cause to become shut); *stain* (trans. = to bring into a sullied condition); *steer* (trans. = to cause to sail in a certain direction); *taint* (trans. = to bring into a sullied condition); *tan* (the face or skin) (trans. = to make brown); *temper* (trans. = to bring [steel] into a suitable degree of hardness and elasticity or resiliency); *toast* (trans. = to cause to undergo the process of toasting); *thwack* (note the trans. sense, to pack or crowd [a thing or place] = to make overfull); *wear* (note the trans. sense, 'to bring into a worn condition).

According to the principle laid down in the case of the intemporal class, we should expect that when occurring in admit-class sentences all these verbs always offer at least a faint trace of an oscillating intr. sense, *i. e.* the intr. sense that constitutes an element of the primary trans. meaning. And yet, in the case of the admit-class, this is by no means the case. For in spite of the causal structure of the predicate-verb, the context is not rarely such as to require a passive meaning only. In this respect, however, there is a difference between the case when the modal element of the admit-class sentences has got no special morphological representative and the case when it is expressed by a modal auxiliary.



In the former case the salience of the intr. element of the trans. sense seems to be just as often precluded as allowed by the context. Take for instance such an example as the following: 1775 Gold and iron *alloy* with ease. Here the import is evidently 'readily admit of being alloyed', *i. e.* 'can easily be brought into combination', and not 'can easily come or easily comes into combination', since the latter sense would involve a phenomenon due to chance. Other examples of the same kind: a 1619 Quicksilver easily *amalgams* with metals (only = easily admits of being brought into combination with). *Mod.* These apples do not *bake* well (only = do not admit of being baked well). c 1865 Different kinds of wax *bleach* with different degrees of facility (only = admit with different degrees of facility of being bleached). *Mod.* These pears do not *cook* well (only = do not admit of being cooked well; they are not good cooks). 1747 The Skin *drew* or *stretch'd* like a Piece of Doe-Leather (only = admitted of being drawn or stretched). 1730 The rough part of them *fastens* very well with mortar (only = very well admits of being fastened). 1870 Scotch barley . . does not *malt* well (only = does not admit of being malted well). 1846 Do not the hot and cold water *intermix*? (only = admit of being intermixed). 1845 Some builders prefer receiving the greystone lime ground dry, as it *mixes* more readily when made up into mortar (only = more readily admits of being mixed; scarcely = comes easier into mixture). 1477 Upon Nature thei falsely lye For Mettalls doe not *Multiplie* (only = admit of being multiplied). 1728 'Tis solid bodies only *polish* well (only = admit of being polished). *Mod.* The vessel *steers* with ease (only = easily admits of being steered). *Mod.* The leather *tans* easily (only = easily admits of being tanned; but perhaps the trans. sense of 'tan' is here 'to make brown'; if so, the intr. sense 'becomes brown' is here distinctly salient). *Mod.* This cheese *toasts* well (only = readily admits of being toasted). The same causal verb may in one context present the salience of a collateral intr. sense, whereas in another context this salience is inadmissible. As example: 1398 That cassia is best that brekyth not soone but *bendyth* and *foldeth* (= admits of being bent or folded or can bend itself or fold itself or make the movement involved in bending or folding). 1793 Having a joint in the middle, it *folds* (only = admits of being folded).

As examples where a correlative intr. sense is distinctly salient: 1626 Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh doth *assimilate* more finely (= admits of being assimilated more finely or more finely enters a physical body). 1398 þis tre »Abies» *atenteþ* ful sone, and brenneþ with ly3te leye (= readily admits of being set on fire or easily catches fire [is capable of easily catching fire]). 1897 the names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to *compound* comfortably with these terminatives (= admit of being compounded comfortably with or enter well into combination with). 1856 It is a common belief that water *draws* better down a curved drain than a



straight one (= better admits of being drawn or runs off better). 1794 It does not *inflamm*, unless mixed with atmospherical or with vital air (= does not admit of being inflamed or does not take fire). 1508 An old Cloake *makes* a new lerkin (= admits of being made into or can become). 1879 The harder metals which do not *oxidate* readily, being preferred (= do not readily admit of being oxidated or do not readily become oxides or come into an oxidated condition). 1748 The water . . is excellent, and *preserves* at sea as well as that of the Thames (= admits of being preserved or is capable of remaining in its proper condition). 1827 'Do you *scorch* so easily? your gran'ther had a tougher skin' (= do you so easily admit of being scorched or can you so easily come into a scorched condition . .). 1884 One advantage you swarthy people have over us — you don't *tan* (= do not admit of being made brown or do not become brown). *Mod.* Cloth that *tears* readily (= readily admits of being torn or is capable of easily coming into a torn condition). 1884 Mild steel containing from 0.05 to 0.20 per cent. of carbon will weld, but does not *temper* (= does not admit of being tempered or does not or cannot take temper).

The modal element involved in admit-class sentences destitute of a modal auxiliary is mostly kept also in the import implying the salience of an intrans. sense. This modal element, whether it is described as implying 'to admit of', 'to be capable of', or 'can', denotes possibility. But this possibility is conceived not as accidental, *i. e.* as dependent on outward circumstances, but as immanent in the nature of the grammatical subject, consequently as a characteristic quality of it. But, if so, the predication nature conditioned by the oscillating intr. (or refl.) sense must be described as a predication of attribution.

Let us turn to the occurrence of an intr. sense in admit-class sentences where the predicate-verb is causal and the modal element is expressed by a modal auxiliary. In this case the passive import seems, as a rule, to oscillate towards an intr. sense, *viz.* the intr. sense that constitutes an element of the causal trans. meaning. This fact is already proved by the small category of admit-class sentences where the modal element is represented by *can* or *may*. As examples of the salience of an oscillating intr. sense: 1864 I am a foreign material, and *cannot assimilate* with the Church of England (= cannot be assimilated with [= do not admit of being assimilated with] or cannot come into association with). 1578 A hurt . . vnto the Nerue before it enter into the Muscle . . *can not* by any meanes *conioyne*, or *knitte together* agayne (= cannot be conjoyned or knit together or cannot come into conjunction or consolidation). a 1763 The Coach was full as it *could cram* (= could be crammed or could become overfull). 1607 My heart is fast, And *cannot disentangle* (= cannot be



disentangled or cannot disentangle itself or come into a disentangled state). 1760 He will find nothing [in these books] on which attention *can fix* (= can be fixed or can fix itself or rivet). 1681 Grace *can no more incorporate* with sin, than oyle with water (= can no more be incorporated with or can no more come into commixture with). 1705 When he is to be buried I can't tell, but they say he *can't keep* long (= cannot be kept or cannot remain in his proper condition). — 1646 That plants and ligneous bodies *may indurate* under water . . we have experiment in Coralline (= admit of being indurated or are capable of becoming hard). 1693 Their matter must be of good temper'd Steel, so that the edge *may* neither turn, or *notch* easily (= does not easily admit of being notched or cannot easily become jagged). 1546 The best cart *maie ouerthrowe* (= admits of being overthrown or is capable of toppling over). 1470—85 Thenne he . . was ware of a damoyssel that came ryde ful faste as the horse *myghte ryde* (= admitted of being ridden or could run). As examples of the salience of a passive sense only: 1889 Your story, however, *can keep* (= admits of being kept; a correlative intr. sense is here not distinguishable, but it is possible to trace a non-correlative intr. sense, *i. e.* 'is good', or the like; cf. p. 447 seq.). 1727 The main yard *could not lower* (= did not admit of being lowered). 1877 The lower one [lamination line] . . consists of coarse sand which *could not mash*, and therefore has been thrown into folds (= could not be mashed, *i. e.* be brought into a mashed condition; scarcely = could not come into a mashed condition). 1605 Till Byrnam wood remoue to Dunsinane I *cannot taint* with Feare (= do not admit of being tainted with; a correlative intr. sense is scarcely salient).

The predication aspect conditioned by the salience of an oscillating intr. sense is here, too, a predication of attribution (cf. the reasons already mentioned above, p. 453).

However, the correctness of our assertion as to the salience of an intr. sense in admit-class sentences with a causal predicate-verb and a modal auxiliary, is particularly proved by instances where the modal auxiliary is represented by *will* (*would*). Here we only rarely meet with sentences destitute of an oscillating intr. import, whereas examples with this oscillating sense are abundant. As included in the former case we do not count instances which distinctly oscillate towards the resultative class, since in them the admit-class sense itself never seems to oscillate towards the correlative intr. sense, *e. g.* 1825 It *will keep sweet* a very long time (only = admits of being kept sweet; also = (will) prove to remain sweet a very long time when kept). 1887 In the morning the pupils [colts] have learnt their lesson, and *will lead* anywhere (only = admit of being led anywhere; also = (will) prove to go anywhere when led). 1626 A kind of steel . . which *would polish* almost as white and bright as silver (only = would admit of being polished as white, etc.; also = would become almost as white etc. when polished).



As examples of non-oscillation towards an intr. sense: a 1700 Metal . . so soft that it *will not coin* without alloy to harden it (= does not admit of being made into coin; scarcely = cannot become coin). 1664 It is observ'd that Oak *will not* easily *glue* to other Wood (= does not admit of being glued; scarcely = cannot stick fast to other wood by means of glue).

As examples of oscillation towards an intr. sense: 1658 Stitch none of the loose pieces of flesh, they *will assimilate* no more (= do not admit of being assimilated or cannot come or will not (be able to) come into incorporation). 1684 Its edges *will never blunt* (= do not admit of being blunted or will [temp. sense] never become blunt). 1884 It *will not coke* (= does not admit of being turned into coke or will not [temp. sense] become or is not willing to become coke). 1675 They *will commix* as Iron and Clay (= admit of being commixed or will (be able to) come into commixture). *Mod.* This skein *won't disentangle* (= does not admit of being disentangled or is not willing or cannot come into a disentangled state). 1854—6 The best [fare], Wanting this natural condiment . . *will not digest* (= does not admit of being digested or cannot or will not come into a digested condition). 1572 When . . their ensignes *will not displaie* abroad but fold about the stander-bearers heads (= does not admit of being displayed or is not willing to display themselves or come into an unfurled state). 1864 This land *won't drain* (= does not admit of being drained or is not willing to or cannot become rid of moisture). 1793 The trenail *would drive* no further (= did not admit of being driven any further or was not willing to or could not enter further). 1837 This conflagration of the South-East will abate . . *extinguish* it *will not*, till the fuel be all done (= does not admit of being extinguished or will not [temp. sense] cease). 1604 Women are flax and *will fire* in a moment (= admit of being fired or will (or perh. = use to) catch fire in a moment). 1666 . . till the Menstruum *would guild* no more (= did not admit of being gilded or was not willing to or could not absorb more gold). 1886 Sheldon adjoined Winston, and *would groove* into that estate nicely (= would admit of being grooved into or would fit into; 'would' involves here a moderate conjunctive, i. e. denotes a modest assertion, but represents at the same time admit-sense). 1625 Truth and Falshood . . are like the Iron and Clay . . ; They may Cleaue, but they *will not Incorporate* (= do not admit of being incorporated or cannot form or are not willing or are not able to form a uniform substance). 1626 Grapes . . it is reported . . *will keep better* in a vessel half full of wine, so that the grapes touch not the wine (= better admit of being kept or will [temp. sense or perh. = use to] better remain in their proper condition). c 1400 His herte is hard, that *wol not meke*, whan men of mekenesse him beseke (= does not admit of being made meek or is not willing to become meek). 1530 Oyle and water *wyll never mengyll togyther* (= do not admit of being mingled or can never or will never (be able to) come into commixture). 1889 He floated in their element, not soluble. It is often the way with heroes: they *will not mix* (= do not admit of being mixed or cannot



or are not willing to come into commixture). 1884 A thin layer of solution *will nitrify* sooner than a deep layer (= admits more readily of being nitrified or will [temp. sense] sooner become nitrous than . .). c 1400 The see may never be so stil, That with a litel winde it *nil Overwhelme* and turne also (= does not admit of being overturned or will [temp. sense] tumble over). 1632 The Dromidory . . *will ride* aboue 80 miles in the day (= admits of being ridden or can or is willing to go). SHAKS., if virtue's gloss *will stain* with any soil (= admits of being stained or will [temp. sense] come or can come into a sullied state).

The modal sense represented by *will* is by no means always kept, when we recognize the salience of an oscillating intr. (or refl.) sense. We have tried to pay attention to this fact when interpreting the sentences given above, though it is a precarious task. We have then assumed that *will* may often keep its modal sense (= can), that it may sometimes have a temporal sense denoting futurity or the modal-temporal sense described as conditional conjunctive (*would*), and lastly that it may involve 'to be willing', i. e. denote a sense of state. It is perhaps sometimes even possible to trace the sense 'to use to'. We have also assumed that in the same instance *will* may oscillate between two or three of these senses. The predication aspect conditioned by the intr. sense is modified according to the import of *will*. If the sense is equivalent to *can*, then we are concerned with a predication of attribution (cf. the reasons given above, p. 453). If the sense is temporal, then the predication import is entirely conditioned by the intr. sense. Thus, for instance, the quotation of *extinguish* (1837) represents a predication of existence and the quotation of *keep* (1626) involves a predication of attribution. Again, if the sense of *will* implies 'to be willing', then it is no longer an auxiliary and the sentence involves a predication of state. Lastly, if *will* is equivalent to 'use to', then we are always concerned with an intemporal sense of the predicate-verb and consequently with a predication of attribution.

The oscillating import of *will* recognized when the sense of the predicate-verb is apprehended as intr. (or refl.) is in fact also traceable, when the verb is apprehended as passive, whether the predicate-verb is causal or not. The origin of this oscillation will be discussed below. Cf. p. 459 seq.

Let us, however, first turn to the salience of an intr. sense in admit-class sentences where the predicate-verb is *non-causal*. In our material these verbs outnumber the causal ones. Here belong the following verbs: *act, apply, assort, beat out, button,*

*cock, compare, construe, count, cross* (= cross-plough), *cut* (*cut out*), *deduce, ding, dovetail, dramatize, draw* (of skin, a string, a carriage), (*draw out*), *dress, dye, even* (= compare), *exchange, fasten* (= button), *graft, grind, group, harrow, heckle, hook, identify* (= consider to be identical), *kill, lace, lap, lather, lead, leam, make up, manage, manufacture, measure, mesh, mill, mouth, number, pack* (*pack up*), *paint, parse, peel* (of an orange), *perfurnish, play, pull, quilt, read, realize, retract, ring up* (of a curtain), *rive, rub* (*rub off*), *saw, scan, scour, screw, sell, set, sing, sketch, smoke, spin, squeeze, take, tan* (of leather), *tear* (*tear off*), *tell, thrash, trace, translate, transplant, tread, wash, wear, weave.*

As to an examination of the salience of an intr. sense we need not here make a distinction between the case when the modal element has been expressed by a modal auxiliary and the case when it is not expressed by a particular morphem. For non-causal verbs employed in a passive function dressed in the active form more readily keep their passive sense than causal verbs. The only exception is presented by such non-causal verbs as appear as denominatives, since in this case the converted function may easily be apprehended as a denominative new formation with a non-passival import. Such an instance is offered by *mesh* (< *mesh*, sb.), trans., 'to catch in the meshes of a net', e. g. 1801 After which they [mackerel] *will not mesh*, but are caught with hooks (= do not admit of being meshed or are not willing to go or do not go in the meshes). The general predominance of the passive sense (when we are concerned with non-causal verbs in the function and in the form under consideration) is only natural. For an intr. sense would not here form an element of the trans. meaning. In other words such an intr. sense would have a disparate relation to the trans. import and cannot therefore readily become salient. This checking factor, however, has to struggle with two opposite tendencies which co-operate so as to favour the salience of an intr. sense also in the case of non-causal verbs. These factors are the general tendency of the morphems to oscillate towards a synonymous import and the tendency on the part of instinctive linguistic consciousness to try to remove the disparate relation between sense and form implied in the fact that here a passive meaning is dressed in the active form. The more frequently a non-causal verb presents a passive sense in the active form, the greater is the possibility for a synonymous intr. sense to become salient. It follows from this that it is very precarious to decide as to when



in the case under consideration an intr. sense should be recognized as salient and when not.

In our material there are at least a few instances where the salience of such an intr. sense may be acknowledged, *viz. apply*, *e. g.* 1851 This observation applies to Saul's history (= admits of being applied = has a practical bearing upon, a valid or suitable reference to [NED]); *assort*, *e. g.* 1800 His *Muse* assorts ill with the personages of Christian mythology (= badly admits of being assorted with = suits ill with [NED]); *compose*<sup>1</sup>, 1828 The house . . composes well with the adjoining mansions and small plantations (orig. = well admits of being composed with = suits well; the context is such that only the latter sense can be salient); *draw*, 1892 The Irish outside cars . . draw lighter than an ordinary English cart (= admits of being drawn lighter or prove to run lighter when drawn; also = to run lighter); *exchange*, *e. g.* 1890 An English sovereign exchanged a little while ago for thirteen rupees (= admitted of being exchanged for = to have the same value as); *group*, 1820 Massinger is so much more modern than the other writers noticed in this lecture, that they do not groupe well together (= do not readily admit of being grouped together = to suit well with [NED]); 1871 The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still groups well with the soaring towers (= suits well with; the context is such that the intr. sense only can be salient); *wear*, *e. g.* 1853 (Mrs Gaskell) And I dare say lavender will wear better than sea-green (= better admits of being worn = lasts better; the latter sense is generally recognized by dictionaries).

In these instances the intr. sense is synonymous with the passive sense of the predicate-verb *and* the modal element. This phenomenon may sometimes occur also in the case of causal verbs, *e. g. mix*, 1815 The Afghaun Humsauyehs mix well with the Doorau-nees (= admit very well of being mixed with = go well along with [NED]). The predication aspect conditioned by the intr. sense is in the examples adduced that of a predication of attribution.

Thus, when in admit-class sentences the predicate-verb is non-causal but nevertheless an intr. sense becomes salient, this sense generally seems to be synonymous with the passive sense *and* the modal element. But exceptions may occur. As an illustrative example may be adduced: 1876 As athletes men *cannot* for a moment *compare* with horses or tigers or monkeys (= cannot be compared with = cannot vie with, rival).

In a couple of instances of admit-class sentences the predicate-verb may also be apprehended as having kept its primary trans. sense. This is the case with *beat out* and *make* in sentences of the following type: 1873 One particle of ore beats out such

<sup>1</sup> The word may, though with some difficulty, be apprehended as causal.

leaf! (= admits of being beaten out into or beats out). 1598 An old Cloake *makes* a new Ierkin (= admits of being made into or makes). The possibility of also this trans. interpretation is dependent on the fact that the sentences may be apprehended as conversions of two different active constructions. On the one hand we may say, 'to beat out one particle of ore *into* such a leaf', 'to make an old cloak *into* a new jerkin'. On the other hand we may say, 'to beat out such a leaf *from* a particle of ore', 'to make a new jerkin *from* an old cloak'. If the former construction is taken as the basis of comparison, then the quotations above appear as converted sentences with a passive sense, here involving the predication aspect of the admit-class. If the latter construction is taken as the basis of comparison, then the sentences appear as converted but still with a trans. import, here conditioning predications of adjunct of material (cf. p. 93). Descriptively speaking, this twofold interpretation is permissible. But etymologically speaking it is only the latter interpretation that can be adopted.

In conclusion, let us examine to what extent *will* (*would*) when employed as a modal auxiliary in admit-class sentences, may oscillate in import irrespective of the salience or non-salience of an intr. sense on the part of the predicate-verb. The modal function of the verb in these sentences has no doubt sprung on the one hand from the primary sense, *i. e.* 'to be willing', and on the other hand from the secondary temporal sense. If so, we may expect that *will* often oscillates towards a sense of state or towards the import of a temporal auxiliary.

An oscillation towards the primary sense, *i. e.* 'to be willing', is distinctly salient when the grammatical subject is animate. As examples: 1554 They have hardened their faces harder then stones, they *will not convert* (= cannot be converted or else are not willing to convert themselves or to be converted or to suffer themselves to be converted). 1897 The child seemed languid, and *would not nurse* (= could not be nursed or was not willing to be or to suffer itself to be nursed or to nurse itself). 1889 It is often the way with heroes: they *will not mix* (= cannot be mixed or else are not willing to be or to suffer themselves to be mixed or to mix themselves). 1607 Till hee be so tame . . . that he *will leade* vppe and downe quietly (= can be led or is willing to be or to suffer itself to be led). 1801 After which they [mackerel] *will not mesh* but are caught with hooks (= cannot be meshed or is not willing to suffer themselves to be meshed or to go in the meshes). 1632 The Dromidory . . . *will ride* aboue 80 miles in the day (= admits of being ridden or is willing to be or to suffer itself to be ridden or to go).



In these examples the primary sense of *will* seems even to be predominant, at least when the grammatical subject is personal. The predication aspect lent to the sentence when *will* implies 'to be willing' is of course that of a predication of state.

Let us now turn to sentences where the grammatical subject is inanimate. It is even in this case possible to trace the primary sense of *will*. In fact in practically all instances we can hear a faint echo of this sense, irrespective of the actual origin of its modal function and of the semological structure of the trans. sense of the predicate-verb. As examples: 1677 Iron . . if it be too cold . . *will not batter* under the Hammer (= does not or will not admit of being battered; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be battered'). *Mod.* This sentence *will not construe*; I can make nothing of it (= does not admit of being construed; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be construed, i. e. analysed grammatically'). 1572 When . . their ensignes *will not displaie* abroad but fold about the stander-bearers heads (= does not admit of being displayed; tending to imply, 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be displayed'). 1819 The present set . . *will not dramatize* (= does not admit of being dramatized; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be dramatized'). 1864 This land *won't drain* (= does not admit of being drained; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be drained'). 1793 The trenail *would drive* no further (= did not admit of being driven; tending to imply 'was not willing to be or to suffer itself to be driven'). 1664 It is observ'd that Oak *will not easily glue* to other Wood (= does not easily admit of being glued; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be glued'). 1792 She wailing, in most piteous case, Of stubborn stays — that *would not lace* (= did not admit of being laced, tending to imply 'was not willing to be or to suffer itself to be laced'). 1844 The windows *would not lift* (= did not admit of being lifted; tending to imply 'was not willing to be or to suffer themselves to be lifted'). *Mod.* The door *will not lock* (= does not admit of being locked; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be locked'). c 1400 His herte is hard, that *wole not meke*, whan men of mekenesse him biseke (= does not admit of being softened or is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be softened; the latter sense is here distinctly salient both for chronological reasons and on account of the nature of the grammatical subject). 1863 The Burnet . . *will not mill*, but simply gets its wings broken off (= does not admit of being milled; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be milled'). 1794 The yarn . . *will pick* into oakum (= admits of being picked; tending to imply 'is willing to be or to suffer itself to be picked'). 1699 A Tree we call Cypress . . ; it is soft and spungy, *will not Rive* (= does not admit of being riven; tending to imply 'is not willing to be or to suffer itself to be riven'). 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, *will cut* and *rive* in



any direction (= admits of being cut or riven; tending to imply 'is willing to be or to suffer itself to be cut or riven'). 1726 It is very soft, and *will easily rub to pieces* (= easily admits of being rubbed to pieces; tending to imply 'is easily willing to be or to suffer itself to be rubbed to pieces'). 1857 Martin . . proceeded . . to convert these . . into Latin that *would scan* (= admitted of being scanned; tending to imply 'was willing to be scanned'). H. J. BYRON, *Won't the picture sell?* (= does it not admit of being sold; tending to imply 'is it not willing to be sold'). O'CURRY, . . and I know several old poems that *will sing* to it (= admits of being sung to it; tending to imply 'is willing to be or to suffer itself to be sung').

Thus it is not impossible to trace the primary sense of *will* in admit-class sentences where the grammatical subject is inanimate. It is evident that this import is then employed in a transferred sense. It is this very fact that here contributes to the origination and the predominance of the modal import of *will* and to the suppression of the salience of the primary sense.

The second source of *will* (*would*) as a modal auxiliary is its function as a temporal auxiliary. It should be remembered that in a principal clause combined with a conditional subordinate clause, we often meet with *will* as a temporal auxiliary, *e. g.* 'If he is (be) found guilty, he *will* be punished', 'If he were (should be) found guilty, he *would* be punished'. Now, in the case of admit-class sentences we may mostly supply a conditional subordinate clause such as 'if we try', 'if we want to', or the like (cf. p. 430). This very fact shows that to instinctive linguistic consciousness admit-class sentences with *will* readily appear as abbreviations of a complex sentence with a conditional subordinate clause as the characteristic element. This being so, we do not doubt that admit-class sentences with *will* has to a certain extent originated from an incomplete resolution of an idea whose complete resolution would require the addition of a conditional subordinate clause and that the omission of this clause has contributed to transforming *will* into a modal auxiliary. But in the case of specified examples it is generally impossible to decide as to when *will* as a modal auxiliary has sprung from the temporal function or when it has taken its rise from the primary trans. meaning. For admit-class sentences with *will* as a modal auxiliary represent a living formative principle in the NE. period.

The oscillating temporal sense of *will* is particularly conspicuous when a conditional subordinate clause has actually been expressed. As examples: 1677 Iron . . if it be too cold . . *will not*



*batter* under the Hammer (= does not admit of being battered or will not admit of being battered). 1646 Crystall *will calefy unto electricity*, that is a power to attract straws or light bodies (= admits of being calefied or will be calefied). 1777 If it had been tighter, 'twould neither have *hooked* nor *buttoned* (= could not have been hooked or buttoned or would not have admitted of being hooked or buttoned). 1861 Her striped silk, *turned*, *will make up* as handsome as ever (= admits of being made up or will admit of being made up or will prove to become as handsome as ever when made up). 1658 Stitch none of the loose pieces of flesh, they *will assimilate* no more (= do not admit of being assimilated any more or will not (be able to) be assimilated any more). In the case of these and similar instances there is no doubt that *will* (*would*) is originally a temporal auxiliary and that this sense may even be considered as the predominant one. If so, the modal element, *i. e.* the admit-sense, has got no particular expression but is nevertheless salient. But on the other hand it is also possible here to apprehend *will* as a modal auxiliary even in quot. 1777 (cf. the expression 'it will neither hook nor button'). This possibility then is chiefly conditioned by the fact that in admit-class sentences *will* (*would*) is a common modal auxiliary but also by the fact that to instinctive linguistic consciousness the temporal *will* easily appears as the linguistic expression of the modal element which is involved in admit-class sentences and which otherwise would here be destitute of a particular morphological representative. An equivalent case is sometimes presented by sentences not combined with a conditional subordinate clause. Take the following instance: 1837 This conflagration of the South-East will abate . . . *extinguish* it *will not*, till the full be all done. We readily admit that, on account of the co-ordination with 'will abate', the expression 'will extinguish' has a distinct reference to futurity. Yet it is not entirely impossible to trace an oscillation towards a modal import. Take further the following quotations: SHAKS. let us like merchants show our foulest wares and think perchance thy'll *sell*. 1625 Is't a Cleare businesse? *will* it *manage* well? My name must not be vse'd else. Here a reference to futurity seems to be clearly distinguishable and *will* may consequently be apprehended as a temporal auxiliary, the admit-sense being then destitute of a particular linguistic expression. But *will* may here also be apprehended as a modal auxiliary (cf. the reasons mentioned above).

In the sentences examined above we cannot mentally add a conditional subordinate clause (*i. e.* 'if we try' or the like). But we also meet with admit-class sentences where such an addition



is impossible and where *will* has no temporal sense but only a modal import or a faint trace of the primary meaning. Such is the case when the whole predicate has a preterital sense, *c. g.* *Mod.* His verses did not scan and *would barely construe* (= barely admitted of being construed = could barely be construed). Such seems also to be the case in subordinate clauses such as the following: 1572 When . . . their ensignes *will not displaie* abroad but fold about the stander-bearers heads (= do not admit of being displayed = cannot be displayed).

However, in most admit-class sentences with *will* as a modal auxiliary it is possible to supply a conditional subordinate clause such as 'if we try' or the like. But, when so, we may at the same time also trace a faint oscillation (on the part of *will*) towards a temporal sense. This does not then as a rule involve that the modal element is lost but only that it has got no particular morphological expression. Consequently this oscillating sense of *will* does not imply a change in respect of the predication aspect of the sentence. To take a few examples: 1604 Women are flax, and *will fire* in a moment (= admit of being fired; a faint oscillation towards 'will admit of being fired', *sciz.* if you try; a distinct oscillation towards 'will catch fire'). 1675 They *will commix* as Iron and Clay (= admit of being commixed; a faint oscillation towards 'will admit of being fired', *sciz.* if you try; a distinct oscillation towards 'will come into commixture', *sciz.* if you try). 1680 This is a fine pliable principle . . . 'twill lap about your finger like Barbary Gold (= admits of being lapped; a faint oscillation towards 'will admit of being lapped', *sciz.* if you try). 1726 It is very soft and *will easily rub to pieces* (= easily admits of being rubbed to pieces; a faint oscillation towards 'will easily admit of being rubbed to pieces', *sciz.* if we try). 1796 The strong lands . . . are much chilled . . . and *will cross* [= cross-plough] badly (= badly admit of being crossed; a faint oscillation towards 'will badly admit of being crossed', *sciz.* if you try). 1866 It *will apply* no less to our own case (= admits of being applied; a faint oscillation towards 'will admit of being applied', *sciz.* if you try). 1766 but such qualities as *would wear well* (orig. = would readily admit of being worn or used; a faint oscillation towards 'would admit of being worn', *sciz.* if we tried; 'would' has here the modal-temporal import implied in the conditional conjunctive but represents at the same time admit-sense). 1836 The story *would dramatize* admirably (= would admirably admit of being dramatized; 'would' expresses here not only the sense of 'can', but at the same time a moderative conjunctive, *i. e.* a modest assertion; this is equivalent to saying that it faintly oscillates towards the modal-temporal sense involved in the import 'would admirably admit of being dramatized, if somebody tried'; for the moderative conjunctive has no doubt originated from the conditional conjunctive). 1866 Sheldon adjoined



Winston, and *would* groove into that estate nicely (= the same interpretation as in point of the preceding quotation).

In all admit-class sentences where *will* oscillates towards a temporal sense it seems also possible to trace a faint oscillation towards the primary sense 'to be willing'. In fact the latter sense appears to be traceable whenever in admit-class sentences *will* has a modal import. But as a rule the modal sense of *will* is predominant (as to exceptions, see above p. 459). Its faint oscillation towards a temporal sense or the primary meaning is only interesting as suggesting the etymological origin of *will* as a modal auxiliary.

Let us turn to the should or must-class. The salience of an intr. sense is here only dependent on the semological structure of the trans. sense. When the verb may be apprehended as causal, the correlative intr. sense, *i. e.* the intr. sense that constitutes an element of the primary trans. meaning, is always more or less salient. As causal verbs should be described *boil* (to cause to undergo the process of boiling), *cure* (to cause to get well again), *demise* (to cause to pass as a possession to), *extirp* (to cause to die out or lose existence). As examples: 1845 The fruit should be finely flavoured, and . . . *should boil* easily (= should be boiled or should undergo the process of boiling). 1791 I *must* either *cure* or die (= must be cured or must get well again). 1823 Now arose a difficulty — whether the property of the late King *demised* to the King or to the Crown (= should be demised or should pass as a possession to). 1606 They *should* be vtterly rooted out, and the posteritye of their name *extirp* (= should be extirped; the co-ordination with the passive form 'be rooted out' makes here the passive sense of 'extirp' appear as predominant; only a faint oscillation towards the import 'should die out'). Since the modal element together with the intr. sense of the predicate-verbs is here conceived as a characteristic quality of the grammatical subject, the predication nature conditioned by the oscillating intr. sense is always a predication of attribution.

When the predicate-verb must be apprehended as non-causal a passive sense only is salient unless an intr. sense constitutes an element of the trans. meaning. The latter is the case with *count* and *found*, *i. e.* they imply 'to consider or maintain a thing to have the value of, etc., to have as foundation, to let a thing have as foundation'). As non-causal verbs should be described: *count*, *found*, *graft*, *lace*, *screw*. As examples: 1894 If possible, the theme *should graft* on to a vigorous and well grown stock

of native interest (= should be grafted). 1888 Shoes . . *should* . . *lace* from the toe, as high up the foot as is possible (= should be laced or, perhaps, should admit of being laced). 1881 The face-plate which *screws* on the mandrils (= should be screwed; perhaps also 'is generally screwed' or even 'admits of being screwed'). 1861 Oxford ought to be the place . . where money *should count* for nothing (= should be counted for nothing or should have no value). 1837 All Delineation . . *must* either *found* on Belief and provable Fact or have no foundation at all (= must be founded or must have as foundation).

We have seen that the characteristic trait of the resultative class is that the grammatical subject proves to have or to get a specified qualification when being (having been) made the object of a specified action. Therefore, if we here want to trace an oscillating intr. sense on the part of the predicate-verb, this is proximately to be found in that part of the resultative class sense which is represented by the subordinate clause 'when being (having been) made the object of a specified action'. For this part of the sense is conditioned by the predicate-verb only, whereas the other part, which mostly is of intr. import, is dependent on the whole context.

3) *The  
resultative  
class.*

If we want to examine the occurrence of an intr. sense in the case mentioned, it is here, too, necessary to distinguish between the case when the trans. sense of the predicate-verb is causal and the case when it is non-causal. As causal verbs should be described: *make up* (to make fat), *open* (to make open), *pull* (of a boat; it may only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal, i. e. to cause to move on by means of oars), *row* (of a boat; = pull), *ride* (it may only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal, cf. p. 451). Apart from *ride* it is here possible to trace the intr. sense that constitutes a part of the trans. meaning, e. g. 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they *will make up* to nearly 2 lbs. heavier (= will prove to amount to or to become . . when having been made fat or when having become fat). 1760—72 A door that *opened* into a garden; and . . another door that *opened* to the street (= proved to give admission to a garden, to the street when having been opened or having become open). 1829 She *pulls* six oars (= proves to employ six oars when being pulled or when pulling). 1769 Pinnaces . . are somewhat smaller, and never *row* more than eight oars (= never prove to employ more than eight oars when being rowed or when rowing). Again *ride* presents a passive sense only, e. g. 1805 Can you get me a nag That will *ride* very quiet (only = will prove to be quiet when being ridden)?

Since we have taken the salience or non-salience of a passive sense as a predicationally distinctive mark, the predicationally aspect



conditioned by the intr. sense is a different one from that conditioned by the passive sense, *i. e.* we are in the former case concerned with predications of attribution. However, the salience of a correlative intr. sense does not here seem to be very prominent, and if we increase the number of causal verbs occurring in a resultative class sense by turning to such cases as oscillate towards the admit-class, we shall find that the passive sense by no means always oscillates towards the correlative intr. meaning. As examples: c 1600 This . . *will kepe* but one yeare good (= admits of being kept good or proves to remain good when being kept). 1607 Till hee be so tame . . that he *will leade* vppe and downe quietly (= readily admits of being led up and down or will prove to go quietly when being led up and down). 1826 A kind of steel . . which *would polish* almost as white and bright as silver (= would admit of being polished as white and bright as silver or would prove to become as white and bright as silver when having been polished). 1632 The water of Jordan . . *will reserue* vnspoiled, both moneths and yeares (= admits of being reserved unspoiled or will prove to remain unspoiled when being reserved).

The vast majority of the verbs occurring in our material in a resultative class sense are non-causal, *viz.* *clip, count, cut, dress, drink, eat, feel, handle, kill, mesh, muster, number, print, read, realize, rear, reckon, shear, smoke, tell, touch, tread*. In the case of these verbs, the latter part of the turn-out class sense never presents an oscillation towards an intr. sense, *e. g.* 1879 There were . . sheep in the pen that would *clip* as much or more wool (= would prove to yield . . when having been clipped). 1819 They *counted* thirty (= proved to be 30 in number when having been counted).

However, both in the case of non-causal and causal verbs we may ask whether the whole resultative class sense may sometimes oscillate towards an intr. (or even a trans.) meaning. A priori we may expect such a sense to have a twofold relation to the resultative class sense. For, on the one hand, the intr. (or trans.) sense may be equivalent to the whole resultative class sense, *i. e.* both its component parts put together. A trans. sense of this kind is actually found in the case of a couple of verbs, *viz.* *pull, row, e. g.* 1829 She pulls six oars (= proves to employ six oars when being pulled = carries six oars [NED.]). 1854 I purchased . . a light little yawl . . that rowed four oars (= the same interpretation as above).

On the other hand the intr. (or trans.) sense may be equivalent to the first part of the resultative class sense, the second part (*i. e.* when being [having being] made the object of a specified ac-

tion) being suppressed. Such a suppression of the latter element is no doubt dependent on particular causes and not exclusively due to the frequency of the resultative class construction in question. In the case of resultative class senses oscillating towards an admit-class sense there are seemingly several instances of such a suppression of the second element, *viz.* the non-causal verbs *assort*, *draw*, *exchange*, *group* (cf. p. 458) and the causal verbs *compose*, *keep*, *reserve* (cf. p. 455–6). But in the case of the non-causal verbs the oscillating intr. sense is equivalent to the whole admit-class sense. It is therefore in this case preferable to ascribe the salience of the intr. sense to the fact mentioned than to assume a suppression of the second part of the resultative class sense, which would be difficult to account for. As to the causal verbs *keep* and *reserve* the salience of the intr. sense has no doubt started from the admit-class sense where, in the case of causal verbs, a correlative intr. sense easily originates, and not from the oscillating resultative class sense where only the passive sense of the verbs mentioned is salient and where we would be forced to assume a suppression of the second part of the whole sense.

Those resultative class sentences which do not oscillate towards an admit-class sense, as a rule present no oscillation towards a meaning forming the first part of the whole turn-out class sense. There are, however, three groups of verbs where such an oscillation is distinguishable. One group is represented by the verbs *tell*, *count*, *muster*, *number* and *reckon*. As examples: 1819 They counted thirty (= proved to amount to thirty or to be 30 in number when counted; also = were 30 in number). 1837 The whole garrison mustered but six or eight men (= the same interpretation as above). 1883 The crew and passengers numbered 33 (= the same interpretation as above). 1877 He marched [them] into the camp before his own troop, which did not reckon nearly so many (= the same interpretation as above). The suppression of the second part of the resultative class sense seems here to be connected with the etymological origin of the resultative class construction of these verbs. For in several languages which otherwise are destitute of resultative class sentences the corresponding verbs may be used in the same sense, *e. g.* Germ., 'Die Truppe zählte 30 Mann'; Swed., 'Truppen räknade 30 man'. Another group is formed by the verbs *feel*, *touch* 2. As examples: 1581 The hande . . feeling to be rough (= being felt to be rough or proving to have a rough feel when felt; also = to have a rough feel). 1885 They touch rough — dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused (= prove to feel rough or to have a rough feel when



touched; also = to have a rough feel). Here, too, the suppression of the second element of the resultative class sense is evidently bound up with the origin of the secondary construction of these verbs. The 3rd group is formed by *open* II 4  $\beta$ , *row*, *pull*, and *mesh*, all belonging to subcategory d (see p. 558—561).

*Salience  
of a passive  
sense.*

When examining the salience of an intr. sense in the various subclasses of cat. F we have at the same time discussed the salience of the passive sense and the factors by which it is conditioned. We have shown that the appearance of the passive meaning is due to the vitality of the primary trans. sense, since a frequent use of a verb in F-class constructions may lead to the distinct salience, nay, to the predominance of an intr. sense. We have proved that this appearance is also dependent on the semological structure of the primary trans. meaning, since non-causal verbs do not as a rule suffer the origination of an oscillating intr. sense, whereas the reverse is the case with causal verbs. Lastly we have also shown that the prominence of the passive sense may be bound up with the context, since especially in the case of admit-class sentences devoid of a modal auxiliary also causal verbs often present a passive sense only. Therefore, let us here limit our examination to stating the attitude assumed by the NED. as to the salience of a passive sense in the various subclasses of cat. F.

To begin with, be it noticed that the salience of a passive sense is mostly acknowledged by the NED. in the *specified* description of the imports under consideration. But in the case of the *general* description of these imports such is by no means the case.

As to the intemporal class the function of the verbs is mostly described as 'intr.' As examples: a) causal verbs: *bend*, *calefy*, *disfigure*, *entangle*, *foil*, *indurate*, *mend*, *meng*, *open* II 4  $\gamma$ ; b) non-causal verbs: *derive*, *exchange*, *instance*, *interpret*, *number*, *overgrow*, *reckon*, *reduce*, *retail*, *rive*. Sometimes the intemporal class function of the verbs is described as 'intr. for refl.' As examples: a) causal verbs: *bind*, *breed*, *commix*, *concoct*, *corrode*, *disentangle*, *fix*, *fracture*, *outlaw*, *pervert*, *preserve*; b) non-causal verbs: *class*, *load*. On the other hand the *passive* function of the verb is in some instances expressly recognized. As examples: a) causal verbs: *draw* II a  $\beta$  (intr. for passive), *dulcify* (intr. for passive), *make* II 2 (intr. for passive); b) non-causal verbs: *count* II 1 b, II 1 c  $\gamma$ , II 2 (intr. with passive sense [neuter-passive]), *let* (intr. in passive sense), *screw*

(intr. in passive sense), *take off* (intr. for passive), *tell* (intr. with refl. or passive sense).

As to the modal class the function of the verbs is mostly designated as 'intr.' As examples: a) causal verbs: *amalgam, assimilate, attend, blot, blunt, conjoin, convert, demise, dissolve, drain, endue, extirp, fire, fold, glue, groove, humect, incorporate, indurate, inflame, intermingle, intermix, keep, lead* (< lead, sb.), *lower, malt, mash, meek, mingle, mix, nitrify, notch, overthrow, overwhelm, oxidate, reserve*; b) non-causal verbs: *apply, assort, batter, cross* (= cross-plough), *even* (= compare), *exchange, fasten* (= button), *identify, lead* (< OE. *lædan*), *learn, lock, manufacture, mill, mouth, peel, pull* II 1 a, *quilt, read* II 1, *realize, retract, rive, rub, set, sketch, smoke, spin, squeeze*. Less often do we meet with the description 'intr. for refl.'. As examples: a) causal verbs: *alloy, bake, boil, coin, coke, compose, cook, corrode, cure, develop, digest, display, extinguish, gild, preserve*; b) non-causal verbs: *button, cock, compare, found, graft, group, heckle*. In a considerable number of instances the passive function of the verb is expressly acknowledged. As examples: a) causal verbs: *cram* (intr. with passive sense), *erase* (in quasi-passive use), *lift* (intr. in quasi-passive sense), *multiply* (intr. for passive), *polish* (intr. for passive); *temper* (intr. for pass.), *toast* (intr. for pass.), *thwack* (intr. for pass.); b) non-causal verbs: *construe* (intr. for pass.), *count* (intr. with passive sense [neuter-passive]), *cut* (intr. in passive sense), *ding* (neuter-passive), *dramatize* (intr. for pass.), *draw* (intr. for passive), *dress* (intr. = passive), *drive* II 2 (intr. for refl. or pass.), *grind* (intr. in quasi-passive sense), *harrow* (intr. for passive), *kill* II 1 (intr. in passive sense), *lace* (intr. [quasi-passive]), *lather* (intr. in quasi-passive sense), *lead* II 1 (intr., quasi-passive), *make up* II 3 (quasi-passive), *manage* (intr. [quasi-pass.]), *measure* (intr. in pass. sense), *mesh* (intr. for refl. or passive), *pack* (intr. for refl. in passive sense), *paint* (intr. for neuter-passive), *parse* (intr. for pass.), *perfurnish* (intr. for passive), *pick* (intr. for pass.), *saw* (intr. with passive force), *scan* (intr. for passive), *take* (intr. for pass.), *tell* (intr. for pass.), *thrash* (intr. for pass.), *trace* (intr. for pass.), *tread* (intr. for pass.), *translate* (intr. for pass.), *transplant* (intr. for pass.). Only very rarely do we find the new sense described as 'trans.', viz. *beat out, make* II 1, *realize*.

As to the resultative class, we find the same general descriptions as in the case of the other subclasses of cat. F. We meet with the description 'intr.': *drink, open* II 4 β, *print* (intr. or absol.),



*read* II 2, *rear*, *reckon*, *ride* II 2, *shear* (absol. or intr.), *tread*. We find the description '*intr. for refl.*'; viz. *handle*, *mesh* (intr. for refl. or pass.). We also find the *passive* sense acknowledged as salient: *count* II 1 a, c  $\beta$  (intr. with passive sense [neuter-passive]), *cut* II 1  $\beta$  (intr. in passive sense), *dress* II 2 (intr. = passive), *eat* (intr. with passive force), *feel* (in quasi-passive sense), *kill* II 2 (intr. in passive sense), *make up* II 4 (intr. for passive), *tell* (intr. for pass.), *touch* (intr. for pass.). Lastly we also come across the description '*trans.*', viz. *clip*, *muster*, *number*, *pull*, *realize*, *row*.

Thus in the NED. there is no consistency in the general description of the F-class function of the predicate-verbs just as was the case with the passive function manifested in cats. A, B, C, D, E. True, the F-class function of the predicate-verbs may mostly be described as '*intr.*', if we have regard to the morphological aspect of an intr. verb. But, if we consider its semological aspect, this description is inadequate, since here a passive sense is always salient and this sense far from always oscillates towards an intr. meaning. This fact has evidently been acknowledged by the NED., when it sometimes employs such descriptions as '*intr. for pass.*' The arbitrary and inconsistent character of the descriptions given by the NED. is particularly conspicuous, if we remember that the new function of several causal verbs, where an oscillating intr. sense mostly originates, is described as '*intr. for passive*', whereas a large number of non-causal verbs which present a passive sense only are designated as '*intr.*', or if we call to mind that non-causal verbs entirely on a par as to sense are now described as '*intr.*' (e. g. *drink*), now as '*intr. for pass.*' (e. g. *eat*). The description '*intr. for refl.*' is evidently almost always meant to refer to the etymological origin of the F-class constructions. But, if so, this etymological interpretation is always erroneous, unless also a reflexive sense is distinguishable, which is very rarely the case with our examples. For in the English language the reflexive form on the whole never developed into a passive or an intr. formative (cf. p. 261 sqq.). As a matter of fact the tendency to such a function on the part of the reflexive form was counterbalanced, made superfluous by the causative law and the factors that gave rise to it and also by the origination of cat. F.

*Extent  
and chrono-  
logy.*

The extent and the chronology of cat. F present on the whole the same aspects as are met with in the case of the other categories

where a passive sense is dressed in the active form. In other words, the vitality of the category is at its height in the NE. period but decreases the more we backwards approach the OE. period. In the latter period a few rare examples only are met with, and they do not illustrate the resultative class nor do they on the whole comprise non-causal verbs.

Let us first examine the intemporal class. To begin with it should be noticed that in the descriptive classification of our material we have been guilty of some inadvertencies. Thus a few instances have been described as specimens of the intemporal class, though on second thoughts they appear to be representatives of the admit-class only. Here belong *fur* and *lead* (< lead, sb.), cf. p. 432. Here belongs probably also *hatch out* (cf. cat. E, p. 180) in the following quotation: 1888 The eggs will hatch out in from twenty-three to twenty-five days (= admit of being hatched out; scarcely = are usually hatched out). On the other hand there are a couple of quotations which have been described as specimens of the admit-class, though they probably are representatives of the intemporal class. Here belongs *rive* (cf. p. 213) in the following sentences: 1772 The body of the willow tree rives into pales (prob. = are usually riven into pales). 1831 They rive, according to the term of the quarry-men, into thin . . . laminæ (The context is not quite clear, but the sense is probably intemporal = are usually riven into). Moreover a few quotations have been described as belonging to the intemporal class, though they rather appear to be specimens of the resultative class only, viz. *mesh*, 1827 In the summer fishery the herrings always mesh with their heads to the north (= prove to have their heads turned to the north when meshed); *pull* II 1  $\beta$  and *row* II 2 (see p. 501). We have seen that the intemporal class may sometimes oscillate towards the admit-class. Such an oscillation has in the descriptive classification of our material been wrongly acknowledged on the one hand in instances where we seem to be concerned with the intemporal class sense only, viz. *calefy* quot. 1658, *combine* quots. 1800, 1812, and *count* quots. 1892 and Mod. (cf. p. 431 and 433), and on the other hand in instances which appear to be specimens of the admit-class only, viz. *atend*, *blot*, *digest* quot. 1574, *draw* II 2 b quot. 1856, *endue*, *humect*, *mesh* (cf. p. 432). In the following quot. of *bind* (cf. p. 113), described as having admit-class sense only, we are probably concerned with an oscillation towards the intemporal class: 1838 The coarse [gravel], it is true, does not bind. Lastly we should admit that several

1) *The  
intemporal  
class.*



instances dealt with in connection with cats. A, B, C, D, E in reality present an intemporal sense and consequently are representatives of the intemporal class. Here belong chiefly the following instances: a) the primary trans. sense is causal: *bend* (cat. A, p. 112), 1753 The knotty Oaks bend before the Blast; *corrode* (cf. cat. B, p. 133), 1820 Some minds corrode and grow inactive under the loss of personal liberty; *dispel* (cf. cat. D, p. 165), 1840 Conventions . . in constant succession bubble up, form, and dispel; *dissipate* (cf. cat. C, p. 153), 1640 Libels neglected quickly find their own graves, and dissipat to ayr; 1878 Death and decay are things That dissipate beneath thy radiant eye; *dissolve* (cf. cat. B, p. 135), 1638 The fruit [banana] put into your mouth, dissolves aud yeelds a most incomparable relish; *draw* II 1 a  $\beta$  (cf. cat. E, p. 176), 1660 He . . puts on a white shirt that drawes on the ground, like persons doing penance with us; *evolve* (cf. cat. D, p. 167), 1881 A tree evolves in obedience to his [God's] laws; *exhaust* (cf. cat. C, p. 155), 1851 The steam exhausts through the centre opening; *filtrate* (cf. cat. C, p. 155), 1725 A white Liquor which filtrates thro' the Glands of Women's Breasts; 1834 Through which the stream . . filtrates silently and unperceived; *form* (cf. cat. D, p. 165 s. v. dispel), 1840 Conventions . . in constant succession bubble up, form, and dispel; *identify* (cf. cat. D, p. 169), 1683 Only as . . conjoined with our affections, which commix, coincide, and as it were identifi with that grandest and Divinest Mysterie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh; *knit* (cf. cat. B, p. 143), *Mod.* In young people fractured bones soon knit; *purge off* (cf. cat. D, p. 170), 1805 This sort of leaven soon purges off (the context is not quite clear; prob. = is generally soon purged off); *wear* II b (cf. p. 216), *SHAKS.* Though marble wear with raining; b) the primary trans. sense is non-causal: *class* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1816 This fine country . . whose people class morally so high in the scale of mankind (= are generally classed or should be classed); 1865 Those who class as believers (= are generally classed); *deduce* (cf. cat. D, p. 164) 1889 The very first principles from which it deduces are so little axiomatic that . . (as to sense, cf. p. 433); *derive* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1794 *Indignant* meantime derives from a higher stock (= is derived); 1804 Upholsterer is declared against as a corruption. Whence does it derive? (as to sense, cf. p. 434); 1866 The words *Comus* and *Encomium* derive thence (as to sense, cf. p. 434); *hold* (cf. cat. E, p. 181), a 1654 *Allodium* . . signifies Land that holds of nobody; we have no such Land in England; 1665 My crown is absolute, and holds of none; *number* (cf. cat. D, p. 170), 1864 And tho' thou numberest with the followers Of One who cried, 'Leave all and follow me'. For two reasons, however, this inadvertency is a matter of little importance. For on the one hand we may safely maintain that, if a verb in the active form but employed in a passive sense may appear with intemporal tense-aspect, it may in the form and the sense mentioned also occur with temporal tense-



aspect. This is probably true also in the case of non-causal verbs. And, in fact, our material presents many examples of verbs having not only the sense characteristic of one of cats. A, B, C, D, E but the sense of the intemporal class as well. On the other hand the occurrence or non-occurrence of an intemporal sense has no influence whatever on the etymological explanation of the secondary passive sense, provided that the import does not oscillate towards the admit-class. For in the latter case the origin may be the same as in the case of admit-class sentences.

Among the verbs employed in intemporal class sense non-causal verbs are of particular interest. To the number of such verbs quoted in our collection of material we are able to add the following instances: *shear* (< OE. *sceran*), 1) trans., to cut the fleece from (an animal), c 900 —, 2) the sense of the intemporal class (= præd. obj. & attrib.), *i. e.* to be usually shorn (cf. NED. s. v. *shear* 5 d), 1587 D. FENNER *Song of Songs* iv, 1 Those same goates which doe vpon The mount of Gilhad sheare; — *sing* (< OE. *singan*), 1) trans., to utter (songs, etc.) with musical modulations of the voice, c 825 —, 2) the sense of the intemporal class (= præd. obj. & attrib.), *i. e.* to be usually sung (cf. NED. s. v. *sing* 8), 1873 O'CURRY *Lect. Anc. Irish* III 391 Those verses . . which sing to the air of *Ar Eire*, etc. As examples in point we may also quote the verbs *ring* and *tell*, though, in the examples we are able to adduce, the passive import dressed in the active form is used in a temporal sense and, since the correlative trans. senses are non-causal, consequently illustrates cat. E; but this converted use of the verbs in a temporal sense involves the possibility of employing them in the passive sense but with the active form also intemporally: *ring* (< OE. *hringan*), 1) note the trans. expression 'to ring up, down' = to direct (a theatre-curtain) to be drawn *up* or let *down* by making a bell ring. Also absol. 1837 —, 2) temporal passive sense = to be rung up, 1905 CONAN DOYLE, *Return of Sh. Holmes* II 275 (Tauchn.) 'Come, friend Watson, the curtain rings up for the last act.' — *tell* (< OE. *tellan*), 1) trans. to count (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 22 a), ME. — now arch. or dial., 2) temporal passive sense = to be counted (= præd. objecti), now *rare* (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 22 c), 1774 BURKE, *Corr.* (1844) I 448 Lord Verney . . has told in parliament, including himself, for four members.

As to the general extent of the intemporal class we are, theoretically speaking, entitled to maintain that it is the largest of all those predication categories which present a passive sense dressed



in the active form. This is a necessary inference from the fact that all the verbs of cats. A, B, C, D, E may in the active form also be employed in an intemporal passive meaning and consequently represent an intemporal class sense. But in the case of our material the actual extent of the intemporal class is by no means larger than that of the other categories. This is no doubt principally due to the circumstance that our mental life is mostly concerned with temporal facts and occurrences, not with general truisms.

We have seen that the phenomenon of causal verbs adopting a correlative intr. sense often oscillating towards a passive meaning has in course of time developed into a fertile semological or formative law. Since a temporal use of such verbs in the sense and the form mentioned necessarily involves the possibility of employing them also intemporally, it is evident that no collection of material illustrating the intemporal class can lay claim to being exhaustive. Therefore, our own material can only be meant to give a sufficient illustration of the intemporal class. But even in this respect it falls short of the purpose as far as ME. and OE. are concerned. For our material happens to represent the NE. period only except in the case of a few instances. True, this is in harmony with the fact that the adoption of a secondary passive sense reached its height in the NE. period and also with the fact that the number of trans. verbs is much larger in the NE. period than in the preceding periods. It also harmonizes with the circumstance that the proclamation of general truisms involved in the intemporal class sense increased with the progress of literary activity. Yet we should bear in mind that the OE. and especially the ME. period present several examples of causal verbs adopting a correlative intr. sense which may oscillate towards the passive aspect and that therefore there must have been in these periods also several instances of the intemporal class. From what precedes it is evident that also the Gothic language could not have been entirely destitute of examples of this predication category. But our conclusion cannot be applied to non-causal trans. verbs, since even in the NE. period these are but rarely found with the intemporal class sense.

Are we entitled to maintain that the intemporal class represents a living formative principle in the NE. period? An answer cannot be given, if we have regard to causal verbs only. For the converted function of such verbs (in the active form) may be and

is no doubt an outcome of the operation of the causative law. Therefore the intemporal class as such cannot in the case of causal verbs claim to have induced this function any more than any one of cats. A, B, C, D, E can in itself be said to represent a living formative principle restricted to this category only. They are instead all of them on the whole manifestations of the causative law and the factors that have given rise to it. An answer to our question can only be given by an examination of the origin of the phenomenon of a number of non-causal verbs being employed in the intemporal class sense. If it can be proved that in several instances (not in two or three only) the intemporal class sense of non-causal verbs has been induced by the category of causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function, then we are entitled to consider this function as representing a living formative principle. The question mentioned should therefore be answered when we deal with the etymological interpretation of the intemporal class. But we may already here state that, since the use of the passive form was the normal mode of expressing the intemporal class sense, the use of the active form had but little chance of gaining ground. This is also in harmony with the fact that in the case of several non-causal verbs the use of the active form in a passive sense, whether the tense-aspect is intemporal or temporal, is obsolete or of rare occurrence.

A chronological arrangement of our instances of the intemporal class should pay attention to mainly two points of view, *viz.* the nature of the primary trans. meaning, *i. e.* the distinction between causal and non-causal verbs, and the nature of the secondary intemporal class sense, *i. e.* the distinction between instances oscillating towards the modal or the resultative class and such as do not present this oscillation. As to the chronology of the primary trans. meaning, suffice it to state that in the case of about half our examples it is of NE. date.

Let us begin with our instances from the NE. period.

a) *causal-verbs*: a) no oscillation towards the modal or the resultative class: 16<sup>th</sup> century: *commix*, 1519 These elements . . commix together daily; *preserve*, 1585 The snow . . preserveth all the whole Sommer in hys accustomed nature and coldnesse without melting; *dissolve*, 1592 What wax so frozen but dissolves with tempering? 1638 The fruit [banana] put into your mouth dissolves and yeelds a most incomparable relish; 1873 Olefiant gas dissolves considerably in water; *wear* II b, SHAKS. Though marble wear with raining; 1834 Peter, that's just the first feeling which wears away after a time. — 17<sup>th</sup> century:



*meng*, 1614 And from his springs A vertue takes which neuer mings With other streame; *disfigure*, a 1618 The right Cube's Figure . . Whose quadrat flatnesse never doth disfigure; *indurate*, 1626 This sheweth that Bodies doe . . by the Coldnesse of the Quick-siluer, Indurate; *pervert*, 1635 Blessings unus'd pervert into a Wast, As well as Surfeits; *foil*, 1639 There be mindes which foyle in reading a history of great length, humane patience being not of any great extent; *dissipate* (cf. cat. C, p. 153), 1640 Libels neglected quickly find their own graves, and dissipat to ayr; 1878 Death and decay are things That dissipate beneath thy radiant eye; *calefy*, 1658 Soils, which calify and indurate by the Sun's reflection; *draw* II 1 a  $\beta$ , 1660 He . . puts on a white shirt that drawes on the ground, like persons doing penance with us; *entangle*, a 1673 Boughs usually catch, and intangle one in another; *concoct*, 1677 Rocks . . which from a sandy kind of Earth gradually concoct into Freestone; *identify*, 1683 Only as . . conjoined with our affections, which commix, coincide, and as it were identifi with that grandest and Divinest Myserie of Love, sciz. God made Flesh; *dulcify*, 1686 The oftener it is sublimed, the more it does dulcify, and becomes proper to apply to flesh, where we would gently corrode. — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *mend*, 1712 The Fire of Youth will of course abate, and is a Fault that mends every Day; *filtrate* (cf. cat. C, p. 155), 1725 A white Liquor which filtrates thro' the Glands of Women's Breasts; *disentangle*, 1742 Thoughts disentangle passing o'er the lip; *fix*, 1748 Prejudices in disfavour of a person at his first appearance, fix deeper . . than prejudices in favour; *bend* (cf. cat. A, p. 112), 1753 The knotty Oaks bend before the Blast. — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *combine*, 1800 The oxide of manganese . . combines with the oxygen (uncertain ex., cf. p. 433); 1812 Silver combines with chlorine when . . heated in contact with the gas; *fracture*, 18 . . The implements . . are of sandstone [or] quartzite, neither of which fractures properly when subjected to heat; *purge off* (cf. cat. D, p. 170), 1805 This sort of leaven soon purges off; *corrode*, 1820 Some minds corrode and grow inactive under the loss of personal liberty; *dispel* (cf. cat. D, p. 165), 1840 Conventions . . in constant succession bubble up, form, and dispel; *form* (cf. cat. D, p. 165 s. v. dispel), 1840 (cf. preceding quot.); *freckle*, 1842 Those fair complexions, they freckle so; 1889 You know I never freckle; *exhaust* (cf. cat. D, p. 155), 1851 The steam exhausts through the centre opening; *open* II 4  $\gamma$ , 1870 Law offices opened at eight o'clock in those days; *evolve*, 1881 A tree evolves in obedience to his [God's] laws; *make into*, 1893 A little corner flap-table which makes into a good-sized square when the flap is up; *reproduce* II 1, 1894 It [the bacillus] reproduces at the rate of hundreds per day; 1896 Among those animals which reproduce only by fertilised ova, successive generations are almost always alike; *knit* (cf. cat. B, p. 143), *Mod.* In young people fractured bones soon knit.

$\beta$ ) oscillation towards the modal or the resultative class: 17<sup>th</sup> century: *intermingle*, 1626 Visibles doe not intermingle, and confound one another . . but Sounds doe. — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *draw*



II 2 b, 1794 The sub-soil is so concreted . . that water does not draw or filter beyond a few feet of distance. — *19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.*: *bind* 1838 The coarse [gravel], it is true, does not bind; *develop*, 1861 A plate well washed . . developes cleaner than one washed insufficiently; *corrode*, 1868 Gold and silver . . do not rust, corrode, or decay; *re-produce*, 1891 The drawings . . reproduce in monochrome-plate process with greater strength than might be expected; *outlaw*, 1895 Honour is a harder master than the law. It cannot compromise for less than a hundred cents on the dollar, and its debts never outlaw.

b) *non-causal verbs*: a) no oscillation towards the modal or the resultative class: *16<sup>th</sup> century*: *shear* (cf. p. 473), 1587 Those same goates which doe vpon The mount of Gilhad sheare; *wear* II c, SHAKS., Like the brooch and the toothpick, which wear not now. — *17<sup>th</sup> century*: *interpret*, 1614 Sophi by all likelyhood was giuen him with regard to his reformed profession, as the word interprets; *hold* (cf. cat. E, p. 181), a 1654 *Allodium* signifies Land that holds of nobody; we have no such Land in England; 1665 My crown is absolute, and holds of none; *over-grow*, a 1643 The Field unplowed overgrows with weeds. — *18<sup>th</sup> century*: *rive* (cf. p. 471, and p. 213), 1772 The body of the willow tree rives into pales; 1831 They rive, according to the term of the quarry-men into thin . . laminæ; *tell* (cf. p. 473), 1774 Lord Verney . . has told in parliament, including himself, for four members (Here the passive sense is temporal = cat. E); *derive* (cf. p. 472), 1794 *Indignant* meantime derives from a higher stock. — *19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.*: *class* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1865 Those who class as believers; *count* II 1 c (quots. 1820, 1850), II 2 (quots. 1833, 1889), II 1 b (quots. 1892, Mod.), 1820 The carambole counts two; 1850 They count as kindred souls; 1833 First and last, we counted as eight children . . though never counting more than six living at ones; 1889 High birth . . among the haughty Castillians has always counted for a great deal; 1892 There is Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire . . and Somersetshire; but all these do not count! They like to leave out of account the 21 seats we won at the by-elections, but they do count upon a division; *Mod.* In this examination the first 250 marks do not count at all; *load*, 1832 Last week the coach travelled nearly empty . . [Now] the coach loads better than ever; 1893 This coach always loads well; *let*, 1855 Lands let at from 10 *d.* to 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per acre; *number* (cf. cat. D, p. 170), 1864 And tho' thou numberest with the followers Of One who cried, 'Leave all and follow me'; *ring up* (cf. p. 473), 1905 'Come, friend Watson, the curtain rings up for the last act' (temporal sense = is now ringing up); *sing* (cf. p. 473), 1873 Those verses . . which sing to the air of *Ar Eire*, etc.; *retail*, 1881 Mr. Bartlett's compilation . . retails for three dollars; 1897 Turbot, brill, and halibut retail at 9 *d.* per lb. (Both quotations may also be apprehended as having a temporal sense); *take off*, 1892 Yours [*i. e.* hair] takes off at night; *reckon*, 1898 After the fashion . . of the sailors, with whom strength of arm reckons before style.



β) oscillation towards the modal or the resultative class: (cf. pp. 433—4, 444): 17<sup>th</sup> century: *instance*, a 1667 This story doth not only instance in kingdoms, but in families too. — 19<sup>th</sup> century: *derive* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1804 Upholsterer is declared against as a corruption. Whence does it derive?; 1866 The words *Comus* and *Encomium* derive thence; *class* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1816 This fine country . . whose people class morally so high in the scale of mankind; *realize*, 1845 notwithstanding the high rate of profit it realizes in the States; *exchange*, 1848 Demand and supply always rush to an equilibrium, but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things exchange for each other according to their cost of production; *screw*, 1881 The face-plate which screws on the mandrils (cf. p. 500); *deduce* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1889 The very first principles from which it deduces are so little axiomatic that, etc.

Thus the vast majority of our NE. instances of non-causal verbs employed in the intemporal class sense belongs to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Only two instances date from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *viz. rive* and *tell*, four instances belong to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *viz. hold, instance, interpret*, and *overgrow*, and the 16<sup>th</sup> century is represented by two remarkable examples, *viz. shear* and *wear*.

The ME. period is in our material represented by only one example of the intemporal class, *viz. breed*, a causal verb: c 1200 Wuremes breiden in wilderne.

From the OE. period we are, strange to say, able to adduce an instance where the primary trans. sense is non-causal (already quoted when we dealt with cat. E), *viz. āliefan*, Gūþ. 86, 6 þā heofonlican ȝerȳno þā nāneȝum men ne ālyfað tō secȝanne (lit. = those heavenly secrets which are permitted to no man to say).

2) *The modal class.*

Let us pass on to an examination of the extent and the chronology of the modal class.

As to its first subcategory, *i. e.* the admit-class, we must here, too, confess that in the descriptive classification of our material we have been guilty of some inadvertencies. When these refer to the question as to whether we are concerned with a specimen of the intemporal class or of the admit-class or else with an oscillation between both these classes, they have already been indicated when we examined the extent of the intemporal class and need not be repeated here (cf. p. 471). But there are other inadvertencies. We have seen that specimens of the admit-class very often oscillate towards a resultative class sense and that in the descriptive review of our material we have in the case of several instances neglected to recognize this oscillation (cf. p. 436 seq.).

On the other hand a few instances have been designated as presenting a resultative class sense only, though a distinct oscillation towards the admit-class is distinguishable. Here belong *fry* (quot. 1583; cf. p. 438 and 501), *number* (quot. 1833, cf. p. 501), *read* (quots. 1731 and 1789, cf. p. 501; quot. 1805, cf. p. 438 and 501—2), *ride* (quots. 1598 and 1692, cf. p. 440 and 501). We should also admit that we have overlooked that in a few quotations assigned to one of cats. A, B, D, the predicate-verb is qualified by a modal auxiliary in such a way that we are no doubt concerned with specimens of the modal class. Here belong chiefly the following instances: *deduce* (cf. cat. D, p. 164), 1866 The former notion of a bird . . . may deduce from the eastern word Gaph; *fix* (cf. cat. A, p. 121), 1760 He will find nothing [in these books] on which attention can fix; *identify* (cf. cat. D, p. 169), 1790 An enlightened self-interest, which . . . they tell us, will identify with an interest more enlarged and publick; *knit* (cf. cat. B, p. 143), 1612 Leaving of the grief undressed for two daies, that the veins may knit; *reserve* (cf. cat. D, p. 171), 1632 The water of Jordan . . . will reserue vnspoiled, both moneths and yeares; *stain* (cf. cat. D, p. 148), SHAKS., if virtue's gloss will stain with any soil. SHAKS., suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth. Lastly the following quotations have inadvertently been described as specimens of the admit-class: a 1300 He is a welle þe never *sal dri* (cf. cat. B, p. 136); 1823 Where does the taint stop? Do you *bleach* in three or four generations? Again, the following quotation should be apprehended not as an instance of the should-class or of cat. E, but as a representative of the admit-class: W. CLARK RUSSELL, What a rich and thrilling black! It *should sell* like wild-fire in France, where the people are lovers of glossy rich curls (= should admit of being sold).

Also in the case of the modal class the occurrence of non-causal verbs is of particular interest. To the number of such verbs already given in our collection of material we are able to add several other instances. These are<sup>1</sup>: *play* (< OE. *plegian*), 1) trans., to play (a drama), NE. —, 2) to admit of being played or to present a favourable aspect when played, 1912 *The Classical Review*, vol. xxvi, Febr. 33 It [the translation of a Greek drama] played well; it did not sound like a translation, but like an original. — *set* (< OE. *settan*), 1) note the trans. sense 'to put (words) to music'; also (less freq. and now obs.) 'to put music to words', 1502 —, 2) to admit of being set (to music), to go (well, etc.) with music (cf. NED. s. v. *set* 73), 1697 J. LEWIS *Mem. Dk. Gloucester* (1784) 82 He

<sup>1</sup> The verbs *split*, *temper*, *thwack*, and *toast* should, however, be apprehended as causal.



thought that they [the verses] would set very well to music. — **sing** (< OE. *singan*), 1) trans., to utter (songs, etc.) with musical modulations of the voice, c 825 —, 2) to admit of being sung.; quot. 1728 also = to present a favourable aspect when sung (cf. NED. s. v. *sing* 8), 1728 CHAMBERS *Cycl.* s. v. *Melody*, Yet so far as the Bass may be made airy, and to sing well, it may be also properly said to be Melodious; 1821 MRS. HEMANS *Lett.* in H. F. Chorley *Mem.* (1837) l 83 I am anxious that the words should both sing well and read well; — **sketch** (< *sketch*, sb. < Du. *schets*, sb. or *schetsen*, vb.), 1) note the trans. sense 'to draw the outline or prominent features (of a picture, figure, etc.)'; to make a sketch or rough draught (of something), NE. — 2) to admit of being sketched or to present a favourable aspect when sketched (cf. NED. s. v. *sketch*), 1883 HOLME LEE *Loving and Serving* l ii, 27 Those poke bonnets . . sketched well. — **smoke** (< OE. *smocian* < *smoca*, sb.), 1) note the trans. sense 'to use (tobacco, etc.) as material for smoking', 1687 —; to use (a pipe, cigar, etc.) in the act of smoking, to take (so many whiffs), 1706 — (cf. NED. s. v. *smoke* 12), 2) (of a pipe, tobacco) to admit of being smoked, to draw in a specified manner when smoked (cf. NED. s. v. *smoke* 14), 1883 *Harper's Mag.* July 174/2 These 'chuch-wardens' smoke freely and softly. — **spin** (< OE. *spinnan*), 1) trans., to draw out (wool, flax, etc.) and convert into threads, OE. —, to spin (a thing) *into* (a thing), 1669 —, 2) to admit of being spun *into* or to yield (yarn, so many hanks, etc.) when spun; also *transf.* (cf. NED. s. v. *spin* 2c), 1780 A. YOUNG *Tour Irel.* l 166 The 8 lb. [of flax] will spin into . . 20 hanks or 5 spangles fit for a ten hundred cloth; 1842 OASTLER *Fleet Papers* ll 26 It will not spin into good yarn, nor weave into wearable cloths; — **split** (< M. Du. *splitten* = MHG. *splīzen*, Ger. *spleissen*), 1) note the trans. sense 'to cleave or rend', 1593 —, 2) to admit of being cleft (cf. NED. s. v. *split* 9), 1846 J. BAXTER *Libr. Pract. Agric.* (ed. 4) ll 169 The wood splits clean and easy, and is best adapted for splitpaling and laths. — **squeeze** (perh. a strengthened form of *queaze* vb.), 1) note the trans. sense 'to press or compress hard, esp. so as to flatten, crush or force together', a 1601 —, 2) to admit of being squeezed; quot. 1844 *fig.*, also = to become soft when squeezed (cf. NED. s. v. *squeeze* 7), 1683 MOXON *Mech. Exerc., Printing* xxiv. Solid Blocks of Wood . . will scarce Squeeze by the Strength of a Pull; 1771 LUCKOMBE *Hist. Print* 327 Bran squeezes much more — But plaister of Paris not at all; 1844 DICKENS *Mart. Chuz.* xliii. 'He's the sort of man', added Mr. Tapley, musing, 'as would squeeze soft I know'. — **tell** (< OE. *tellan* < O.Teut. *\*taljan* f. *\*talō* = OE. *taln* tale sb.), 1) note the trans.

sense, to narrate, relate, OE. — (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 2 a); 2) to admit of being related or to sound (well, etc.) when told (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 26), 1584 HUDSON *Du Bartas' Judith* in *Sylvester* (1621) 696 Then, fathers, choose your warres; for better tels To lose like Jewes, then winne like infidels; 1782 MISS BURNEY *Cecilia* vi. ii, I had as lieve the things were false as not, for they tell as well the one way as the other. — **temper** (< OE. *temprian* < Lat. *temperāre*; the sense-development of the Eng. verb was prob. influenced by the French *tempérer*), 1) note the trans. sense, to bring (steel) to a suitable degree of hardness and elasticity or resiliency (by a certain procedure), c 1381 — (cf. NED. s. v. *temper* 14 a), 2) to admit of being tempered (cf. NED. s. v. *temper* 14 b), 1881 RAYMOND *Mining Gloss*, s. v., A metallic compound in which these qualities [hardness and elasticity] can thus be produced is said to temper, or to take temper; 1884 W. H. GREENWOOD *Steel & Iron* xvii. & 669 Mild steel containing from 0.05 to 0.20 per cent. of carbon will weld, but does not temper. — **thrash, thresh** (< OE. *þerscan*), 1) trans., to thresh (corn, etc.), OE. —, 2) to admit of being threshed, to bear threshing (cf. NED. s. v. *thrash* I 1 c), 1760 R. BROWN *Compl. Farmer* II 72 The weeds . . will . . cause it [rye] not to thrash well — **thwack** (appar. echoic from the sound of beating vigorously), 1) note the trans. sense 'to pack or crowd (a thing or place)'. Const. *with* something. Obs. 1582—1698 (cf. NED. s. w. *thwack* 3), 2) to admit of being packed or filled full (cf. NED. s. v. *thwack* 3 d), 1650 HOWELL *Giraff's Rev. Naples* I 114 The Church . . was as full as it could thwack in thick multitudes. — **toast** (< OF. *toster* < pop. L. *\*tostāre* f. *tost-* supine stem of L. *torrēre* to parch), 1) note the trans. sense 'to brown (bread, cheese, etc.) by exposure to the heat of a fire', c 1440 —, 2) to admit of being toasted or to taste nice when toasted (cf. NED. s. v. *toast*), Mod. This cheese toasts well. — **trace** (< OF. *tracier* < pop. L. *\*tractiāre* f. L. *tractus* a drawing, trailing, a track, course), 1) note the trans. sense 'to follow the footprints or traces of', c 1440 —, *fig.* to follow the course, development or history of; also with the course, etc. as object, 1654 — (cf. NED. s. v. *trace* 5, 6), 2) to admit of being traced; scarcely also = to prove to go back in time when traced (cf. NED. s. v. *trace* 6 b), 1866 *Field* 4 Sept. 346/1 The Belvoir Senator and the Brocklesby Harbinger traced directly to the Fitzwilliam. 1889 JACOBS & LANG *Æsop's Fables* 53 The earliest form . . cannot trace back earlier than the third . . century. 1907 *Daily Chron.* 9 Sept. 3/2 The scare of invasion traces to the Armada of 1588 — **translate** (prob. first used in *tranlat(e)*, pa. pple. ad. L. *translāt-us* pa. pple. of *transferre*; cf. also med. L. *translātāre*), 1) note the trans. sense



'to turn from one language into another', a 1300 — 2) of a language, speech, or writing: to bear or admit of translation (NED. s. v. *translate* 2 b), 1812 SOUTHEY *Omniana* II 30 Claudian throughout would translate better than any of the ancients. 1827 SOUTHEY *Lett.* (1836) IV 64, The Welsh, I suspect, is not a language which translates well. — **transplant** (ad. post-cl. L. *transplantāre*), 1) trans., to remove (a plant) from one place or soil and plant it in another. Also *fig.* c 1440 —, 2) to bear transplanting or to turn out *well* etc. when transplanted (cf. NED. s. v. *transplant* 4 b), 1796 C. MARSHALL *Gardening* XV. (1813) 248 Peas will transplant, and therefore broken rows may be made up. 1817—18 COBBERT *Resid. U. S.* (1822) 302 Persons of advanced age, of settled habits, . . do not . . 'transplant well'. Of all such persons, Farmers transplant worst. 1846 J. BAXTER *Libr. Pract. Agric.* (ed. 4) II 361 *Transplanting*. — Swedish turnips transplant very well, like the common cabbage; but the true turnip, the white globe or yellow, do not transplant. — **tread** (< OE. *tredan*), 1) note the trans. sense 'to tread down', c 1200 —, 2) to admit of being trodden or trampled down (cf. NED. s. v. *tread* 5 d), 1837 CARLYLE *Fr. Rev.* III. 11. i The Gironde . . has trodden on it, and yet not trodden it down . . It is a well-spring, as we said, this black-spot; and will not tread down. — **weave** (< OE. *webban*), 1) trans., to weave (a thing) *into* (a thing), NE. —, 2) to admit of being woven into or to become or yield (a thing) when woven, 1842 OASTLER *Fleet Papers* II 26 It will not spin into good yarn, nor weave into wearable cloths.

As to the general extent of the admit-class we may mention to begin with that it is very large, as is also suggested by our material. But are we entitled to maintain that the admit-class construction has developed into a living formative principle? The criterion for deciding upon this question is on the one hand the employment of non-causal verbs in this construction and on the other hand the cause of this employment. For in the case of the preceding categories (*i. e.* cats. A, B, C, D, E and the intemporal class of cat. F) non-causal verbs comparatively rarely occur with a passive sense dressed in the active form, and this occurrence is due to a variety of causes. Therefore, if we are able to prove that the admit-class presents an unusually large number of non-causal verbs as compared with the categories mentioned and that the vast majority of the non-causal verbs do not occur in these categories and consequently cannot be apprehended as an extension from this use, then we may unhesitatingly assume that the admit-class construction of non-causal verbs should be ascribed to

the fact that this construction has developed into a fertile formative principle of strong vitality. This construction cannot have started with non-causal verbs. It must have begun with causal ones, as is in fact proved by a chronological examination of our material. The use of non-causal verbs in admit-class constructions is therefore evidently due to the inducing power of causal verbs employed in admit-class sentences. But this use of causal verbs is only a natural extension from their general use in the correlative intr. sense, which may or may not oscillate towards a passive meaning as the case may be. In our material we meet with only a few instances of such causal verbs as, if employed in admit-class constructions, have not already been recorded in a correlative intr. sense. Therefore, this use may be apprehended as due to the vitality of the admit-class as a formative principle, but, if we so will, it may also be ascribed to the causative law.

Now, if we turn to our collection of material, we shall find that the number of non-causal verbs employed in admit-class sentences is in the NE. period very considerable. As a matter of fact this number is about 80 and the number of causal verbs about 70 (cf. p. 457), and the vast majority of these non-causal verbs do not occur in the converted function represented by the preceding categories. Thus we are no doubt entitled to look upon the admit-class function of trans. verbs as involving a fertile formative or semological principle of strong vitality. But, if so, it is self-evident that no collection of admit-class instances can lay claim to being exhaustive except as an illustration of the phenomenon it represents. The admit-class construction in the active form is in fact so fertile that, though it has no doubt taken its rise in colloquial speech, it is now no longer restricted to this department.

We have seen that the admit-class construction has various morphological aspects (cf. p. 412—9). A priori it is possible that each aspect presents a difference in fertility. Therefore we must also examine the vitality of the admit-class construction as it is manifested in each of its morphological subtypes, and the criterion of fertility should here, too, be the occurrence of non-causal verbs. We may proximately recognize three principal types of admit-class constructions, *viz.* the type without a modal auxiliary, the type with *will* as the modal auxiliary, and the type with *can* or *may* as the modal auxiliary.



As to the type without a modal auxiliary the number of non-causal verbs is very considerable (56 in number), *viz.* *act, apply, assort, beat out, button, cock, compare, cut, dovetail, draw* II 1 b  $\beta$  (of a carriage), II 2 a, II 3, *dress, dye, exchange, fasten* (= button), *graft, grind, group, harrow, heckle, kill, lather, lead, leam, (make), make up* II 3, *manufacture, measure, mesh, mouth, pack, paint, peel* (of an orange), *play, pull, read, retract, rub, saw, scan, scour, screw, sell, sing, sketch, smoke, (split), squeeze, take, tan* (of leather), *tear off, tell, thrash, trace, translate, transplant, wash, wear*. This number would be increased by a few verbs, if we had paid attention to the case when the admit-class sense oscillates towards the intemporal class sense (cf. p. 478). Thus we are here undoubtedly concerned with a living formative principle of strong vitality. But this is only true when the predicate-verb has a descriptive adverbial extension, especially such a one as denotes the degree of facility with which the grammatical subject admits of being made the object of the verbal action (cf. p. 417 seq.). Again when the predicate-verb is destitute of an adverbial extension, there are in our material only a few instances of causal or non-causal verbs employed in admit-class function, and all of them except two instances (*viz.* the causal verbs *fold* and *temper*) occur in negative sentences (cf. p. 416, 417). Therefore this morphological aspect of admit-class sentences does not evidently represent a formative principle of any noteworthy vitality.

Also in the case of the type with *will* (*would*) as the modal auxiliary there is in our material a considerable number of non-causal verbs, *viz.* *apply, batter, button, compare, construe, cross* (= cross-plough), *cut* (cut out), *ding, dramatize, dress, (erase), hook, lace, lap, lead, (make), make up, manage, mesh, mill, parse, pick, quilt, realize, (rive), rub* (rub off), *saw, scan, sell, set, sing, spin, squeeze, translate, tread, transplant, wash, wear, weave* (= 39). Thus here, too, we are no doubt concerned with a living formative principle of strong vitality. Most of these non-causal verbs do not in our material occur in admit-class function without a modal auxiliary. But there is no doubt that they admit of being so employed. On the other hand all non-causal verbs representing the type which is devoid of a modal auxiliary no doubt readily admit of being used also in the *will*-type constructions. We have already suggested that when *will* is the modal auxiliary the number of our instances without an adverbial extension is but little less

than the number of those with this extension (cf. p. 416). This proportion in frequency is on the whole also corroborated by the proportion of non-causal verbs occurring in either case. Therefore there is here no noteworthy difference in fertility between these two morphological subtypes. Nor is here the nature of the adverbial extension of any moment in the case of the frequency of the *will*-type. For — as far as our material is concerned — the occurrence of non-causal verbs is about the same when the adverbial extension denotes 'degree of facility' as when it involves other import. This is only natural, since in the case of the present type the predicate-verb does not necessarily require an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility' in order to give salience to the modal element.

The type of admit-class constructions where the modal element is expressed by *can* or *may* is very poorly represented in our material. This fact itself suggests that the type mentioned does not represent a formative principle of any noteworthy fertility. True, several non-causal verbs are here met with, which seems to prove to the contrary, *viz. compare, count, cut, draw* (of a string) 1703, *deduce, lead, pull, trace*. But it should be noticed that all these verbs except *draw* (1703) and *deduce* (1866), have already been instanced in the case of the other admit-class types or else otherwise recorded in a passive sense dressed in the active form. Therefore this sense in the form mentioned is not due to the fertility of the *can* or *may*-type.

The fact that the latter type has not developed into a fertile category is easily intelligible. Let us dress the examples of this type in the passive form, and the admit-class sense will be kept. In fact when *can* or *may* are used in admit-class sentences the passive form of the predicate-verb is the normal morphological expression. But the case is otherwise, if we turn to the two other morphological subtypes of admit-class constructions in the active form. In the case of the type destitute of a modal auxiliary the active form cannot as a rule be turned into the passive one without a change of meaning. To take a few examples: 1584 Then, fathers, choose your warres; for better *tels* To lose like Jewes, then winne like infidels. 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full gently *rides*. 1641 They [pease] *pull* the best when they are the most feltered together. 1668 'Tis a play that shall *read* and *act* with any play that ever was born. 1672 Say your hat *did not cock* handsomely. 1860 War was always detri-



mental . . But in old times . . it *Painted* well, *sang* divinely, furnished Iliads. 1846 Swedish turnips *transplant* very well, like the common cabbage. 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight . . *retracts* within a strong sheath. *Mod.* His verses *did not scan* and would barely construe. The active form seems, however to be interchangeable with the passive one chiefly in the case when there is an adverbial extension such as *easily (with ease), readily, finely*. As examples: a 1619 Quicksilver *easily amalgams* with metals. 1626 Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh *doth assimilate more finely*. 1726 A white sort of Stone . . which *Saws easier* than Wood itself. 1775 Gold and iron *alloy with ease*. 1827 'Do you *scorch so easily?* your gran'ther had a tougher skin'. c 1865 Different kinds of wax *bleach with different degrees of facility*. 1879 The harder metals which *do not oxidate readily*, being preferred. *Mod.* These oranges *peel easily*. *Mod.* The vessel *steers with ease*. *Mod.* The leather *tans easily*. *Mod.* Cloth that *tears readily*. In all these instances the modal element is preserved, though the predicate-verb is turned into the passive form.

As to the *will*-type we have already shown that *will* as a modal auxiliary has originated on the one hand from the primary sense, i. e. 'to be willing', on the other hand from its function as a temporal auxiliary. Now, if in admit-class sentences of the *will*-type the active form of the predicate-verb is changed into the passive form, the modal sense of *will* is always lost and we are instead in the presense of a temporal auxiliary or the original sense of the verb. The passive form of the predicate-verb does not then involve the salience of a modal element in addition to the passive meaning, as is mostly the case with the active form when the modal *will* is interpreted as oscillating towards the primary sense or the temporal import (cf. p. 459 seq.). In short, the use of the passive form, if allowable at all, would imply that the admit-class sense had been lost. As examples: 1604 Women are flax, and *will fire in a moment*. 1607 Till hee be so tame . . that he *will leade* vppe and downe quietly. 1622 Buckram . . is to stiffe and unplyable, by which means it *will not quilt* like the other. 1726 It is very soft, and *will easily rub* to pieces. 1766 but such qualities as *would wear* well. 1798 I do not think it *will wash* well. I am afraid it will fray. 1812 Claudian throughout *would translate* better than any of the ancients. 1836 The story *would dramatize* admirably. 1842 It *will not spin* into good yarn, *nor weave* into wearable cloths. 1861 Her striped silk, turned, *will make up* as handsome as ever. 1863 The Burnet . . *will not mill*, but simply gets its wings broken off. 1880 Anxious . . whether his sentences *will parse*. *Mod.* This door *will not lock*. 1826 The infatuated world! It *will not convert!* it must be destroyed

(the passive form 'it will not be converted' is allowable, but *will* has then lost its modal sense).

Thus both the *will*-type and the type without a modal auxiliary had the morphological prerequisite for developing into fertile formative principles. For they had not to compete with the corresponding passive forms as possible alternatives. We have shown that they have actually become formative laws of strong vitality. We may therefore ask whether all trans. verbs may in the active form be employed in these two admit-class constructions, provided that their sense is not such as to preclude their use in any construction with admit-class sense. As far as modern English is concerned we may safely answer in the affirmative, inasmuch as such a use would not appear to our instinctive linguistic sense as a striking novelty. But in reality the number of trans. verbs which in the active form have been recorded in admit-class constructions, is comparatively speaking very limited. This is due to the fact that these constructions have to compete with several other fertile modes of expressing admit-class sense. As examples: 1) *can* or *may* + a predicate-verb in the passive form, *e. g.* 'his verses could not be scanned' (cf. his verses did not scan); 2) *admit* (*allow, permit*) + the present pple of the predicate-verb or a nomen actionis governed by *of*, *e. g.* 'his verses did not admit of being scanned'; 'this admits of only one explanation'; 3) *capable* + the present pple of the predicate-verb or a nomen actionis governed by *of*, *e. g.* 'his verses were not capable of being scanned (or of scanning)'; 4) a nomen agentis employed as a predicative adjunct, *e. g.* 'these pears are not good cookers' (= these pears do not cook well). Note especially NE. and ME. adjectives in *-able, -ible* which, when they express admit-class sense, should be described as 'adjectiva possibilitatis', *e. g.* 'the town is now visible' (= admits of being seen); 'this food is eatable' (= admits of being eaten). Even the OE. period is not destitute of 'adjectiva possibilitatis', though of another form, *e. g.* *gesēne* (now used as the pa. pple of *see*) = visible; *gewielde* = manageable; *gefēre* = accessible. There are in OE. also adjectives of possibility with a *trans.* sense, *e. g.* *numol* (< weak ablaut-grade of *niman* 'take') = admits of taking (a thing) = capacious.

We have hitherto given a general survey of the extent of admit-class constructions in the active form. Let us now adduce the whole of the material on which we have based our conclu-



sions and arrange it in such a manner as to show in detail the chronology of the various morphological subtypes we have distinguished. In the following survey we have paid no attention to those admit-class sentences which oscillate towards the intemporal class. But instead we have adduced the numerous examples which oscillate towards the result. class, though we have not here indicated this oscillation (cf. p. 434—443).

The NE. period presents the following aspect:

A. *The type without a modal auxiliary.*

a) *The predicate-verb has an adverbial extension.*

a) The adverbial extension denotes degree of facility or oscillates towards this sense.

*16<sup>th</sup> century: digest*, 1574 Weathers over olde are to be refused in eating in that they . . smally nourish and *hardly* digest; *endue*, c 1575 Meates w<sup>ch</sup> endew *sonest* and maketh the hardest panell; *tell*, 1584 Then, fathers, choose your warres; for *better* tels To lose like Jewes, then winne like infidels; 1782 I had as lieve the things were false as not, for they tell as *well* the one way as the other; *ride*, 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full *gently* rides. *17<sup>th</sup> century: amalgam*, a 1619 Quicksilver *easily* amalgams with metals; *assimilate*, 1626 Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh doth assimilate more *finely*; *peel*, 1634 The rind or skin peeles off *most easily*; *Mod.* These oranges peel *easily*; *pull*, 1641 They [pease] pull the best when they are the most feltered together; *act*, 1668 'Tis a play that shall read and act *with any play* that ever was born (= as readily as any play); *read*, 1668 (quot. above); 1731 Thy comedies excell . . And read *politely well*; 1789 Whose productions . . read *better* than they act; 1805 This Pamphlet is so pious as to read *more* like a sermon than a political address (= better admits of being read like etc. or proves to be more like etc. when read); *cock*, 1672 Say your hat did not cock *handsomely*; *rub*, 1683 When the Shank of a Letter has a proper Thickness, Founders say, It Rubs *well*; *humect*, 1686 This Salt . . *easily* humects and dissolves into a liquor. *18<sup>th</sup> century: saw*, 1726 A white sort of Stone . . which Saws *easier* than Wood itself; *polish*, 1728 'Tis solid bodies only polish *well*; *sing*, 1728 Yet so far as the Bass may be made airy, and to sing *well*, it may be also properly said to be Melodious; 1821 I am anxious that the words should both sing *well* and read well; 1860 War was always detrimental . . But in old times . . it painted well, sang *divinely*, furnished Iliads; *fasten*, 1730 The rough part of them fastens *very well* with Mortar; *draw* II 3, 1747 The Skin drew or stretch'd *like a Piece of Doe-Leather*; *preserve*, 1748 The water . . is excellent, and preserves at sea *as well as* that of the Thames; *cut*, 1751 Alabaster cuts very *smooth* and *easy*; 1850 Hay never cuts out so *well* as when it has been stacked from the field as fast as made; H. G. WELLS, The damned stuff cuts *like butter*,



he said; *thrash*, 1760 The weeds . . will . . cause it [rye] not to thrash *well*; *mouth*, 1762 It [the word 'glorification'] found favour among their long-winded divines, only because it was so long, and mouthed so *well*; *manufacture*, 1763 The flax thus managed dresses and manufactures much *better*; *dress*, 1763 (quot. above); 1854 It was a hard . . stone, but dressed *readily* to pick and hammer; 1858 Potatoes so grown . . dress *badly*; *malt*, 1766 Old barley mixed with that of the last harvest, does not malt *well*; 1870 Scotch barley . . does not malt *well*; *squeeze*, 1771 Bran squeezes much *more* — But plaister of Paris not all; *alloy*, 1775 Gold and iron alloy *with ease*, 1839 One metal does not alloy *indifferently* with every other metal. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *assort*, 1800 His *Muse* assorts *ill* with the personages of Christian mythology; 1837 Finding that it is harmonious, that it dovetails and *naturally* assorts with other parts; *mix*, 1815 The Afghaun Humsauyehs mix *well* with the Door-aunees; 1845 . . as it mixes more *readily* when made up with mortar; *transplant*, 1817—18 Persons of advanced age, of settled habits, . . do not . . 'transplant *well*'. Of all such persons, Farmers transplant *worst*; 1846 Swedish turnips transplant very *well*, like the common cabbage, but the true turnip, the white globe or yellow, do not transplant; *group*, 1820 Massinger is so much more modern than the other writers noticed in this lecture, that they do not groupe *well* together; 1871 The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still groups *well* with the soaring towers (only the secondary sense 'to suit well with' is here salient); *scorch*, 1827 'Do you scorch so *easily*? your gran'ther had a tougher skin'; *translate*, 1827 The Welsh, I suspect, is not a language which translates *well*; *identify*, a 1834 Your taste and mine do not always *exactly* identify (= readily admit of being identified); *dovetail*, 1837 (cf. 'assort', quot. 1837); *leam*, 1846 It leams *well*; *split*, 1846 The wood splits *clean and easy*, and is best adapted for splitpaling and laths; *draw* II 2 b and a, 1856 It is a common belief that water draws *better* down a curved drain than a straight one; 1893 A drawer should be so fitted . . so as to draw out . . and shut back . . *in a moment*; *kill*, 1857 On inquiry of butchers . . I find that one characteristic of a beast which kills *well*, is to have a little stomach; *wash*, 1859 (Ch. Reade) I had no idea your mousseline-de-laine would have washed so *well*. Why, it looks just out of the shop; *Mod.* Colours that do not wash *well*; *blot*, 1860 The soul in this resembling paper which, where it has been blotted once, however careful the erasure of the blot may have been, there *more easily* blots and runs anew than elsewhere; *paint*, 1860 War was always detrimental . . But in old times . . it painted *well*, sang *divinely*, furnished Iliads; *mesh*, 1864 When the herring are very large they swim lazily, and do not mesh *well*; *bleach*, c 1865 Different kinds of wax bleach *with different degrees of facility*; *lead*, 1867 *Fair-lead*, is applied to ropes as suffering the least friction in a block, when they are said to lead *fair*; *lead* (< lead sb.), 1881 The barrel also leads very *quickly*; *graft*, 1884 The Florentine artist . . only adopted those principles which grafted *most readily* on his preconceived ideas; *pack up*, 1867 It all takes to pieces, packs up *easily*; *take*, 1867 (cf. quot. above); *sketch*, 1883 Those poke bonnets . . sketched



*well*; *smoke*, 1883 These 'church-wardens' [*i. e.* a sort of pipe] smoke *freely* and *softly*; *make up*, 1892 It is a modest, unobtrusive stone, and makes up so *well* with diamonds, that . . ; *sell*; W. CLARK RUSSELL, What a rich and thrilling black! It should sell like wild-fire in France, where the people are lovers of glossy rich curls (= should admit of being sold); *shut*, 1893 (cf. quot. s. v. *draw* above); *compound*, 1897 the names introduced from the Scriptures did not seem to compound *comfortably* with these terminatives; *oxidate*, 1879 The harder metals which do not oxidate *readily*, being preferred; *play*, 1912 It [the translation of a Greek drama] played *well*; it did not sound like a translation, but like an original; *bake*, *Mod.* These apples do not bake *well*; *compare*, *Mod.* This compares *favourably* with the inertness of England; *cook*, *Mod.* These pears do not cook *well*; they are not good cooks; *dye*, *Mod.* This material dyes very *well*; *fur*, *Mod.* This kettle soon furs; *scan*, *Mod.* Lines that scan *well*; *steer*, *Mod.* The vessel steers *with ease*; *tan*, *Mod.* The leather tans *easily*; *tear*, *Mod.* Cloth that tears *readily*; *toast*, *Mod.* This cheese toasts *well*; *wear*, (Maxwell Grey) The old rascal wears *well*.

β The adverbial extension denotes a sense other than degree of facility.

16<sup>th</sup> century: *fry*, 1583 A sworde frieth in the fire *like a blacke ele*; *make*, 1598 An old Cloake makes a *new Ierkin*; 1787 They [frogs] make a *good soup*, and not a bad fricassée. 17<sup>th</sup> century: *lather*, 1691 [They] put them over a Fire till they are more than Blood-warm; which will make them [skins] ladder and scour perfectly *clean*; *scour*, 1691 (cf. quot. above); *ride*, 1692 A Chestnut Gelding . . rideth *gracefully*, paceth a little. 18<sup>th</sup> century: *drive*, 1703 These Hook-Pins . . drive *into the Pin-holes through the Mortesses and Tennants* (uncertain example; perhaps only = are driven); *heckle*, 1733 This Kind of Lint heckles away almost *to nothing*, and is indeed in Appearance very fine; *measure*, 1765 My malt . . does not shrink so much when it comes to be laid in the kiln; of course it measures *to more advantage*; *screw*, 1776 The Rods were in three Pieces . . which *screwed together* occasionally; 1791 He carried with him a gun, which *screwed into three parts* . . ; 1821 The head [of the vessel] screws *off* at the middle of the neck; *apply*, 1790 This test applies *to every supposition*; 1851 This observation applies *to Saul's history*. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *read*, 1805 This Pamphlet is to pious as to read more *like a sermon* than a political address; 1866 This rule reads *both ways*; *number*, 1833 A Wife . . Whose troubles number *with her days*; *button*, 1839 A jacket that buttons up *close to the neck*; 1875 It [the coat] buttons *across the chest*; *harrow*, 1841 It [soil] never failed . . to harrow down as *mellow* as possible; *pack*, 1846 When the small balls did not pack perfectly *tight*; *retract*, 1862 In non-military rifles, the foresight . . retracts *within a strong sheath*; *trace*, 1866 The Belvoir Senator and the Brocklesby Harbinger traced *directly to the Fitzwilliam*; 1907 The scare of invasion traces *to the Armada of 1588*; *beat out*, 1873 One particle of ore beats out *such leaf*; *reduce*, 1885 Diseased he was, and of a harsh Nothern strain, but all the carping



reduces at last *to this*; *exchange*, 1890 An English sovereign exchanged a little while ago *for thirteen rupees* (= admitted of being exchanged or was exchanged); *draw* II 1 b, 1892 The Irish outside cars . . draw *lighter* than an ordinary English cart; 1894 I remember a carriage . . with curtains that drew *in front of it*; *fasten*, 1908 The Thursday costume is quite warm, sir. It fastens *up to the chin*; *cut*, *Mod.* The cloth does not cut *to advantage*; *grind*, *Mod.* (grind fine, etc.).

b) *The predicate-verb has no adverbial extension.*

18<sup>th</sup> century: *inflamm*, 1794 It does not inflame, unless mixed with atmospherical or with vital air; *fold*, 1793 Having a joint in the middle, it folds. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *transplant*, 1846 Swedish turnips transplant very well, like the common cabbage; but the true turnip, the white globe or yellow, do not transplant; *intermix*, 1846 Do not the hot and cold water intermix?; *temper*, 1881 A metallic compound in which these qualities [hardness and elasticity] can thus be produced is said to temper, or to take temper; 1884 Mild steel containing from 0,05 to 0,20 per cent. of carbon will weld, but does not temper; *tan*, 1884 One advantage you swarthy people have over us — you don't tan; *scan*, *Mod.* His verses did not scan and would barely construe.

B. *The will-type.*

a) *The predicate-verb has an adverbial extension.*

α) The adverbial extension denotes degree of facility or oscillates towards this sense.

17<sup>th</sup> century: *fire*, 1604 Women are flax, and will fire *in a moment* (= readily admit of being fired); 1774 Gunpowder will *readily* fire with a spark; *lead*, 1607 Till hee be so tame . . that he will leade vppe and downe *quietly* (= readily admits of being led or will prove to behave quietly when led); *quilt*, 1622 Buckram . . is too stiffe and unplyable, by which means it will not quilt *like the other* (= does not so readily as the other admit of being quilted); *manage*, 1625 Is't a Cleare businesse? will it manage *well*? My name must not be vs'd else; *keep*, 1626 Grapes . . it is reported . . will keep *better* in a vessel half full of wine, so that the grapes touch not the wine; *glue*, 1664 It is observ'd that Oak will not *easily* glue to other Wood; *commix*, 1675 They will commix *as Iron and Clay* (= admit as readily as iron and clay of being commixed); *lap*, 1680 This is a fine pliable principle . . 'twill lap about your finger *like Barbary Gold* (= admits as readily as B. G. of being lapped); *set*, 1697 He thought that they [the verses] would set *very well* to music. 18 century: *rub*, 1726 It is very soft, and will *easily* rub to pieces; 1859 They [marks] will *easily* rub out; *wear*, 1766 (Goldsmith, Vicar) . . but such qualities as would wear *well*; 1853 (Mrs. Gaskell, Cranf.) And I dare say lavender will wear *better* than sea-green; *cross*, 1796 The strong lands . . are much chilled . . and will cross *badly* . . for want of dry winds; *wash*, 1798 I do not think it will wash *well*; I am afraid it will fray. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *dress*, 1806 This dish will dress *very well* with the cheese of our own country; *translate*, 1812 Claudian throughout would translate *better* than any of the ancients; *cut out*, 1829 The whole



[manure] . . will cut out *like a jelly*; *dramatize*, 1836 The story would dramatize *admirably*; *apply*, 1866 It will apply *no less* to our own case; *nitrify*, 1884 A thin layer of solution will nitrify *sooner* than a deep layer; *realize*, 1884 The liabilities are estimated at £ 130,000, and the assets will, it is assumed, realise *well*; *groove*, 1886 Sheldon adjoined Winston, and would groove into that estate *nicely*; *compare*, *Mod.* A landscape which will compare not *unfavourably* with the masterpieces of the Dutch School; *construe*, *Mod.* His verses did not scan, and would *barely* construe (= did not readily admit of being construed).

β The adverbial extension denotes a sense other than degree of facility.

16<sup>th</sup> century: *mingle* II 3, 1530 Oyle and water wyll never mengyll *together*; *display*, 1572 When . . their ensignes will not displaie *abroade* but fold about the stander-bearers heads; *stain*, 1590 (Shaks. LLL) if virtue's gloss will stain *with any soil*; *make*, 1592 Doost thou think to liue till his olde doublet will make thee *a new trusse*? 17<sup>th</sup> century: *keep*, c 1600 This . . will kepe but one yeare *good*; 1825 It will keep *sweet* a very long time; 1847 He brought home more venison than would keep *in the hot weather*; *polish*, 1626 A Kind of steel . . which would polish almost *as white and bright as silver*; *reserve*, 1632 The water of Jordan . . will reserue *vnspoiled*, both moneths and yeares; *ride*, 1632 The Dromidory . . will ride *aboue 80 miles* in the day; *batter*, 1677 Iron . . if it be too cold . . will not batter *under the Hammer*; *squeeze*, 1683 Solid Blocks of Wood . . will scarce Squeeze *by the Strength of a Pull*; 1844 He's the sort of man', added Mr. Tapley, musing, 'as would squeeze *soft*, I know'. 18<sup>th</sup> century: *saw*, 1726 Beech . . will saw *into extreme thin Planks*; *drive*, a 1774 At twenty-six yards distance it [the ball] would drive *through an oak board* half an inch thick; 1793 The trenail would drive *no further*; *spin*, 1780 The 8 lb. [of flax] will spin *into . . 20 hanks* or 5 spangles fit for a ten hundred cloth; 1842 It will not spin *into good yarn*, nor weave into wearable cloths; *identify*, 1790 An enlightened self-interest, which . . they tell us, will identify *with an interest more enlarged and publick*; *pick*, 1794 The yarn . . will pick *into oakum*. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *dress*, 1802 A rove-ash oar that will dress *clean and light*, is too pliant; *rive*, 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, will cut and rive *in any direction*; *cut*, 1811 (cf. quot. above); *erase*, 1837 Things, which lie very black in our Earth's Annals, yet which will not erase *therefrom*; *tread*, 1837 The Gironde . . has trodden on it, and yet not trodden it down . . It is a well-spring, as we said, this black-spot; and will not tread *down*; *weave*, 1842 It will not spin into good yarn, nor weave *into wearable cloths*; *make up*, 1861 Her striped silk, turned, will make up as *handsome* as ever; *hatch out*, 1888 The eggs will hatch out *in from twenty-three to twenty-five days*; *lead*, 1887 In the morning the pupils [colts] have learnt their lesson, and will lead *anywhere*; *sing*, O'CURRY, I know it [Ossianic hymn] myself very well, and I know several old poems that will sing *to it*.



b) *The predicate-verb has no adverbial extension.*

16<sup>th</sup> century: *convert*, 1554 They haue hardened their faces harder then stones, they will not convert; 1826 The infatuated world! It will not convert! it must be destroyed; 17<sup>th</sup> century: *sell*, 1607 (Shaks., Troil.) let us like merchants show our foulest wares and think perchance they'll sell; *incorporate*, 1625 Truth and Falshood . . are like the Iron and Clay . .; They may Cleaue, but they will not Incorporate; *assimilate*, 1658 Stitch none of the loose pieces of flesh, they will assimilate no more; *gild*, 1666 . . and shaking it to and fro, till the Menstruum would guild no more . .; *wear out*, 1678 (Bunyan, P. Pr.), and shoes that would not wear out; *Mod.* I want a cloth that will not wear; *blunt*, 1684 Its edges will never blunt; *rive*, 1699 A Tree we call Cypress . .; it is soft and spungy, will not Rive; *coin*, a 1700 Metal . . so soft that it will not coin without alloy to harden it. 18<sup>th</sup> century: *hook*, 1777 If it had been tighter, 'twould neither have hooked nor buttoned; *button*, 1777 (cf. quot. above); *ding*, 1786 But Facts are cheels that winna ding, An' downa be disputed; *Mod. Sc. Prov.* Facts are stubborn things; they'll neither ding nor drive; *lace*, 1792 She wailing, in most piteous case, Of stubborn stays — that would not lace; *transplant*, 1796 Peas will transplant, and therefore broken rows may be made up. 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *mesh*, 1801 After which they [mackerel] will not mesh, but are caught with hooks; *dramatize*, 1819 The present set . . will not dramatize; *extinguish*, 1837 This conflagration of the South-East will abate . . extinguish it will not, till the fuel be all done; *lift* II 2, 1844 The windows would not lift; *construe*, 1851 Definite dogma, intelligible articles, formularies which would construe, a consistent ritual; *Mod.* This sentence will not construe; I can make nothing of it; *digest* 1854—6 The best [fare], Wanting this natural condiment . . will not digest; *scan*, 1857 Martin . . proceeded . . to convert these . . into Latin that would scan; *wash*, 1857 (T. Hughes, T. B.) He has got pluck somewhere in him. That's the only thing after all that will wash, ain't it?; 1879 (J. Payn, H. Sp.) Indeed, he once so far forgot himself as to inquire 'Whether it [i. e. the tone] would wash?'; *mill* 1863 The Burnet . . will not mill, but simply gets its wings broken off; *drain* II 2, 1864 This land won't drain; *rub off*, 1877 Dirt will rub off when it is dry; *parse*, 1880 Anxious . . whether his sentences will parse; *coke*, 1884 It will not coke; *mix*, 1889 He floated in their element, not soluble. It is often the way with heroes: they will not mix; *nurse*, 1897 The child seemed languid, and would not nurse; *disentangle*, *Mod.* This skein won't disentangle; *open* II 4 a, *Mod.* This door will not open; *lock*, *Mod.* This door will not lock.

C. *The can or may-type.*a. *Can (could).*

16<sup>th</sup> century: *conjoin*, 1578 A hurt . . vnto the Nerue before it enter into the Muscle . . *can not* by any meanes conioyne, or knitte together agayne; *knit*, 1578 (cf. quot. above). 17<sup>th</sup> century: *taint*, 1606 Till Byrnam wood remoue to Dunsinane I *cannot* taint with Feare; *disentangle*, 1607 My heart is fast, And cannot disentangle; *thwack*,



1650 The Church . . was as full as it could thwack in thick multitudes; *incorporate*, 1681 Grace can no more incorporate with sin, than oyle with water. 18<sup>th</sup> century: *fix*, 1760 He will find nothing [in these books] on which attention can fix; *keep*, 1705 When he is to be buried I can't tell, but they say he can't keep long; 1889 Your story, however, can keep; *lower*, 1727 The main yard could not lower; *cram*, a 1763 The Coach was full as it could cram; *compare*, 1796 Wha wi' Jeanie *could* compare?; 1876 As athletes men cannot for a moment compare with horses or tigers or monkeys. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *cut* 1839 Who would think that a nonenty could cut into so many somethings?; *count* II 1 d, 1857 The lower classes can count for little in [their] eyes; *assimilate*, 1864 I am a foreign material, and cannot assimilate with the Church of England; *mash*, 1877 The lower one [lamination line] . . consists of coarse sand which could not mash, and therefore has been thrown into folds; *trace* 1889 The earliest form . . cannot trace back earlier than the third . . century.

b. *May (might)*.

16<sup>th</sup> century: *overthrow*, 1546 The best cart maie overthrowe; *compare*, 1577 In daintinesse and goodnesse of meat, the [turkey] Hennes may compare with either the goose, or the Pehen, and the Cocke farre excell them; *stain*, SHAKESP. (Son.) suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth. 17<sup>th</sup> century: *knit*, 1612 Leaving of the grief undressed for two daies, that the veins may knit; *indurate*, 1646 That plants and ligneous bodies may indurate under water . . we have experiment in Coralline; *notch*, 1693 Their matter must be of good temper'd Steel, so that the edge may neither turn, or notch easily. 18<sup>th</sup> century: *draw* II 1 a α, 1703 That the String may draw tight upon the Work; *pull*, 1778 They [beans] may not pull so easily in dry weather. 19<sup>th</sup> century: *lead*, 1822 My mester may lead, but he winna drive; *deduce*, 1866 The former notion of a bird . . may deduce from the eastern word Gaph; *count* II 1 c α, 1874 This volume . . may count among the scarcest works of its time.

As to the ME. period the following instances are met with in our material:

A. *The type without a modal auxiliary*:

12<sup>th</sup> century: *break*, c 1175 þet gles ne brekeð; 1398 (cf. quot. s. v. 'bend'). 14<sup>th</sup> century: *atend*, 1398 þis tre 'Abies' atenteþ ful sone, and brenneþ with lyzte leye; *bend*, 1398 That cassia is best that brekyth not sone but bendyth and foldeth (cf. p. 193 s. v. 'fold'); *fold*, 1398 (cf. quot. above). 15<sup>th</sup> century: *multiply*, 1477 Upon Nature thei falsely lye For Mettalls doe not Multiplie.

B. *The type with a modal auxiliary*.

a. *will (would)*.

14<sup>th</sup> century: *perfurnish*, 1393 In kase be that this wytword [= testament] will noght perfurnysche, I will it be abyrdged; for I will hafe of na mans part bot of myne aune; *meck*, c 1400 His herte is

hard, that wole not meke, whan men of mekenesse him biseke; *overwhelm*, c 1400 The see may never be so stil, That with a litel winde it nil Overwhelme and turne also.

b) *Can or May*.

13<sup>th</sup> century: *even* c 1230 Hare weden ne mahen euenen to hare; a 1240 Helle is . . ful of brune uneuenlich, for ne mei nan eorðlich fur euenin þer towart. 15<sup>th</sup> century: *compare*, c 1450 Thei ben so fewe that thei may not compare with hem; *ride*, 1470—85 Thenne he . . was ware of a damoyssel that came ryde ful faste as the horse myghte ryde.

As to the OE. period no instances of admit-class sense dressed in the active form have been adduced in our collection of material. But, since in that period there were a number of causal verbs presenting also the correlative intr. import, there is no doubt that such instances actually existed. And in point of fact they are met with in OE. literature. As examples: *ǣheardian* (< *heard* a. hard, 1) trans., to make hard, 2) intr. to become hard), Hom. S. 35, 162 (Toller, Supplem.), Sēo hȳd ne mihte ǣ-heardian (= did not admit of being made hard or could not become hard; the latter sense is probably predominant, since the intr. meaning is the primary one); *gemyltan* (< \**maltjan*, the causal of *meltan*, str. vb., intr.; 1) trans., to make liquid, 2) intr., to become liquid), Herb. i, 90, 9 Gif his mete gemyltan nelle (= does not admit of being digested or cannot come into a digested state); *stillan* (1) trans., to make calm, 2) intr., to become calm), Sal. 397 Ic wihte ne cann forhwām se strēam ne mōt stillan nihtes his līfes fæðme (= does not admit of being made calm or cannot become calm). In OE. literature we sometimes also meet with such sentences as seem to illustrate the use of non-causal verbs in admit-class constructions in the active form. Here belong instances of the following type (already quoted in the case of cat. E): *sēon* (to see), *Bēow.* 1365 þær mæ3 nihta gehwæm nīðwundor sēon, fȳr on flōde (= every night a weird wonder, fire on the water, admits of being seen there, or every night one may there see a weird wonder, etc.); *cunnian* (to try, test, experience), *Byrhtn.* 215 Nū mæg cunnian, hwā cēne sȳ (now it admits of being tested or experienced who is brave or now one may test or experience who is brave), *gefēran* (accomplish [a journey, distance], reach, attain [place]). *Epist. Alex.* (Anglia IV 160) ðā ondsworadon hīe mec and sæ3don, þæt nāre māra we3 þonne meahte on tȳn dazum gefēran (= not a greater distance than admitted of being covered in ten days or not a greater distance than one might cover in ten days). These and similar sentences could probably also in OE. times be apprehended as specimens of the admit-class and not exclusively as trans. constructions with an indefinite (sometimes even a definite) pronoun as subject,



though unexpressed. The latter alternative represents the primary sense and involves the etymological explanation of the construction.

Thus as to the chronology of the various morphological types of admit-class constructions which are distinguishable we may draw the following conclusions. The *can* or *may*-type, which never developed into a fertile formative principle, is in the case of causal verbs already met with in the OE. period. We find this type also represented by a few non-causal verbs. But such instances as *Bēow.* 1365 *þær mæg nihta gehwæm nīðwundor sēon, fȳr on flōde* are not the prototypes of such NE. instances as 1778 *They [beans] may not pull so easily in dry weather.* The former construction was in the OE. period on the decline and did not survive into the ME. period, the latter construction — as far as non-causal verbs are concerned — took its rise in the NE. period.

The *will*-type, too, is met with in the OE. period but only in the case of causal verbs, and the primary sense of *will* is then no doubt more conspicuous than in the NE. period. There is no doubt that the OE. *will*-type is the prototype of the NE. *will*-type with its great fertility, but it does not constitute its only source. In our material the *will*-type is not represented by non-causal verbs until the 14th century, *viz. perfurnish* 1398 = execute (of a testament), a sense, however, in which it is not entirely impossible to trace a causal aspect, *i. e.* 'to bring to fulfilment, into effect', which involves that the admit-class function may perhaps be ascribed to the causative law. It is as late as the 17th century that we come across undoubted instances of non-causal verbs employed in admit-class sense, *viz. sell* 1607 (SHAKS.), *lead* 1607 (the trans. sense may with some difficulty be apprehended as causal), *quilt* 1622, *manage* 1625, *batter* 1677, *lap* 1680, *squeeze* 1683, *set* 1697, *rive* 1699 (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal). Thus we are no doubt entitled to maintain that at least in the 17th century the *will*-type had attained an incipient fertility. This fertility increased considerably in the 18th century, since we then can adduce an additional number of non-causal verbs employed in *will*-type constructions, *viz. rub* 1726, *saw* 1726, *read* 1727, *wear* 1766, *button* 1777, *hook* 1777, *spin* 1780, *ding* 1786, *lace* 1792, *pick* 1794, *cross* (= cross-plough) 1796, *transplant* 1796, *wash* 1798. In fact the *will*-type may now be looked upon as a formative principle of fairly strong vitality. This vitality grows in strength in the 19th century, which shows a considerable increase of non-causal verbs employed in

*will*-type constructions, viz. *mesh* 1801, *dress* 1802, *cut* 1811, *translate* 1812, *dramatize* 1819, *erase* 1837 (sometimes causal), *tread* 1837, *weave* 1842, *construe* 1851, *scan* 1857, *make up* 1861, *mill* 1863, *apply* 1866, *parse* 1880, *realize* 1884, *sing*, mod.

As to the various morphological aspects of the *will*-type it appears from our chronological survey of the admit-class constructions that there is no noteworthy difference in chronology between the case when the predicate-verb has an adverbial extension and the case when it is devoid of this qualification. This is only natural, since the occurrence or non-occurrence of this extension can have had no influence upon the origin of the *will*-type construction. Nor is there any noteworthy difference in chronology between the case when the adverbial extension denotes 'degree of facility' and the case when it involves other import. This is in harmony with the fact that in the case of the *will*-type the modal element of the admit-class sense has a special representative, i. e. *will*, and therefore, unlike the type devoid of a modal auxiliary, need not have an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility' in order to give salience to the modal element. A particular interest is attached to such examples where the extension refers to the result of the verbal action, the *will*-type construction then always distinctly oscillating towards a resultative class sense. Such examples are met with as soon as the *will*-type had attained an incipient fertility. From the 17th century we can adduce: *keep* (good) c 1600, *polish* (white and bright) 1626, *reserve* (unspoiled) 1632. From the 18th century we are able to adduce: *rub* (to pieces) 1726, *saw* (into extreme thin planks) 1726, *spin* (into 20 hanks) 1780, *pick* (into oakum) 1794. From the 19th century we meet with additional examples, viz. *dress* (clean and light) 1802, *weave* (into wearable cloths) 1842, *make up* (as handsome as ever) 1861.

Lastly, let us turn to *the type devoid of a modal auxiliary*. As to the OE. period we have not come across any examples of this type. But considering the existence of several causal verbs having a correlative intr. sense, this type may very well have existed already in OE. times. But this is only true of the subtype which has an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility' or of the subtype which is devoid of an adverbial extension but dressed in the negative form. As for the ME. period both these subtypes have been recorded in our material, viz. *atend* (sone =



soon = easily) 1398, *break* (sone) 1398 and *break* (ne = not) c 1175, *multiply* (not) 1477. But since in the ME. period the number of causal verbs with a correlative intr. sense that could oscillate towards a passive meaning was fairly considerable, we may safely infer that admit-class constructions of the types mentioned were no rare phenomena in ME. times. Again, the use of non-causal verbs in the case of the admit-class type devoid of a modal auxiliary does not occur until the end of the 16th century, viz. *tell* (better) 1584 and, if we so will, also *make* (a new Ierkin) 1592, *ride* (gently) 1598, which may both only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal (cf. p. 451). However, the admit-class function of *tell* seems to have an explanation of its own. As to *make* the admit-class sense oscillates towards the sense of a predication of material, which suggests the etymological explanation of its construction. Lastly, *ride* occurs already in the ME. period in the secondary sense 'to run', 'to cover (a distance)'. Also in the case of the present type it is not until the 17th century that we meet with undoubted non-causal verbs whose admit-class function is the manifestation of an incipient fertility on the part of the formative principle involved in the construction. These verbs are: *peel off* (most easily) 1634, *pull* (the best) 1641, *act* (with any play = as readily as any play) 1668, *read* (with any play) 1668, *cock* (handsomely) 1672, *rub* (well) 1683, *lather* (perfectly clean) 1691, *scour* (perfectly clean) 1691, *set* (well) 1697. This incipient fertility is considerably increased in the 18th century, which presents an additional number of non-causal verbs employed in the admit-class type under consideration, viz. *saw* (easier) 1726, *sing* (well) 1728, *heckle* (away almost to nothing) 1733, *draw* II 3 (like a piece of doe-leather) 1747, *cut* (smooth and easy) 1751, *thrash* (well) 1760, *mouth* (so well) 1762, *manufacture* (much better) 1763, *dress* (much better) 1763, *measure* (to more advantage) 1765, *screw* (together) 1766, (into three parts) 1791, *squeeze* (much more) 1771, *apply* (to every supposition) 1790. The vitality of the formative principle becomes still stronger in the 19th century, which in our material shows an increase of more than twenty non-causal verbs.

Thus we can state that there is no chronological difference between the *will*-type and the type devoid of a modal auxiliary and that their development into fertile formative principles begins at the same time and shows the same increase in the same centuries of the development.

As to the various morphological aspects of the type devoid of a modal auxiliary we have already emphasized (p. 484) that the type without an adverbial extension never developed into a formative principle of any noteworthy fertility. In the case of this type our material presents only two non-causal verbs, *viz.* *scan* and *transplant*, both occurring in the 19th century and both recorded earlier in admit-class constructions of other types. We have shown that the type with an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility' is already met with in the ME. period and most likely also in the OE. period. The priority of adverbial extensions with this import (in respect of the present type of admit-class constructions) is also corroborated by the fact that in our material non-causal verbs with an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility' occur almost a century earlier than such verbs with an adverbial extension of other import. Note on the one hand *pull* (the best) 1641, *act* (with any play = as readily as any play) 1668, *read* (with any play) 1668, *cock* (handsomely) 1672, *rub* (well) 1683, *set* (well) 1697, and on the other hand *lather* (perfectly clean) 1691, *scour* (perfectly clean) 1691. — Here, too, a particular interest is attached to such examples where the adverbial extension refers to the result of the verbal action, since in that case the admit-class sense always distinctly oscillates towards a resultative class sense. The earliest instances found in our material are *lather* (perfectly clean) 1691 and *scour* (perfectly clean) 1691. From the 18th century we have the foll.: *heckle* (away almost to nothing) 1733, *measure* (to more advantage) 1765, *screw* (into three parts) 1691. From the 19th century we can adduce: *harrow down* (as mellow as possible) 1841, *pack* (perfectly tight) 1846, *beat out* (such leaf) 1873, *cut* (to advantage) mod., *grind* (fine, etc.) mod.

As to the occurrence of *pseudo-admit-class sentences* in our material, see p. 419—420.

Let us turn to the second subcategory of the modal class, *i. e.* the should or must-class. To begin with, be it noticed that also in the case of the present category we have been guilty of some inadvertencies, inasmuch as in the descriptive review of our material a few instances have been assigned to cats. B, D, E, though their modal element implies that they are specimens of the should or must-class. But in the review of our examples subjoined below they have been paid attention to.



The present category has a very small extent, to judge by our material. This fact suggests that the subcategory does not represent a fertile formative principle. This is corroborated by another fact. The true criterion of fertility is here, too, the occurrence of non-causal verbs. Apart from *count* and *found*, which are on a par with causal verbs inasmuch as an intr. sense constitutes an element of the trans. meaning (cf. p. 464), there are only three non-causal verbs recorded in our material, *viz. graft, lace, screw*, and all of them are also employed in admit-class constructions. There is no doubt that the former use should be apprehended as an extension from the latter use and not as a manifestation of the fertility of the should or must-class. In short, in the case of extent the present category is on a par with the *can* or *may*-type of the admit-class (cf. p. 485). Like this type it has a larger extent than is suggested by our material. For the vast category of causal verbs with a correlative intr. sense oscillating towards a passive meaning could of course be qualified by modal auxiliaries. Moreover, like this type it is destitute of the morphological prerequisite for developing into a fertile formative principle, since the normal form of the predicate-verb is here, too, the passive but not the active form. In a couple of instances the *should*-sense has no particular morphological expression (cf. the admit-class), *viz. demise* 1823 and *screw* 1881 (cf. *class* 1816, *deduce* 1819, *derive* 1804, 1866, which oscillate between the should-class and the intemporal class; see p. 433—4). But also this morphological aspect could not develop into a formative law, since it already represented the admit-class sense.

As to the chronology of the should or must-class all our examples are from the NE. period. But there is no doubt that in the case of causal verbs this class existed already in ME., nay, even in OE., and for reasons equivalent to those given in the case of the *can* or *may*-type of the admit-class.

Let us now adduce all the examples of the should or must-class presented by our material.

a) *The should-class.*

α) The type without a modal auxiliary.

*19<sup>th</sup> century: demise*, 1823 Now arose a difficulty — whether the property of the late King demised to the King or to the Crown (= should [or even 'must'] be demised or should [must] pass as a possession to); *screw*, 1881 The face-plate which screws on the mandrils (= should be screwed on; perhaps also = is always screwed on, possibly even = admits of being screwed on, cf. p. 433).

β) The type with a modal auxiliary.

17<sup>th</sup> century: *extirp*, 1606 They should be vtterly rooted out, and the posteritye of their name extirp (= are of such a nature that . . should be extirpated). 19<sup>th</sup> century: *boil*, 1845 The fruit should be finely flavoured, and . . should boil easily (= is of such a nature that it should be boiled easily); *count* II 2 b, 1861 Oxford ought to be the place . . where money should count for nothing (= is of such a nature that money should be counted for nothing); *lace*, 1888 Shoes . . should . . lace from the toe, as high up the foot as is possible (= are of such a nature that they should be laced . . or, perhaps, should admit of being laced . .); *graft*, 1894 If possible, the theme should graft on to a vigorous and well grown stock of native interest (= is of such a nature that it should be grafted on . .).

b) *The must-class*.

18<sup>th</sup> century: *cure*, 1791 I must either cure or die (= is of such a nature that I must either be cured or die); 19<sup>th</sup> century: *found*, 1837 All Delineation . . must either found on Belief and provable Fact, or have no foundation at all (= is of such a nature that it must either be founded on . .).

We have still to consider the extent and the chronology of the resultative class. Before discussing these questions we must here, too, confess that in the descriptive classification of our material we have been guilty of a few inadvertencies. Thus some instances have been described as specimens of the intemporal class, though they had better be classed as representatives of the resultative class. Here belong: *mesh*, 1827 In the summer fishery the herrings always mesh with their heads to the north (= prove to have their heads turned to the north when meshed or go in the meshes with their heads etc.); *pull* II 1 β, *e. g.* 1804 She should be fitted so as to pull thirty-eight sweeps and two skulls (= employ . . when pulled = carry, or pull with th. s., etc); *row* II 2, *e. g.* 1769 Pin-naces . . are somewhat smaller, and never row more than eight oars (= the same senses as 'pull'). On the other hand a few instances have been described as specimens of the resultative class only, though an oscillation towards the admit-class appears to be distinctly salient. Here belong: *fry*, 1583 A sworde frieth in the fire like a blacke ele (= admits of being fried like a black eel or proves to be like a black eel when fried; cf. p. 438); *ride*, II 2 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full gently rides (= admits of being ridden gently or proves to behave gently or to be gentle when ridden; cf. p. 440); 1692 A Chestnut Gelding . . rideth gracefully, paceth a little (= equivalent senses as above); *read* II 2, 1731 Thy comedies excell . . And read politely well (= very well admit of being read or prove to be good when read); 1789 Whose productions . . read better than they act (= better admit of being read

3) *The resultative class.*



than acted; a resultative class sense is here not so readily salient); 1805 This Pamphlet is so pious as to read more like a sermon than a political address (= admits of being read like a sermon or proves to be like a sermon when read; cf. p. 438; the other quotations, *i. e.* quotes. 1828, 1863, 1878 [cf. p. 211] are no doubt specimens of the resultative class only); *number* II 2, 1833 A wife . . Whose troubles number with her days (= admit of being numbered along with her days = are equal in number with; a resultative class sense is here not salient). Moreover, a sentence has been described as oscillating towards the admit-class, though it seems rather to present an oscillation towards cat. E, *viz. realize* II a, 1863 if the same pictures realised a hundred guineas each (= proved to bring a h. g. e. when realized or were realized at a h. g. e.). The same oscillation is presented by the following quot. of *realize*, though in our material it has been described as having a resultative class sense only: 1885 His duty was to see that the property realised its full value (= brought its full value when realized or was actually realized at its full value).

We have previously stated that the verb *feel* may in the active form be employed in the sense of 'to be felt', in which case the corresponding trans. sense is 'to perceive (the feel of)', 'to be conscious of a sensation', *e. g.* 1694 If it feels heavy . . then we give him more Rope (= is felt to be heavy), cf. p. 337. But we have at the same time pointed out that the verb may sometimes present also a resultative class sense oscillating towards the sense 'to be felt' (= to be perceived), *viz.* 1581 The hande . . feeling to bee rough; 1665 The substance of it feels . . exactly like a very fine piece . . of Chamois leather (= proves to be exactly like etc., when felt or is felt to be like etc.). This oscillation depends here on the fact that the verb has two different trans. imports, which may both be apprehended as represented in the quotations mentioned. These trans. senses are 'to test the feel of (by the sense of touch)' and 'to experience the feel of'. The former sense brings about the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'proves to be exactly like, etc., when felt', *i. e.* tested by the sense of touch. The latter sense is represented in the passive import 'to be felt', *i. e.* perceived (as a sensation). We have also maintained (p. 336—7) that in equivalent sentences the verb *taste* presents a resultative class sense, which involves that the corresponding trans. sense is 'to try by the sense of taste' and not 'to perceive by the sense of taste', a sense of somewhat rare occurrence, *e. g.* 1615 Blacke as soote and tasting not much unlike it. *Mod.* The milk has begun to turn, it tastes rather sour (explained as 'proves to be sour when tasted', *i. e.* tried by the sense of taste). We admit that this interpretation is allowable but must at the same time point out

that the resultative class sense has here a very faint salience and that the intr. sense 'to have a taste of a specified or implied kind', 'to produce a certain taste in the mouth', is undoubtedly the predominant one. This latter sense should be explained as due to denominative new formation from the subst. *taste*, recorded as early as 1382 in the sense of 'savour', 'sapidity', and the former sense is due to the possibility of apprehending this denominative new formation as involving a converted use of the trans. sense 'to try by the sense of taste'. Also in the examples of *feel* quoted above an equivalent intr. sense is traceable, *i. e.* the sense 'to have a feel of a specified or implied kind', 'to produce a certain impression on the senses (esp. that of touch)'. But this intr. sense does not seem to be so prominent as to preclude the distinct salience of the resultative class sense or the passive meaning. This is probably due to the fact that the construction, which no doubt has been induced by the corresponding construction of *smell* and *taste*, scarcely appears to instinctive linguistic sense as a denominative new formation, since the subst. *feel* in the sense of 'the kind of sensation which a material object produces' is of late formation (18th c.). A similar sense-development, *i. e.* the origination of a resultative class sense, is presented by the verb *touch* (cf. p. 504 s. v. *touch* 2), but not by *smell*, a verb no doubt of OE. origin, though not recorded until ME. times. The latter verb presents the intr. sense 'to have a smell of a specified or implied kind', 'to produce or send forth a certain smell or odour' just as early as the trans. sense 'to perceive (by means of the sense of smell)', recorded c. 1175, *i. e.* earlier than the trans. meaning 'to try by the sense of smell', recorded a 1300 (cf. NED. s. v. '*smell*').

As to the hybrid nature of quot. 1910 of *smoke*, see p. 441.

To the number of verbs illustrating the resultative class and quoted in our collection of material we are able to add the following instances: ***shear*** (< OE. *sceran*), 1) note the trans. sense 'to cut the fleece from (an animal)'; also, 'to cut off (the fleece, wool, etc.)', OE. — 2) to yield (a fleece) when shorn, to produce by being shorn (cf. NED. s. v. *shear* 5 d): 1854 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.* XV 1. 228 The tegs . . shear a fleece varying from 5 to 7 lbs. — ***smoke*** (< OE. *smocian* < *smoca* sb. smoke), 1) note the trans. sense 'to use (tobacco, etc.) as material for smoking', 1687 — (cf. NED. s. v. *smoke* 12 a); 2) (of tobacco), to taste (cool, etc.)



when smoked: 1910 *The Standard*, July 6, p. 7, Smith's Glasgow Mixture . . . Always smokes evenly and cool (not in NED.; the complement 'evenly' presupposes the import 'admits of being smoked evenly or burns evenly when being smoked'). — *tell* (< OE. *tellan* < O'Teut. *\*taljan* f. *\*talo-m* = OE. (*ze*)*tæl* number), 1) note the trans. sense 'to count out (pieces of money) in payment'; hence 'to pay (money)', now chiefly *to tell out, down, into one's hand*, etc., arch. or dial., c 1250 — (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 22 a); 2) *to tell (up) to* (of money, butter, etc.): to amount to when told or counted, now *rare* (cf. NED. s. v. *tell* 22 c): c 1794 SUSANNA BLAMIRE *Poems*, *Meeting* ii, Our butter tells to fourteen pun! 1825 ESTHER HEWLETT *Cottage Comforts* vi, 45 Put it in the savings' bank, and it will tell up to something. — *touch* (< OF. *tuchier*, orig. to strike, smite), 1) note the following transitive senses: *α*) to put the hand or finger, etc., upon, or into contact with (something) so as to feel it, c 1300 — (cf. NED. s. v. *touch* 1), *β*) to test the fineness of (gold or silver) by rubbing it upon a touchstone; *fig.* to test, try, make trial or proof of (*obs.*), a 1548 — (cf. NED. s. v. *touch* 8); 2) corresp. to sense *α*): to feel in a specified manner when touched, to cause a specified sensation when touched (cf. NED. s. v. *touch* 2 h): 1770—4 A. HUNTER *Georg. Ess.* (1803) IV 575 We say this beast touches nicely upon its ribs. 1885 JEFFERIES *Open Air* (1890) 104 They touch rough — dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused; 3) corresponding to sense 1 *β*: to appear or prove to be of standard fineness on testing, *lit.* and *fig.*, ? *obs.* (cf. NED. s. v. *touch* 8 c): 1618 FLETCHER *Loyal Subject* I, v, And now, you are brought to th' test; touch right now, soldier. Now shew the manly pureness of thy mettle. 1701 COLLIER *M. Aurel.* 31 His honesty is right sterling, and touches as well as it looks. 1705 tr. *Bosman's Guinea* 81 These Lumps or Pieces are called Mountain-Gold, which being melted, touch better than Dust-Gold. — *tread* (< OE. *tredan*), 1) note the trans. sense 'to step upon, to pace or walk on (the ground, etc.)', OE. — (cf. NED. s. v. *tread* 1); 2) (of land) to prove to be (loose, etc.) when trodden, hence ellipt. *tread* in the same sense, *dial.* (cf. NED. s. v. *tread* 12): 1847 *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc.* VIII, 1, 73, When the soil treads loose in the spring, it is very important to use the heavy roller, or some other means of consolidating the soil; 1891 MALDEN *Tillage* 49, When once the land 'treads' the horses are best in the furrow. *Ibid.* Gloss. s. v. Land is said to tread when it puddles or poaches under the feet of the horses employed upon it.

Which is the general extent of the resultative class? We have seen that an oscillation between this subcategory and the

the intemporal class is very rare (cf. p. 413 seq.). But instead we have found that an oscillation between the resultative class and the admit-class is a very common phenomenon. We have stated that this oscillation is present when the adverbial extension denotes 'degree of facility' but at the same time oscillates towards an import implying a qualification of the material sense of the verb (cf. p. 435—8) or when the adverbial extension is an adjective (cf. p. 439—40) or mostly when the adverbial extension is a substantive denoting the result of the verbal action (cf. p. 442). Now, if we consider all instances presenting this oscillation towards the modal class as specimens of the resultative class, then the extent of this category must be acknowledged to be very large. But, since from an etymological point of view the instances mentioned must be regarded as admit-class constructions, they should also from a descriptive point of view be assigned to this subclass of cat. F. Therefore we should here pay attention only to such instances of the resultative class as present either no oscillation or at most a very faint oscillation towards the admit-class or the intemporal class. The oft-occurring oscillation between the resultative class and the admit-class shows that at least several of the resultative class sentences have been modelled on the pattern of admit-class sentences with an adverbial extension. Therefore it is evident that such sentences may present a trace of their etymological origin, inasmuch as they may present a faint oscillation towards the admit-class. From this it follows that it sometimes is a matter of individual interpretation to decide as to whether we are concerned with a resultative class sense only or with an oscillation towards the admit-class.

If we disregard all instances of the resultative class distinctly oscillating towards the admit-class or — what is a rare phenomenon — the intemporal class, then the resultative class must be considered to have a fairly small compass. But are we nevertheless entitled to look upon this category as a fertile formative principle? In the case of the other subclasses of category F we have established the occurrence of non-causal verbs as a criterion of the fertility of the constructions represented by them. Now, if we turn to our instances of the resultative class, we shall find that the vast majority of the predicate-verbs are non-causal. They are 22 in number (cf. p. 466). This number is in itself sufficiently large to allow us to look upon them as indicative of at



least an incipient fertility on the part of the resultative class construction. But this criterion is justified only on the condition that the resultative class sentences have on the whole a uniform genesis and that the use of causal verbs in them is connected with the semological structure of their several trans. senses, *i. e.* ultimately with the causative law. Now the latter condition is not fulfilled, since the effect of the causative law, *i. e.* the correlative intr. sense, can be manifested only in the second part of the resultative class sense (cf. p. 465—6) but is of no importance whatever for the origin of the complicated and characteristic structure of the whole resultative class sense. This latter sense is but little changed, if owing to the causal aspect of the predicate-verb the passive meaning of the second part of this sense is turned into an intr. import. Cf. the following sentence: 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they will make up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier (= will prove to amount to nearly 2 lbs. heavier *when having been made fat* or *when having become fat*). Nor is the former condition satisfied, since the etymological explanation of the resultative class sentences is of a heterogeneous nature. Therefore the structure of the trans. sense of verbs employed in such sentences is no criterion of the vitality of the formative principle represented by them. The mere heterogeneous character of their etymological explanation and the small extent of the whole category show that we cannot here be concerned with formative principles of any noteworthy vitality. This becomes still more evident, if we examine the several semological subtypes into which the resultative class sentences may be divided. We shall then find that in our material these subtypes are represented by about the same number of verbs and that the first three subtypes (*i. e.* types a, b, c) have such a specified sense that their extent cannot be expected to be enlarged in a degree worth mentioning. As to the last subtype (*i. e.* type e) the origin of its instances is of such a heterogeneous nature that its development into a fertile formative principle is out of the question. Only the subtype which involves 'to prove to *be* or *become* such as is involved in the complement when being (having been) made the object of a specified action' represents an import which allows the subtype to gain ground. But the etymological origin of this subtype is decidedly connected with the existence of admit-class sentences oscillating towards the resultative class. It has originated from them

either in such a way that an admit-class sense was meant to be expressed, though owing to the context it is only faintly traceable (cf. 'rear well'), or in such a way that the use of a verb in oscillating admit-class sentences was analogically extended to such cases where the adverbial extension brings about the salience of a resultative class sense only. But such phenomena must be of rare occurrence. Therefore this subtype, too, seems to have little chance of developing into a fertile formative principle, *i. e.* into an oft-occurring direct formation of resultative class sentences presenting no oscillation towards the admit-class. — Lastly it should be mentioned that most of the instances of the resultative class seem to occur in colloquial speech only (exceptions are at least 'number', 'muster', etc.) or else to have a technical colouring (cf. subtype c).

Let us now adduce the whole of the material on which we have based our examination of true resultative class sentences and arrange it in such a way as to show the chronology of the several subtypes which from a semological point of view should be distinguished (cf. p. 429—430).

a) The sense = to prove to *taste* or *feel* in a specified manner when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

16<sup>th</sup> century: *feel*, 1581 The hande . . feeling to bee rough (= to prove to be rough when examined by touch or to be felt to be rough); 1665 The substance of it feels . . exactly like a very fine piece . . of Chamois leather. — 17<sup>th</sup> century: *eat*, 1601 Like one of our French wither'd peares . . it eates drily (= proves to taste dry when eaten); 1607 Being dressed they eat like Barbles (= prove to taste like barbles when eaten; perhaps a faint oscillation towards 'admit of being eaten like barbles'); *drink*, 1607 The wine . . drunk too flat (= proved to taste too flat when drunk); 1697 It drinks brisk and cool; 1758 The Burgundy drinks as flat as Port. — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *handle*, 1727 If they handle moist or clammy when you squeeze them they are fit to bag (= prove to feel moist or clammy when handled); 1847 The wheat . . soon handles cold and damp; 1881 If the balance is not the same, they will handle as if of different kinds; *touch* 2, 1770—4 We say this beast touches nicely upon its ribs (= proves to feel nice upon its ribs when touched or is felt to be nice); 1885 They touch rough — dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused. — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *tread*, 1847 When the soil treads loose in the spring, it is very important to use the heavy roller, or some other means of consolidating the soil (= proves to be loose when trodden); 1891 When once the land 'treads' the horses are best in the furrow; 1891 Land is said to tread when it puddles or



poaches under the feet of the horses employed upon it (In these two sentences *tread* is employed elliptically in the sense of 'tread loose'); *smoke*, 1910 Smith's Glasgow Mixture . . Always smokes evenly and cool (= proves to feel cool when smoked; the complement 'evenly' requires the sense 'admits of being smoked evenly or proves to burn evenly when smoked').

b) The sense = to prove to *amount to* a specified number, etc., when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

18<sup>th</sup> century: *tell*, c 1794 Our butter tells to fourteen pun! (= proves to amount to f. p. [when told or counted]); 1825 Put it in the savings' bank, and it will tell up to something; *count* II 1 c  $\beta$ , 1819 They counted thirty (= proved to amount to thirty or to be 30 in number [when counted]); *muster*, 1837 The whole garrison mustered but six or eight men (= proved to amount to six or eight men [when mustered]); 1907 Davout's corps . . defeated a force . . mustering nearly double its numbers; *number*, 1842 When The maiden blossoms of her teens Could number five from ten (= amount to five from ten [when numbered or counted]); 1867 It would show not only that the Anglican Communion numbered so many Bishops; 1883 The crew and passengers numbered 33; *make up* (s. v. 'make' II 4), 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they will make up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier (= will prove to amount to nearly 2 lbs. heavier when made up, i. e. fattened); *reckon*, 1877 He marched [them] into the camp before his own troop, which did not reckon nearly so many (= did not prove to amount to nearly so many [when reckoned or counted]); *print up*, 1886 I wish there was space here to say more about all this; but the great book before me would print up into several volumes (= would prove to amount to several volumes when printed).

c) The sense = to prove to *yield* or *weigh* a specified amount, etc., when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

19<sup>th</sup> century: *shear*, 1854 The tegs . . shear a fleece varying from 5 to 7 lbs. (= prove to yield a fleece, etc., when shorn); *cut* II 1  $\beta$ , 1854 The Hampshiredowns . . cut a heavier fleece than the Southdowns (= prove to yield a heavier fleece when cut); 1858 The half-breds cut less wool than the Shropshire Downs; *realize*, 1863 if the same pictures realised a hundred guineas each (= proved to yield or bring a hundred guineas each when realized or were actually realized at a h. g. e.); 1885 His duty was to see that the property realized its full value; *kill* II 2, 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She killed 34 stones (= proved to weigh 34 stones when killed); *clip*, 1879 There were . . sheep in the pen that would clip as much or more wool (= would prove to yield as much etc. when clipped); *dress* II 2, 1895 The sheep . . should dress about 75 lbs. each (= should prove to weigh about 75 lbs. each when dressed).

d) The sense = to prove to *be* (or *become*) such as is implied in the complement when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

*17<sup>th</sup> century*: *touch* 3, 1618 And now, you are brought to th' test; touch right now, soldier. Now shew the manly pureness of thy mettle (= prove to be right when touched, *i. e.* tested); 1701 His honesty is right sterling, and touches as well as it looks (= proves to be as good as it looks when touched or admits of being touched as well as it looks); 1705 These Lumps or Pieces are called Mountain-Gold, which being melted, touch better than Dust-Gold (= prove to be better than dust-gold when touched, *i. e.* tested, or admit better than dust-gold of being touched [with a favourable result]); *eat*, 1766 If the cakes at tea ate short and crisp they were made by Olivia (= proved to be short and crisp when eaten); *ride*, 1805 Can you get me a nag That will ride very quiet (= will prove to be very quiet when ridden)?; *read* II 2, 1828 Nothing can read more free and easy than his present translation (= can turn out to be more free and easy when read); 1863 There are lives that read like one long sorrow (= prove to be like one long sorrow when read); 1878 The joke does not read to us like a very good one (= does not prove to us to be like, etc. when read); *count* II 1 a, 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it counts right (= proves to be right when counted); *rear*, 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants have reared well (= have turned out well in course of or after rearing; NED.).

e) The sense = to prove to *have* a specified quality (or to *act* in a specified manner) when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

*17<sup>th</sup> century*: *eat*, 1682 A Chine of this Beef . . Eat with a savour like Marrow (= proves to have a s. l. m. when eaten). — *18<sup>th</sup> century*: *ride*, 1714 Commonly Rides with her Tongue out of her Mouth (= proves to have her t. out of h. m. when ridden); *open* II 4 β, 1760—72 A door that opened into a garden: and . . another door that opened to the street (= proved to give admission to a garden, to the street [when opened]); 1855 The rooms have an outer door opening on to a common staircase; *row* II 2, 1769 Pinnaces . . are somewhat smaller, and never row more than eight oars (= prove to have or employ more than eight oars when rowed = carry; also = row with . .); 1854 I purchased . . a light little yawl . . that rowed four oars. — *19<sup>th</sup> century*: *pull* II 1 β, 1804 She should be fitted so as to pull thirty-eight sweeps and two skulls (= prove to have or employ . . when pulled = carry; also = row with . .); 1829 She pulls six oars; MARRYAT, She [a galley] pulled fifty oars; *mesh*, 1827 In the summer fishery the herrings always mesh with their heads to the north (= prove to have their heads turned to the north when meshed or go in the meshes with thir heads turned to the north).

Thus we find that most of our instances of the resultative class belong to the 19th century. We have also to state that to judge by our material examples of this predication category



cannot be traced earlier than about 1600, *i. e.* the time when the admit-class begins to show an incipient fertility, and that the earliest instances are presented by that semological subtype which implies 'to prove to *feel* or to *taste* in a specified manner when being (having been) made the object of a specified action'.

*Ultimate  
origin of  
cat. F.*

The etymological explanation of cat. F is on the whole proximately or ultimately connected with the causative law and the factors which have given rise to it. In very truth, it would be difficult, nay, impossible to correctly understand the genesis of the several subclasses of this predication category without a previous examination of the semological and morphological phenomenon presented by the preceding categories, *i. e.* the phenomenon that a predicate-verb may in the active form present a passive signification.

1) *The in-  
temporal  
class.*

As to the intemporal class it is from a descriptive point of view entirely on a par with the preceding categories (*i. e.* cats. A, B, C, D, E) except in one respect, *viz.* the intemporal tense-aspect of the predicate-verb. But the difference between intemporal and temporal tense-aspect on the part of a particular sense of a predicate-verb does not involve a difference in the etymological explanation of this sense. When we are concerned with a passive sense dressed in the active form, this is at least true in the case of causal verbs. But it may be questionable whether it is true in the case of non-causal ones. In other words, it is a priori possible that the intemporal class function of non-causal verbs has in some instances been induced by the category of causal verbs employed in this function (cf. p. 475). This question will be duly paid attention to in the following pages.

We have seen that in the case of the OE. period our material happens to present only one example of intemporal class function, though there must have been several instances of causal verbs presenting this function (cf. p. 474). But in this example we are, strange to say, concerned with a non-causal verb, *viz.* *āliefan*, Guþ. 86, 6 þā heofonlican gerýno þā nānegum men ne *ālyfað* tō secganne (lit. = those heavenly secrets which are permitted to no man to say). The etymological explanation of this instance is easily found. As already mentioned (p. 388), we are here concerned with an analogical extension from the impersonal use of the verb. The latter use was proximately an imitation of the corresponding Latin use of *licet*; but it was supported by analogous native constructions such as Hēr swutelað on ðisum gewrite, þæt . . (cf. p. 386), and it permitted the verb of also being taken passively, *e. g.* Mk. 3, 4 (B.-T. Suppl.) *Alýfð*

(is *ālȳfed*, L. R.) *restedagum wel to dōnne hweþer ðe yfele = licet sabbatis bene facere an male?* Ibid. 10, 2 *Hwæþer ālȳfð (licet) ænegum men his wīf forlætan.*

As to the ME. period, too, we have seen that the intemporal class is very poorly represented in our material, though in that period there were many instances of causal verbs which had adopted a correlative intr. sense that might oscillate towards a passive meaning and which consequently could be apprehended as examples of the intemporal class (cf. p. 478). The only instance adduced is *breed*, c 1200 *Wuremes bređen in wilderne*. This is a causal verb, and therefore the origination of the correlative intr. sense, which owing to the predominance of the primary trans. meaning oscillated towards the passive sense, no doubt started from the passive form of the verb. For in this form the passive sense oscillated towards the correlative intr. meaning and, considering the early date of the instance, the verb in the passive form could easily be mistaken for an intr. verb conjugated with *to be* (cf. p. 306 seq.).

When etymologically interpreting the intemporal class sentences of the NE. period, we should distinguish between those cases which do not oscillate towards the modal or the resultative class and those which present this oscillation. We should also make a distinction between causal and non-causal verbs.

Let us begin with those instances which present no oscillation towards the other subclasses of cat. F and where the primary trans. sense of the predicate-verb may be apprehended as *causal*. We have shown that the causative law operated already at the end of the ME. period or at any rate since the beginning of the NE. period. This law involves that any verb with a causal aspect may, if need be, also be employed in the correlative intr. sense without this use appearing to instinctive linguistic sense more striking than any other manifestation of a fertile formative principle (cf. pp. 328, 359). This being so, it is evident that in all cases where the primary trans. sense of a predicate-verb may be apprehended as causal, the use of the intemporal class sense may be ascribed to the causative law. For whenever causal verbs are employed in the intemporal class function there is always an oscillation towards the correlative intr. sense (cf. p. 445), and the application of the causative law involves that this intr. sense is meant to be expressed, though owing to the context and the



predominance of the primary trans. meaning the intr. sense oscillates towards a passive meaning.

Among the factors that gave rise to the causative law, the inflectional factor (*i. e.* intr. verbs conjugated with *to be*) and the influx of foreign verbs already presenting the semological contrast between a causal sense and the correlative intr. meaning did not in the NE. period play any conspicuous part. But the other operating forces, *i. e.* the reflexive factor, denominative new formation, and associative influence from semologically allied verbs already presenting the semological contrast mentioned, continued to operate in the NE. period, thus increasing the vitality of the causative law. In fact, in the case of our instances of causal verbs employed in the intemporal class sense we may, if we so will, sometimes ascribe this sense to one of the factors mentioned. Thus, for instance, we may maintain that *fix*, a verb often combined with subjects capable of reflexivity (*i. e.* capable of making themselves the object of the verbal process) — and other verbs should not be taken into consideration — owes its intr. sense oscillating towards a passive meaning to its reflexive use and that the suppression of the reflexive pronoun was due to the fact that the reflexive sense oscillated towards an intr. sense. We may also explain the intemporal class function of *freckle*, *i. e.* proximately its intr. sense 'to get freckles', as a denominative new formation (from 'freckle', sb.). We may also explain the intemporal class function of *dispel* whose intr. sense occurred already in the 17th century as ultimately due to associative influence from *dissolve*, its near semological relative whose use in the correlative intr. sense appeared as early as the 15th century. But whenever in the NE. period a trans. verb has a causal aspect and adopts the correlative intr. sense, which may or may not oscillate towards a passive sense as the case may be, it is unnecessary to seek for an explanation other than the causative law. For this law has a very strong vitality, and, though the factors mentioned continued to operate in the NE. period, we can never maintain with any amount of certainty that one of these factors, but not the causative law, has brought about the use of the verb in the correlative intr. sense. This is also true of the principles of explanation which should be employed in the case of non-causal verbs but which may sometimes be applied to explain the intemporal class function of causal verbs. Thus, for instance, we may assume that the intemporal class function of *make into* re-

corded as late as 1893 is an extension from the use of the verb in admit-class function recorded as early as 1592 (cf. p. 205). But in the case of our quotation (1893, see p. 205) it is equally possible that we are concerned with a manifestation of the causative law. It is owing to this law that, if we consider causal verbs only, it is impossible to ascertain whether the intemporal class function has become a formative law or not.

Thus the intemporal class function of all verbs whose primary trans. sense may be apprehended as causal should, as far as the NE. period is concerned, always be ascribed to the causative law. When applying this principle of explanation we are allowed to disregard the intemporal sense, since its occurrence is not bound up with a particular morphological aspect on the part of the predicate-verb. As causal should be apprehended the following verbs, which in our material illustrate that intemporal class function which does not oscillate towards the modal or the resultative class: *bend, calefy, combine, commix, concoct, corrode* (quot. 1820), *disentangle, disfigure, dispel, dissipate, dissolve, draw* II 1 a  $\beta$ , *dulcify, entangle, evolve, exhaust, filtrate, fix, foil, form, fracture, freckle, identify, indurate, knit, make into, mend, meng, open* II 4  $\gamma$ , *pervert, preserve, purge off, reproduce* II 1, *wear (away)* II 2 b (cf. p. 444—5). As to illustrative examples, see p. 475—7.

The etymological explanation of *non-causal* verbs employed in the intemporal class function is a more intricate problem. To begin with, let us take a general survey of the several modes of explanation which in the case of these verbs may a priori be expected to have played a part. As already mentioned, we may ask whether the numerous category of causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function has sometimes induced this function in the case of non-causal verbs (cf. p. 475). We may also expect that the frequent use of the active progressive form with a passive sense, *i. e. to be* + the active pres. pple, may by way of back-formation have sometimes made the active form of non-causal verbs be employed in other tense-aspects, too, though the sense is passive. We may further suspect that the use of non-causal verbs in admit-class constructions in the active form so common in the NE. period, may sometimes have contributed to their use in intemporal class sentences. But the number of principles of explanation is not yet exhausted. For we may assume that such non-causal verbs as are on a par with causal ones inasmuch as an intr. sense



forms an element of the trans. meaning, may owe their use in the intemporal class sense to this parallelism, *i. e.* ultimately to the causative law. We may also presume that, when a non-causal verb is desubstantival, its secondary intemporal class function may be explained as a denominative new formation. Moreover, when the intemporal class function oscillates towards a predication of adverbial adjunct (cf. p. 90 seq.), a kind of predication often dressed in the active form, we may suppose that this oscillation may account for the use of the active form with a passive sense, *i. e.* the intemporal class sentence is meant to be a 'prædicatio adverbialis', though, owing to the possibility of taking also a basis of comparison other than the one presupposed by this predication category, the sentence may also be apprehended as a specimen of the intemporal class. It is self-evident that in the case of non-causal verbs, too, associative influence from a verb which already admits of being employed in the intemporal class function may sometimes bring about this use in the case of a synonymous non-causal verb. Lastly, since in English the active infinitive preceded by *is* (*was*, etc.) *to* is often employed in the passive sense (cf. p. 103), we may suppose that a verb which very often occurs in this function may extend the use of the active form with the passive sense also to other cases.

In this review of principles of explanation we have paid no attention to the reflexive factor. In English the reflexive form of the verbs did not, broadly speaking, develop into an intr. or passive formative (cf. p. 261—4). In French the reflexive form had this development. In view of the strong French influence on the English language it is therefore a priori possible that this function of the French reflexive form was sometimes imitated in English and gave rise to the use of non-causal verbs in the active form but with a passive sense. Since in that case the reflexive form has only rarely been recorded in English, this French influence can only be understood if we assume that the French reflexive form suggested the use of the active form of the English verb but that the reflexive pronoun was suppressed owing to the salience of an oscillating intr. sense. But such an influence is not likely to have taken place in the case of non-causal verbs, since here the oscillation towards an intr. meaning is a rare phenomenon and due to a frequent use of the active form with a passive sense. We should, however, admit the possibility

that the oscillation towards the intr. sense may have occurred already in the French reflexive construction and that therefore French influence in the case under consideration is perhaps not entirely precluded.

Let us now turn to our instances of *non-causal verbs* employed in the intemporal class function and examine how far the principles of explanation mentioned are applicable.

Already in the 16th century we come across two non-causal verbs in the intemporal class function, *viz.* *shear* and *wear*: 1587 D. FENNER, *Song of Songs* Those same goates which *doe* vpon The mount of Gilhad *sheare*. 1601—2 Like the brooch and the toothpick, which *wear* not now.

As to *shear* it is very difficult to find a plausible explanation. In fact the passive sense 'to be shorn' seems to the NED. so striking that it is provided with a note of interrogation, though certainly without cause (cf. NED. s. v. *shear* 5 d). An analogical extension from the use of the verb in admit-class function is already for chronological reasons not very probable. Besides the verb has such an import as is not likely to occur in this function, *i. e.* it is scarcely probable that sentences were formed such as 'this sheep shears easily'. In fact, among the modes of explanation mentioned above there are only two which may be thought of, *viz.* an analogical extension from the use of the progressive form 'to be shearing' (with a passive sense) and the inducing influence of causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function. The former explanation is not a likely one, since the sentence in question cannot be changed into the progressive form without a change of tense-aspect and besides this form with a passive sense seems to have had no great currency until the 17th or the 18th c. The latter explanation, too, is not a very likely one, since — as will be shown in the following pages — it need not or should not be applied in the case of the other instances of non-causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function. However, there seems to be no alternative left but to ascribe the intemporal class function of *shear* to this latter factor. But in so doing we should probably only assume that it has facilitated the use of a poetic license conditioned by metrical and rhyming (?) considerations.

As to *wear*, its intemporal class function cannot readily be explained as a back-formation from its use in the active progress-



ive form taken passively. But we may instead be concerned with an imitation of the causal sense of *wear*, *i. e.* waste, as used in the intemporal class function, *e. g.* SHAKS. *Lucrece* 560 though marble wear with raining. If we can prove that already in Shakespeare's time *wear* was employed in admit-class function, then the intemporal class function may also be explained as an analogical extension from this use. As an example in point we may perhaps consider the following quotation: SHAKS. *Tw. N.* II 4, 31 so *wears* she to him, so sways she level in her husband's heart (= so admits she of being worn [like a garment] so as to fit him, or perhaps rather = so is she consumed by habitual use so as to fit him).

From the 17th century there are in our material three non-causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function, *viz. interpret, hold, and overgrow*: 1614 *Sophi* by all likelihood was giuen him with regard to his reformed profession, as the word *interprets*. a 1654 *Allodium* . . signifies Land that *holds* of nobody; we have no such Land in England. 1665 My Crown is absolute, and *holds* of none. a 1643 The Field unplowed *overgrows* with weeds.

In the case of *interpret* the use of the active form cannot readily be explained as an analogical extension from its use in admit-class function, since the verb has not been recorded in this function und besides the quotation is of such an early date that the admit-class construction in the active form had acquired an incipient fertility only. It should be noticed, however, that the structure of the primary trans sense is here on a par with causal verbs, inasmuch as the trans. meaning consists of two verbal senses, *i. e.* 'to consider (or maintain) to mean'. Therefore in the quotation above the use of the active form of *interpret* may be ascribed to the causative law, which also explains the oscillation towards the sense of 'mean'. But it is preferable to look upon the phrase 'as it interprets' as having been induced by the allied expression 'as it says' (as to the origin of the latter expression, see p. 387—388, 399, 532).

As to *hold*, which in the quotations given above has intemporal sense and consequently belongs to the present category, we have previously explained the use of the active form as due to influence from the French reflexive form of the corresponding verb (*i. e.* 'se tenir') or else as due to the inducing influence from causal verbs employed in the active form but with an oscillating passive sense (cf. p. 407). But the former explanation can be thought of only if we assume a co-operation with the latter factor.

For otherwise it would be impossible to understand the omission of the reflexive pronoun, since no oscillation towards an intr. sense is distinguishable. The latter interpretation is an emergency explanation and should be adopted only if it is impossible to find another. The most likely explanation seems to be that here the active form is an analogical extension from the use of the verb in the active progressive form with a passive sense. For in this form the verb no doubt often occurred with such subjects as those appearing in the sentences quoted above.

As regards *overgrow* the use of the active form should be explained either as a back-formation from its use in the progressive form taken passively (cf. 'the field is overgrowing with weeds') or else as an analogical extension from its use in admit-class function, since the verb has such an import as readily admits of this use (cf. 'the field easily overgrows with weeds'), though we happen to be unable to give a record of it. It is perhaps also possible to assume that the use of the active form has started from the passive form of the verb (cf. 'the field is overgrown with weeds'). If so, we must assume that the sense of the passive form strongly oscillated towards an intr. import, *i. e.* 'to become full of', and that the use of the active form was facilitated by the fact that at that time the number of intr. verbs conjugated with *to be* was more considerable than in present-day English, *e. g.* *abate advance, cease, flee, expire, happen, enter, fall, flutter away, founder, jump, land, recover, sail, step down*, etc.<sup>1</sup>.

From the 18th century we are able to adduce three non-causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function, *viz.* *rive*, *tell*, and *derive*: 1772 The body of the willow tree *rives* into pales. 1831 They *rive*, according to the term of the quarrymen, into thin . . . laminæ. 1774 Lord Verney . . . *has told* in parliament, including himself, for four members. 1794 *Indignant* meantime *derives* from a higher stock.

As to *rive* we should, however, admit that it may, though with some difficulty, be apprehended as causal. But in the present case the verb presents a passive meaning only but no oscillation towards an intr. sense. The intemporal class function in the quotations given above may nevertheless be explained as an analogical extension from the general use of the verb in an intr.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. L:SON LANNERT, *An Investigation into the Language of Robinson Crusoe* Uppsala, 1910, p. 95 seq.



sense often oscillating towards a passive meaning, a use met with as early as the ME. period, *e. g.* c 1330 *Mani schaft þer gan riue* (this intr. use is most likely due to the inflectional factor, *i. e.* intr. verbs conjugated with *to be*). But since the sense of the verb is here distinctly the passive one and the verb has been recorded earlier in admit-class function, it is perhaps preferable to explain the use of the active form as an analogical extension from this function (cf. 1699 *A Tree we call Cypress . . it is soft and spungy, will not Rive*).

The verb *tell* is in the quotation above employed in a temporal sense and is consequently a specimen of cat. E. But it may be dealt with here, since this temporal use of the active form (with a passive sense) implies the possibility of using the form also with the intemporal tense-aspect. The primary trans. sense is here 'to consider (maintain) [a thing] to be in number equivalent to'. Thus the structure of the trans. sense is on a par with causal verbs, inasmuch as it consists of a trans. element and an intr. one. We may therefore perhaps assume that the use of the verb in the active form but with a passive sense is due to the causative law, which *ex analogia* probably could operate also in the case of trans. non-causal verbs with the structure mentioned. But, since in the case of this rare use of *tell* the correlative intr. sense is not very salient when the verb is used in a temporal sense but distinctly prominent when the tense-aspect is the intemporal one, we should assume that in the present case the intemporal class function is the primary one, though we can give no records of it (cf. *count* and *reckon* which have a trans. sense synonymous with that of *tell* and present a passive sense in the active form chiefly recorded with the intemporal tense-aspect). But it is preferable to explain this intemporal class function of *tell* (in the sense of 'to be counted') as an analogical extension from the use of the verb in admit-class function, though this use has not been instanced in our material except when the corresponding trans. sense is 'to narrate' (cf. p. 421 and 532).

As to the intemporal class function of *derive* oscillating towards a sense conditioning a predication of relation it has already been explained when we dealt with cat. D (see p. 377—8).

The 19th century is in our material represented by several non-causal verbs employed in the intemporal class function, *viz. class, count, number, reckon, load, let, retail, ring up, sing, take off*.

The verb *class* is employed in the intemporal class sense in the following quotation: 1865 Those who *class* as believers. But an earlier instance is met with, yet oscillating towards the admit-class, *viz.* 1816 This fine country . . . whose people *class* morally so high in the scale of mankind (= are generally classed or may be classed or else belong to a class). Since in both quotations the intemporal class sense oscillates towards an intr. sense conditioning a predication of relation, the converted function of the active form of the verb has already been explained in connection with our examination of cat. D (see p. 379).

The use of the verb *count* in the intemporal class function seems to be a fairly common phenomenon. It should be noticed that in this case the trans. meaning converted represents two different imports, *viz.* 1) 'to include in the reckoning', 2) 'to consider (a thing) to be in number so and so, to have the value of', also with *for, as*. The intemporal class function of the verb in the former sense is presented by *count* II 1 b (see p. 191): 1892 There is Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire . . . and Somersetshire; but all these *do not count!* They like to leave out of account the 21 seats we won at the by-elections, but they *do count* upon a division. *Mod.* In this examination the first 250 marks *do not count* at all. The intemporal class function of the verb in the latter sense is represented by *count* II, 1 c γ, 2 a, b: 1820 The carambole *counts* two. 1850 They *count* as kindred souls. — 1833 First and last, we *counted* as eight children . . . though never counting more than six living at once. (As to the possibility of apprehending this quot. as implying intemporal tense-aspect, see p. 521, *let*). 1889 High birth . . . among the haughty Castilians *has always counted* for a great deal.

When the primary trans. sense is 'to include in the reckoning', it presents no parallelism with a causal sense. The use of *count* with this sense in the intemporal class function may be looked upon as an analogical extension from its use in admit-class function. This is the more evident as in quot. 1892 it is possible to trace a faint oscillation towards the admit-class sense (cf. the distinct admit-class sense in the following quotation which has an equivalent morphological structure: 1846 Swedish turnips transplant very well, like the common cabbage; but the true turnip, the white globe or yellow, *do not transplant*). But, if we so will, we may also apprehend this intemporal class function as having been induced by the intemporal class function of *count* in the trans. sense 'to consider (a thing) to be in number so and so, to have the value of', since the latter function has been recorded earlier than the former.



When the primary trans. sense of *count* is 'to consider (a thing) to be in number so and so, to have the value of', its structure presents a parallelism with causal verbs, inasmuch as it consists of a trans. element and an intr. sense. The intemporal class function of *count* in this sense may therefore perhaps be ascribed to the causative law. This seems at least to be possible in the following quotation where *count* distinctly oscillates towards the correlative intr. sense: 1820 The carambole counts two (= is counted as two or is equivalent to two, has the value of two; a resultative class sense is scarcely salient, *i. e.* 'has the value of two when counted'). From such instances the intemporal class function may easily have been extended to cases where a correlative intr. sense is less salient or else not at all distinguishable, *viz.* 1850 They count as kindred souls. 1833 First and last, we counted as eight children . . . though never counting more than six living at once. 1889 High birth . . . among the haughty Castillians has always counted for a great deal. (As to this quot. we have wrongly maintained that an intr. sense is entirely predominant, *i. e.* the sense 'to be of much account', cf. p. 192; but this is no *correlative* intr. sense but a meaning synonymous with the passive sense of 'count' and the adverbial extension). In the case of *count as (for)* employed in the active form but with a passive sense, we may, however, also assume that we are concerned with associative influence from the synonymous verbs *tell* and *class*, both of which in the form and the sense mentioned are recorded somewhat earlier than *count*. Are we entitled to explain the intemporal class function of *count* in the trans. sense under consideration as an analogical extension from its use in admit-class function? In the case of this trans. sense the verb does not in our material occur in admit-class sentences except in those where the modal element (*i. e.* the admit-sense) is represented by *can* or *may* (cf. quotes. 1857, 1874, p. 141—4). But this admit-class construction does not represent a fertile formative principle, and its occurrence in the case of non-causal verbs requires therefore an explanation of its own. But this explanation is easily found, if we adopt the etymological interpretations given above. For its use in such admit-class sentences should then be apprehended as an analogical extension from its use in the intemporal class function. We should, however, admit that it is possible to trace a faint admit-class sense in such a sentence as 1850 They *count* as kindred souls and that in such sentences even a distinct admit-class sense may occur. Therefore it is not entirely impossible that also in the present case the in-

temporal class function of *count* has taken its rise from the use of the verb in admit-class function.

Also the verbs *number* and *reckon* may be employed in the intemporal class function: 1864 And tho' thou numberest with the followers Of One who cried, 'Leave all and follow me'. 1898 After the fashion . . of the sailors, with whom strength of arm reckons before style. The latter verb is used with temporal tense-aspect in the following quotation: 1879 Such discretion . . would in the long run reckon to his credit and his advantage. The trans. meaning taken passively in these instances is synonymous with that of *count* and in consideration of the chronology of the instances we may therefore ascribe the converted function of *number* and *reckon* to associative influence from this verb.

The intemporal class function of *load* is represented by the following quotations: 1832 Last week the coach travelled nearly empty . . [Now] the coach loads better than ever. 1893 This coach always loads well. The morphological structure of these sentences is the same as that often met with in admit-class constructions. We may therefore ask whether they have been coined on the pattern of such sentences, though the salience of an admit-class sense is not distinguishable. But this involves that an admit-class sense was meant to be expressed but that it could not appear, since the quality of 'loading well' is not here dependent on the nature of the grammatical subject but on outward circumstances. This explanation, however, is not a likely one. The verb in its trans. sense is of denominative origin. It is therefore preferable to look upon the intemporal class function of the verb as a denominative new formation from 'load', sb. This explanation accounts for the oscillation towards the intr. sense 'to have, get a load'. The qualifiers *well*, *better* need not then be due to influence from admit-class constructions, though such may be the case.

As to *let* the following quotation may be apprehended as involving an intemporal class sense, if we do not restrict intemporality to a reference to such a predicate as is always true of a specified subject but also let it refer to what is a general custom during a certain space of time: 1855 Lands let at from 10 *d.* to 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per acre. In the following quotation the verb is used in a distinctly temporal sense which seems to oscillate towards an admit-class sense: 1885 There was some reason to suppose that all the mortgaged houses would speedily let (= would be speedily let or admitted [would admit] of being speedily let). We may therefore here be concerned with an extension from the use of the verb in admit-



class constructions. But we may perhaps also explain the use of the verb in the instances quoted as a back-formation from its use in such expressions as 'house to let', 'a large number of chambers now letting at many hundreds a year'. If so, it is the great frequency of such constructions that has brought about this analogical extension. In consideration of the great affinity in sense between *let* and *sell* we may also assume that the intemporal class function of the former verb has been induced by the latter verb (cf. below).

Also the verb *retail* is in our material met with in the intemporal class sense, if the notion of intemporality is taken in the same wide sense as in the case of *let*: 1881 Mr. Bartlett's compilation . . . retails for three dollars. 1897 Turbot, Brill, and halibut retail at 9 *d.* per lb. This use of *retail* should undoubtedly be explained as having been induced by *sell*, its near semological relative, which since the 17th century may be employed in the active form with a passive sense, *e. g.* 1606 SHAKS. *Tr. & Cr.* I. iii, 360 Let vs like Merchants shew our fowlest Wares and think perchance they'll sell. 1616 B. JONSON *Epigr.* iii To my Book-seller. Thou, that . . . Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell, Vse mine so, too. 1656 EARL MONM. *Tr. Boccacini's Advts. fr. Parnass.* I. i. 4 There is no Merchandize in this Ware-House sels better, then certain Fans. 1711 SWIFT *Jrnl. to Stella* 24 Sept. *Prior's Journey* sells still; 1766 GOLDSMITH, *Vic. of W.* Ch. II. I published some tracts upon the subject myself, which, as they never sold, I have the consolation of thinking were read only by the happy few. 1833 HT. MARTINEAU *Brooke Farm* v 63 They sell at about a shilling a dozen. 1851 LYTTON *Not so bad* IV. i. 77 I found a bookseller to publish my treatise. It sold well. In quot. 1606 the auxiliary *will* oscillates between the modal and the temporal sense, *i. e.* 'will sell' = admit of being sold' or 'will be sold'. In the case of all the other quots. except quot. 1766 and quot. 1833 we are concerned with undoubted admit-class sentences. Again, quot. 1766 presents a temporal tense-aspect of *sell* used in the active form but with a passive sense (= cat. E), and quot. 1833 should be looked upon as a specimen of the intemporal class. Thus the earliest examples of *sell* as used in the active form but with a passive sense are specimens of the admit-class. We should therefore explain quot. 1766 and quot. 1833 as analogical extensions from the use of the verb in admit-class function.

As to *ring up* the quotation adduced in our supplementary material (p. 473) implies a temporal sense and is consequently a specimen of cat. E, but, for reasons given above (p. 518, *tell*), it may be dealt with here: 1908 'Come, friend Watson, the curtain rings up for the last act'. This use of *ring up* should be explained as a back-

formation from the active progressive form with a passive sense, since this form is an interchangeable equivalent to 'rings up', though not a very common one in colloquial speech.

The verb *sing* is employed in the intemporal class sense in the following quotation: 1873 Those verses . . which sing to the air of *Ar Eire*, etc. (cf. p. 473). This use of the verb should unhesitatingly be explained as an analogical extension from its use in admit-class function, which is met with already in the 18th century (cf. p. 480).

The same explanation is true of the intemporal class function of *take off*: 1892 Yours [*i. e.* hair] takes off at night. For the use of the verb in admit-class function (in the active form) is of earlier date than the former function, *e. g.* 1867 It all takes to pieces, packs up easily.

Let us turn to those instances where the intemporal class sense oscillates towards the modal or the resultative class.

When the predicate-verb may be apprehended as *causal*, the intemporal class function should be ascribed to the operation of the causative law. To begin with this is true of the case when the import oscillates towards that of the admit-class. True, this class represents a fertile formative principle, but not in all its morphological aspects. Now all our instances of the oscillation mentioned appear in the negative form without a descriptive adverbial extension, *viz.* *intermingle* (quot. 1626), *draw* (quot. 1794), *bind* (quot. 1838), *corrode* (quot. 1868), *outlaw* (quot. 1895), cf. p. 476—7. But though this morphological aspect of the admit-class was probably able to induce the use of non-causal verbs in this form and this function, there are no instances in our material proving the fertility of this construction (cf. p. 484 and 535). Moreover, in the examples under consideration the causal verbs distinctly oscillate towards the correlative intr. senses. Therefore we should unhesitatingly assume that here the converted function in the active form is due to the causative law. Also in the case when an intemporal class sentence oscillates towards the resultative class and the predicate-verb has a causal aspect, we should ascribe the function of the verb to the causative law. Here belong *develop*, 1861 A plate well washed . . develops cleaner than one washed insufficiently (= is usually developed cleaner or proves to appear cleaner when developed); *reproduce*, 1891 The drawings . . reproduce in monochrome-plate process with greater strength than might be expected (= are always reproduced with greater strength or prove to appear with



greater strength when reproduced). Also the correlative intr. senses are in these instances distinctly salient, *i. e.* 'to become visible', 'to become visible in the new copy' (of the latent image of the plate). The oscillation of this intr. sense towards the intemporal class sense is due to the predominance of the trans. meaning. Again its oscillation towards the resultative class sense may be said to be a compromise between the struggle for salience made by the correlative intr. sense and that presented by the primary trans. meaning, inasmuch as the intr. sense appears in the first part of the resultative class function, *i. e.* 'prove to appear', and the trans. sense appears in the second part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'when developed', 'when reproduced'. The etymological explanation cannot here be bound up with an inducing influence from the resultative class, since this category has not developed into a fertile formative principle. But another explanation is possible. We have assumed that the expression of a condition (be it in the form of a subordinate clause or not) as a rule prevents an admit-class sense from becoming salient (cf. p. 430—1). Such a condition is actually expressed in the quotations under consideration, *viz.* 'well washed', 'in monochrome-plate process'. But nevertheless it does not here seem to be impossible to mentally add a conditional subordinate clause such as 'if we try' and consequently to acknowledge at least a faint salience of an admit-class sense, *i. e.* 'admits of being developed cleaner, of being reproduced with greater strength'. If so, the sentences in question may be explained as manifestations of the fertility of the admit-class, though owing to the context and the causal aspect of the trans. sense (cf. p. 445) the admit-class sense oscillates towards other senses.

When the predicate-verb has a *non-causal* aspect, we must examine each instance separately as to its etymological origin. An oscillation towards the admit-class is distinguishable in the following instances: *instance*, a 1667 This story doth not only instance in kingdoms, but in families too; *exchange*, 1848 Demand and supply always rush to an equilibrium, but the condition of stable equilibrium is when things exchange for each other according to their cost of production. The former quotation represents the admit-class type without a modal auxiliary but with an adverbial extension. This type was already in the 17th century a formative principle with incipient fertility. We may therefore, if we so will, look upon the use of *instance* in the quotation mentioned as a manifestation of this fertility. In other words an admit-class sentence

was meant to be expressed, though owing to the context the sense seems to oscillate towards that of the intemporal class. However, since the verb is of desubstantival origin, its use in the sentence in question may just as well be looked upon as a desubstantival new formation. If so, we must assume that the intr. sense towards which the import oscillates, *i. e.* 'to have instances', was meant to be expressed and that owing to the context and the predominance of the primary trans. meaning this sense oscillated towards that of the admit-class and the intemporal class. In the case of *exchange* we should assume that an admit-class sense was meant to be expressed and that the oscillation towards the intemporal class sense is due to the context.

An oscillation towards the should-class is distinguishable in the following instances: *class*, quot. 1816, *deduce*, quot. 1889, *derive*, quotes. 1804 and 1866, *screw*, quot. 1881; cf. p. 478 and 433—4. As to *class* we should adopt the same explanation as was given in the case of its use in the intemporal class function presenting no oscillation towards the modal class (cf. p. 519). For the oscillation towards the should-class sense is here no doubt due to the context, and the latter sense cannot be particularly meant to be expressed, since the should-class (in the active form) has never developed into a fertile formative principle. The same is true of *derive* whose non-oscillating intemporal class function is met with already in the 18th century (cf. the explanation given above, p. 518). — As to *deduce*, which in our material also occurs in admit-class function with *may* as the modal auxiliary (quot. 1889, cf. p. 164), its use as a representative of the present category should be explained in the same way as was employed in the case of *derive*, an explanation already given when we dealt with cat. D (cf. p. 377—8). — Unlike the case with *class*, *derive*, and *deduce* (cf. p. 448) the trans. sense of *screw* presents no parallelism with the semological structure of causal verbs, and its use in the active form but with a passive sense cannot therefore be ascribed to the causative law. This use should unhesitatingly be explained as an analogical extension from the use of the verb in admit-class sentences, a use already met with in the 18th century (cf. p. 214), all the more as in our quotation the import seems to oscillate towards an admit-class sense (cf. p. 500).

An oscillation towards both the resultative class and the admit-class is distinguishable in the following quotation of *realize*: 1845 notwithstanding the high rate of profit it realises in the States



(cf. p. 444). Since in the case of two morphological types the admit-class has undoubtedly developed into a fertile formative principle but such is not the case with the intemporal and the resultative class, we should explain the sentence in question as a manifestation of this fertility. We must then assume that the admit-class sense was meant to be expressed and that the oscillation towards the intemporal and the resultative class is due to the context. Moreover, in view of the great semological affinity between *realize* and *sell* it is also possible to assume that the latter verb whose use in the active form but with a passive sense is of early date, has induced the function under consideration in the case of the former verb. However, it should be observed that in the sentence quoted the adverbial extension has a form differing from the one required by the correlative trans. construction ('to realise a thing *at* a high rate of profit'). The loss of the preposition on the part of the adverbial extension is no doubt due to the salience of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove to bring a high rate of profit when realized'. In other words, we are here face to face with a morphological conformation to the requirements of the first part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove to bring'. We may therefore suppose that the resultative class sense was meant to be expressed and that its oscillation towards the other senses is due to the context. But in consideration of the fact that the resultative class constructions have never developed into a fertile formative principle we must assume that the sentence in question has been modelled on the pattern of the corresponding admit-class sentence which required the expression of the preposition and presented the same oscillating senses and that the preposition was subsequently removed owing to the salience of the resultative class sense (cf. p. 553).

We are now able to give an answer to the question as to whether the intemporal class represents a fertile formative principle in the NE. period (cf. p. 474—5). The answer must be in the negative, since in scarcely any instance we have been forced to explain the use of non-causal verbs in the intemporal class function as due to the inducing influence from causal verbs employed in this function.

2) *The modal class.*

Let us turn to the ultimate origin of the modal class and in the first place to that category which we have termed 'the admit-class'.

We have shown that admit-class constructions in the active form cannot be explained as manifestations of a fertile formative principle until about 1600 and that even in NE. times not all the morphological subtypes presented by these constructions may be described as fertile. In the case of the OE. and the ME. period we must examine each instance of the admit-class separately and in the case of the NE. period each of the morphological subtypes separately.

From the OE. period we have adduced three instances of causal verbs employed in admit-class function, *viz.* *ǣheardian*, *gemyltan*, and *stillan* (see p. 495). But, since in this function they distinctly oscillate towards the correlative intr. senses, it is evident that their use in admit-class sentences is entirely on a par with the case when in non-admit-class sentences they are employed in the correlative intr. senses, whether these senses oscillate towards a passive meaning or not. In short, the etymological interpretation is of the same nature as that applied in the case of the OE. instances of cat. B (cf. p. 299—312). Thus the intr. function of *gemyltan* and *stillan* and consequently also their use in admit-class sentences should be explained as back-formations from their use in the passive form in such cases where this form could easily be mistaken for past tenses of an intr. verb conjugated with *to be* (cf. p. 311). As to *ǣheardian* the intr. sense was no doubt the primary one, since in OE. we also meet with the form *ǣhierdan*, which represents the correlative trans. sense and which has been coined on the formative principle characteristic of OE. trans. denominative verbs of prehistoric origin. The oscillation towards a passive sense on the part of *ǣheardian* is dependent on the degree of frequency presented by the verb in its trans. sense. But this frequency was probably not so great as that of the verb in its primary intr. sense, and therefore the salience of a passive sense in our quotation is very questionable. Again the adoption of the trans. sense on the part of *ǣheardian* should be explained as a denominative new formation (from OE. *heard*, a. *hard*) or, if we so will, as a back-formation from the use of the verb in its intr. sense in past tenses formed with *to be* and therefore easily mistaken for passive forms of a trans. verb.

In our material illustrating the OE. period we also meet with a few non-causal verbs employed in sentences which from an OE. point of view, too, certainly could be apprehended as specimens



of the admit-class, *viz.* *sēon*, *gesēon*, *cunnian*, *gefēran*. As to quotations see p. 495. The occasional passive function of the active forms of these verbs has already been explained in connection with cat. E (cf. p. 388—9). We have there adopted the explanation given by POGATSCHER (*Anglia* xxiii), *i. e.* we have assumed that in reality we are concerned with trans. constructions with an indefinite pronoun as subject, though unexpressed. It is the omission of this pronoun which makes such sentences oscillate towards a passive import.

From the ME. period, too, we have adduced a few instances of admit-class function. The admit-class type without a modal auxiliary is represented by the following verbs, all of which have a causal aspect: *break* (c 1175 and 1398), *atend* (1398), *bend* (1398), *fold* (1398), *multiply* 1477. As to quotations see p. 494. As was the case with OE. causal verbs, so in the present case we always meet with an oscillation towards the correlative intr. sense, and the etymological interpretation of the use of ME. causal verbs in admit-class sentences is of the same nature as that adopted in the case of ME. instances of cat. B or C. Thus the intr. function of *break* and *atend* and consequently also their admit-class function should be explained as a back-formation from their use in the passive form in such cases where this form could be mistaken for past tenses of an intr. verb conjugated with *to be*. Again the intr. function of *bend* and *fold* had better be explained as having started from their use in the reflexive form. For these verbs were often combined with subjects capable of making themselves the objects of the verbal action involved in these verbs. The omission of the reflexive pronoun should be explained as due to the fact that, when employed in the reflexive form, these verbs generally oscillated towards the correlative intr. sense. Lastly, the intr. function of *multiply*, which occurs as late as the end of the ME. period should be ascribed to the causative law.

The admit-class type with *will* as the modal auxiliary is in our material represented by *perfurnish* 1393, *meek* 1400, *overwhelm* c 1400. As to quotations, see p. 494—5. The verbs *meek* and *overwhelm* have an undoubted causal aspect, so that in our quotations the passive import distinctly oscillates towards the correlative intrans. meaning, *i. e.* 'to become meek', 'to tumble over, turn over'. Therefore the use of these verbs in admit-class sentences of the *will*-type is entirely on a par with the case when

in non-admit-class sentences the verbs are employed in the correlative intr. senses, whether these senses oscillate towards a passive meaning or not. And this is true whether the auxiliary *will* oscillates towards its primary sense, *i. e.* to be willing, as is the case with *meek* (quot. c 1400), or towards a temporal sense, as is the case with *overwhelm* (quot. c 1400). Thus we have only to account for the adoption of a correlative intr. sense on the part of *meek* and *overwhelm*. The intr. function of the former verb should be explained as a denominative new formation from *meek*, adj. The intr. function of the latter verb may be ascribed to the inflectional factor, *i. e.* the identity between the passive form and past tenses of intr. verbs conjugated with *to be*. Besides the intr. use of these verbs may perhaps also be explained as a manifestation of the causative law, which most likely began to operate already in the 15th century. Again the verb *perfurnish* seems to have a non-causal aspect when it is qualified by an object such as 'testament', *i. e.* = 'to execute a testament'. Therefore its admit-class function in the following sentence seems to be very remarkable: 1393 In kase be that this wytword will noght perfurnysche, I will it be abyrdged; for I will hafe of na mans part bot of myne aune. If the verb must be apprehended as non-causal, then its use in admit-class constructions of the *will*-type must be ascribed to the inducing influence of causal verbs employed in this function and we are in the presence of our earliest instance of the fertility of the *will*-type. But if so, this instance is about two centuries earlier than the time we have fixed upon as presenting the incipient fertility of this type. It is therefore possible or perhaps even likely that this use of *perfurnish* should have another explanation. Upon second thoughts it is not impossible to trace a causal sense in the case of the trans. import of the verb, *i. e.* 'to bring (a will) to fulfilment, into effect'. In fact the correlative intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to come to fulfilment', seems also to be salient in our quotation. Therefore we may perhaps assume that this sense was meant to be expressed and that the use of the verb in the *will*-type construction is a manifestation of the causative law or possibly of the operation of the inflectional factor, *i. e.* the identity between the passive form and past tenses of intr. verbs conjugated with *to be*.

The admit-class type with *can* or *may* as the modal auxiliary is in our material represented by *even* (= compare), (a 1230 and



a 1240), *compare* (c 1450), *ride* (1470—85). As to quotations, see p. 495. The verb *even* in the sense of 'compare' has a non-causal aspect, and therefore its early use in the active form but with a passive sense seems to be very striking. But the verb is of denominative origin and the use mentioned may therefore be explained as a denominative new formation from *even*, adj. This explanation involves that the intr. sense 'to be equal to' was meant to be expressed, a sense actually distinguishable in our quotations. The oscillation of this sense towards the passive meaning (*i. e.* to be compared) is due to the predominance of the trans. meaning (*i. e.* to compare) and to the non-causal aspect of the latter. As to the similar use of *compare* in the active form but with a passive sense it may be explained as due to associative influence from the verb *even*. But, the verb is of French provenience, and in the Old French period we seem to meet with the use of the verb in the active form but with a passive sense, *e. g.* *Berte* xviii, A-il mesaise qu'à la moie compere. The corresponding use of the verb in the English language may therefore be of French origin. As to *ride* in the active form predicated of a horse, we should remember that the expression 'to ride a horse', which is met with since the 13th century (also, 'to ride [*up*]on a horse') may be apprehended as implying a trans. sense and a direct object or else an intr. sense and an instrumental adjunct, *i. e.* 'by means of a horse'. In the former case the verb may in spite of its complex import be apprehended as causal, though with some difficulty, *i. e.* 'to (sit upon horseback and) cause the horse to go'. When so, the converted function of the verb though dressed in the active form may be ascribed to the causative law, since in our quotation (see p. 495) also the intr. sense 'to go' is distinctly salient. If the latter sense is taken as the meaning of which our sentence presents a converted aspect, then this sentence appears as a predication of instrumental adjunct, and the etymological explanation of the use of *ride* is the same as the one given in the case of such predications (cf. p. 397, 357).

Let us turn to the NE. period. As to *the admit-class type without a modal auxiliary but with an adverbial extension* we have shown that it developed into a formative principle with an incipient fertility already about the beginning of the 17th century and that this fertility increases the more we approach the present time (cf. p. 498). Therefore in the case of

most *non-causal* verbs all instances of this admit-class type which appear after c 1600 should be apprehended as manifestations of the fertility of this formative principle. This principle of explanation *must* be adopted. For no admit-class type can have started with non-causal verbs. They must have begun with causal ones where the correlative intr. sense oscillated towards a passive meaning. This is in fact proved by a chronological examination of our material. The use of non-causal verbs in admit-class constructions is therefore evidently due to the inducing power of causal ones so employed. In our material illustrating the present admit-class type we meet with the following non-causal verbs, which we have arranged on the same principle as adopted, when we dealt with its extent and chronology (see p. 488—491)<sup>1</sup>: 16<sup>th</sup> century: *tell, ride* (the trans. sense may only with some difficulty be apprehended as causal, cf. p. 451 and 530), — *make* (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal). — 17<sup>th</sup> century: *peel, pull, act, read, cock, rub, sell*, — *lather, scour*. — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *drive, saw, sing, draw II 3, cut, thrash, mouth, manufacture, dress, squeeze*, — *heckle, measure, screw, apply*. — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *assort, transplant, group, translate, dovetail, leam, split* (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal), *draw II 2 a* (1893), *kill, wash, paint, mesh, lead* (the trans. sense may only with difficulty be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* 'to cause to go), *graft, pack (up), take, sketch, smoke, make up, play, compare, dye, scan, tan* (of leather), *wear*, — *number, button, harrow, retract, trace, beat out, exchange, draw II 1 b, fasten* (= button, 1908), *grind* (cf. p. 456—7). As to quotations, see p. 488—491 or ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 478—482.

It is only rarely that in the case of fertile admit-class types the admit-class function of a non-causal verb should be ascribed to a cause other than the fertility of this type. As to the type under consideration such a case is presented by *beat out* in the following quotation: 1873 One particle of ore beats out such leaf! We have already mentioned that this instance admits of a twofold predicational interpretation. If as basis of comparison, *i. e.* the verbal sense appearing in a converted use, we take the trans. construction with a direct object and an object of result, *i. e.* 'to beat out

<sup>1</sup> Note that a verb has been adduced once only, when in our material it has not only been instanced in combination with an adverbial extension denoting 'degree of facility', but also when it is met with in sentences where the complement is of another semological type.



a particle of ore into such a leaf', then the quotation represents an admit-class sense which oscillates towards a resultative class sense and which in respect of the form of the adverbial extension presents a morphological accomodation to the latter sense, *i. e.* 'prove to *become such a leaf* when beaten out'. If we take as basis of comparison 'to beat out such a leaf *from a particle of ore*', then we are concerned with a predication of adjunct of material (cf. p. 93), and the verb keeps its trans. import. We should assume that this predication import was here meant to be expressed and that the possibility of looking upon the sentence as a converted use of the trans. construction 'to beat out a part of ore into such a leaf' made the sentence oscillate towards the admit-class and the resultative class. We should make this assumption, because it gives a natural explanation of the genesis of the resultative class construction and at the same time an explanation of the discordant morphology appearing, if we compare it with the admit-class sense which also is salient, *i. e.* 'to admit of being beaten out *into* such a leaf'. Again a predication of adjunct of material should be explained in the same way as is employed in the case of predications of instrumental adjunct (cf. p. 357 and 397—8) or of predications of adjunct of provenience (cf. p. 552—3).

The following instances of *make* should both from a descriptive and an etymological point of view be apprehended in exactly the same way as the instance of *beat out*: 1592 Doost thou think to liue till his olde doublet will make thee a new trusse? 1598 An old Cloake makes a new Ierkin. 1787 They [frogs] make a good soup, and not a bad fricasée. For also in the present case it is possible to look upon the converted sentences as having been converted from two different trans. constructions, *viz.* 'to make (an old doublet, etc.) into a new truss, etc.' and 'to make (a new truss, etc.) *from* (an old doublet, etc.)'.

The following instance of *tell* may perhaps be apprehended as a manifestation of the fertility of the admit-class type under consideration: 1584 Then, fathers, choose your warres; for better tels To lose like Jewes, then winne like infidels. But another explanation is preferable. In ME. the impersonal form of the verbs *say* and *rehearse* is employed in a sense oscillating between the original trans. sense and the corresponding passive meaning, a use of verba dicendi met with already in the OE. period (cf. p. 399 and 387—388), *e. g.* MALORY, *Morte D'Arthur* 75, (17) as it reherceth after in the book of Balyn le saueage, that followeth next after. a 1300 *Cursor*

*M. þe ius sal convert*, as it says. This construction is still met with in the NE. period (cf. p. 398). There is no doubt that *tell* in the sense of a *verbum dicendi* could be employed in a similar way. In other words, it was possible to say, 'it tells better' or 'better tells that one loses like Jews, etc.' The sense meant to be expressed was then 'one tells or says better that, etc.' But the morphological aspect of the sentence is such as to make the sentence also involve 'better admits of being told'. This explanation is preferable, less for chronological reasons (*i. e.* the date of the quotation is somewhat earlier than the 17th c.) than on account of the possibility of apprehending our instance as an impersonal use of a *verbum dicendi*, a use of Old Teutonic date.

As to *ride*, see p. 530.

Let us turn to *causal* verbs employed in admit-class sentences of the type under consideration. Here belong the following verbs in our material: 16<sup>th</sup> century: *digest*, *endue*, — *fry*. — 17<sup>th</sup> century: *amalgam*, *assimilate*, *humect*. — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *fasten* (1730) *polish*, *preserve*, *malt*, *alloy*, *draw* II 2 b (1794, 1856) — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *mix*, *scorch*, *identify* (here = to make identical), *blot*, *bleach*, *lead* (< lead, sb.), *shut* (the trans. sense cannot always be apprehended as causal), *compound*, *oxidate*, *bake*, *cook*, *fur*, *steer*, *tear* (the trans. sense cannot always be apprehended as causal), *toast*, — *reduce* (cf. p. 449—451). As to quotations, see p. 488 — 491 or ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 478 — 482.

Whenever in these instances the passive sense oscillates towards the correlative intr. sense — and such is mostly the case — and the verbs in these oscillating senses are also employed in non-admit-class sentences, we should look upon the former use as being entirely on a par with the latter use. This involves that the etymological explanation of their use should in both cases be the same, *i. e.* the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). The same etymological interpretation may be applied in the case of such causal verbs as are employed in admit-class function but happen to have not been recorded in non-admit-class function in a passive sense oscillating towards the correlative intransitive meaning. But such instances (very few in number) may of course also be explained as manifestations of the fertility of the admit-class construction under consideration. However, in the case of the present admit-class type the passive sense is often predominant in spite of the causal aspect of the predicate-verb (see p.



452). Now, if such causal verbs are in non-admit-class sentences employed in a passive sense (which then almost always oscillates towards the correlative intr. meaning), we may nevertheless look upon their admit-class function as an extension from this use or even as being on a par with this use, though the context happens to be such that the correlative intr. sense is only faintly or even not at all salient. But we may of course also consider their admit-class function as a manifestation of the fertility of the admit-class construction. Only in the rare case that a causal verb employed in a predominant passive sense in the admit-class construction, does not otherwise occur in a passive meaning oscillating towards the correlative intr. sense, it is preferable to look upon its admit-class function as illustrating the fertility of this class.

Thus the admit-class type without a modal auxiliary but with an adverbial extension has taken its rise from the use of causal verbs employed in the function represented by this type. But their use in this function is mostly entirely on a par with their use in non-admit class sentences dressed in the active form but with a sense oscillating between passive and intransitive. Therefore the origin and the fertility of this admit-class type or any admit-class type is ultimately due to the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). It is only in harmony with this fact that the causative law is somewhat earlier than the time when those admit-class constructions which gained fertility had developed into living formative principles. Again this fertility is manifested in the use of non-causal verbs in these admit-class constructions, since they must be explained as having been induced by causal verbs employed in these constructions. A reflexive interpretation is inadmissible. This is evident from the fact alone that at least in the case of non-causal verbs we practically speaking never meet with the reflexive form in any type of admit-class sentences. We can, however, adduce one such instance but it is of very late date and occurs in Carlyle whose language shows strong traces of German (and French) influence, *viz.* 1865 CARLYLE, *Fredk Gt* xiv, vii (1870), V 239, The small riddle *reads itself* to him so. True, we are here concerned with a resultative class sense = 'appears to him so when read', but the use of *read* in the active form but with a resultative class sense has been coined on the pattern of admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense (cf. p. 556—7). There is no doubt that the use of the reflexive form is here due

to foreign influence, all the more as in English the reflexive form on the whole never developed into an intr. or passive formative (cf. p. 261—4).

As to *the admit-class type which is destitute both of a modal auxiliary and an adverbial extension*, we have shown that as a rule it is dressed in the negative form and that it does not represent a formative principle of any noteworthy vitality, though it is not devoid of the morphological prerequisite for developing into a fertile formative principle. When causal verbs occur in this type they always seem to oscillate towards the correlative intr. sense, and their use should be apprehended as only a phase of their general use in the active form but with a sense oscillating between a passive and an intransitive import. Their use in the case of this type is consequently a manifestation of the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). Here belong: *fold* (1793), *inflamm* (1794), *intermix* (1846), *temper* (1881, 1884), *tan* (1884). As to quotations, see p. 491 and ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 479—482. In our material we meet with only two non-causal verbs employed in this type, *viz.*, *transplant* (1846) and *scan* (mod.). But both of them have been recorded earlier in the fertile admit-class constructions. Their use in the present type may therefore be explained as an extension from this use and need not illustrate the fertility of the present type, though the latter explanation is not entirely inadmissible.

As to the etymological explanation of *the will-type*, whether it has an adverbial extension or not, almost all is true that has been said in the case of the type without a modal auxiliary but with an adverbial extension. Thus, when the predicate-verb is *non-causal* its use in the *will-type* construction should, as a rule, be looked upon as a manifestation of the fertility of this construction. Here belong the following verbs in our material: 16<sup>th</sup> century: *make* (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal). — 17<sup>th</sup> century: *lead* (the trans. sense may only with difficulty be apprehended as causal), *quilt*, *manage*, *lap*, *set*, — *batter*, *squeeze*, *ride* (the trans. sense may only with difficulty be apprehended as causal), — *sell*, *rive* (the trans. sense may sometimes be apprehended as causal). — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *rub*, *wear*, *cross* (= cross-plough), *wash*, — *saw*, *spin*, *pick*, — *hook*, *button*, *ding*, *lace*, *transplant*. — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *dress*, *translate*, *cut*, *dramatize*, *apply*, *realize*, *compare*, *construe*, — *tread*, *weave*,



*make up, sing, — mesh, scan, mill, parse* (cf. p. 456—7). As to quotations, see p. 491—3 and ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 478—482.

However, also in the present case there are sometimes instances of non-causal verbs which may have or even should have an explanation other than the fertility of the *will*-type. Here belongs *make* whose trans. sense only with some difficulty may be apprehended as causal and whose function in quot. 1592 (Doost thou think to live till his olde doublet will make thee a new trusse?) should be explained in the same way as quotes. 1598, 1787, *i. e.* as involving a predication of material (cf. p. 531—2). Here belongs also *lap* whose import in quot. 1680 (This is a fine pliable principle . . 'twill lap about your finger like Barbary Gold) oscillates towards a reflexive or even an intr. sense and whose admit-class function therefore may, but need not, be explained as having started from the use of the verb in the reflexive form, the omission of the reflexive pronoun being then due to the salience of an intr. sense. Another instance is *mesh* whose admit-class sense in quot. 1801 (After which they [mackerel] will not mesh, but are caught with hooks) oscillates towards the intr. sense 'to go in the meshes' and therefore may, but need not, be explained as a denominative new formation. As to *realize* its admit-class function in quot. 1884 (The liabilities are estimated at £ 130,000, and the assets will, it is assumed, realise well) may, but need not, be ascribed to associative influence from *sell* (cf. p. 526). Moreover, the admit-class function of *rive* in quotes. 1691, 1811 (*e. g.* 1811 All like sorts of stone that are composed of granules, will cut and rive in any direction) may, but need not, be explained as an extension from its general use in the active form but with a passive sense oscillating towards an intr. meaning, a use which is met with already c. 1300 (cf. p. 213). As to *ride* see p. 530.

As *causal* should be described the following verbs in our material illustrating the *will*-type: 16<sup>th</sup> century: *mingle, display, stain, — convert.* — 17<sup>th</sup> century: *fire, keep, glue, commix, — polish, reserve, — incorporate, assimilate, gild, wear out, blunt, coin.* — 18<sup>th</sup> century: *drive, identify.* — 19<sup>th</sup> century, etc.: *nitrify, groove, — erase, hatch out, — extinguish, lift, digest, drain II 2, coke, mix, nurse, disentangle, open, lock* (cf. p. 449—451). As to quotations, see p. 491—3 and ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 478—482.

When the predicate-verb is a *causal* one, it almost always oscillates towards the correlative intr. sense (cf. p. 464). We have

pointed out that, if in the *will*-type construction this intr. sense is apprehended as the sense meant to be expressed, the auxiliary *will* does not as a rule lose its modal import (cf. p. 455—6). When so, we may look upon the use of causal verbs in *will*-type constructions as being entirely on a par with their general use in an intr. sense oscillating towards a passive meaning, *i. e.* as ultimately due to the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). And if such a general use does not occur, then — as long as *will* keeps its modal sense — the use of the verb in *will*-type constructions may nevertheless be ascribed to the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). Only in those cases when the sense of the causal verb may be apprehended as intr. and *will* then assumes a non-modal sense, we should consider the use of a causal verb in the *will*-type construction as a manifestation of the fertility of this construction and not as due to the causative law. But to decide in individual cases when, if we interpret the sense of the causal verb. as intr., *will* loses or keeps its modal import is a very delicate task. We have already tried to do so in the case of a considerable number of instances (cf. p. 455—6). It is superfluous to examine this point more closely, since we have to choose only between two etymological interpretations, *viz.* the operation of the causative law and the fertility of the *will*-type. Also in the rare case when in *will*-type constructions the causal verb has a predominant passive sense, we should ascribe its use in such constructions to the fertility of the *will*-type, and not to the causative law (cf. p. 455). But to decide upon the salience or non-salience of an oscillating intr. sense is a very difficult task.

The use of *will* as a modal auxiliary dates as far back as the OE. period, *e. g.* Herb. i, 90, 9 Gif his mete gemyltan nelle (cf. p. 495). This sense has sprung from the primary trans. meaning, *i. e.* 'to be willing', a sense towards which the auxiliary distinctly oscillates in the OE. sentence quoted. In fact a faint echo of this original sense is still traceable in most of the NE. *will*-type sentences, nay, in some of them it is even the predominant import (cf. p. 459—461). As a secondary source of the modal function of *will* should be considered the temporal function of *will* in a complex sentence consisting of a principal clause with *will* as a temporal auxiliary and a conditional subordinate clause of the type 'if we so will', 'if we want to'. We have already pointed out



that in most *will*-type sentences it is possible to mentally add a conditional subordinate clause of the type 'if we try' and that therefore several sentences of the *will*-type probably have originated from an incomplete resolution of an idea whose complete resolution would require the addition of such a conditional subordinate clause. It is the omission of this clause that transforms the temporal *will* of the principal clause into a modal auxiliary. But a faint echo of the temporal sense is still traceable in most of the ME. and NE. *will*-type sentences. But in the case of specified examples it is generally impossible to decide as to when *will* as a modal auxiliary has taken its rise from the primary trans. sense or when it has sprung from the temporal function (cf. p. 461—4).

Thus it is evident that the *will*-type construction has begun with causal verbs and in the first place with such cases where the sense of *will* was modal and the use of the verb in an intr. sense oscillating towards a passive meaning was entirely on a par with the use of the verb in this sense in non-admit class sentences. Therefore it is that in the case of causal verbs we meet with instances of the *will*-type already in the OE. and ME. periods. It is also evident that with the increase of cases when a causal verb adopted a correlative intr. sense easily oscillating towards a passive meaning the frequency of the *will*-type must be increased. At last the *will*-type gains such a frequency in the case of causal verbs that it was able to induce the employment of non-causal verbs in *will*-type constructions. In other words, the *will*-type had developed into a fertile formative principle. And the criterion of this fertility is principally the use of non-causal verbs, sometimes also the use of causal ones (cf. p. 537) in the *will*-type construction. Apart from *perfurnish* (1398, cf. p. 529), the first traces of an incipient fertility on the part of the *will*-type are met with about 1600, a date which is in harmony with the fact that the causative law began to operate about one or two centuries earlier, *i. e.* the factor which increased the number of causal verbs adopting a correlative intr. sense oscillating towards a passive meaning. This fertility quite naturally increased in the following centuries with the continued operation of the causative law, so that in present-day English the *will*-type represents a formative principle of strong vitality.

As to the *can or may-type* we have already pointed out that it never developed into a fertile formative principle and that it was unable to make this development (as to the extent and the chronology of the category, see p. 485). For, if sentences of the *can* or *may-type* are dressed in the passive form, the admit-class sense will be kept, and this form is the normal mode of expression when the modal element of the admit-class construction is expressed by *may* or *can* (cf. p. 485). Whenever in the case of the *can* or *may-type* the predicate-verb is *causal*, in which case the import almost always oscillates towards the correlative intr. sense (cf. p. 453—4), we should ascribe the use of the verb to the causative law (or the factors that have given rise to it). For its use in this type of admit-class constructions is then entirely on a par with its use in non-admit-class sentences with a passive sense oscillating towards the correlative intr. meaning. Here belong the following verbs in our material: a) *can-type*: *conjoin* (1578), *knit* (1578), *taint* (1606), *disentangle* (1607), *thwack* (1650), *incorporate* (1681), *fix* (1760), *keep* (1705, 1889), *lower* (1727), *cram* (a 1763), *assimilate* (1864), *mash* (1877); b) *may-type*: *overthrow* (1546), *stain* (Shakes.), *knit* (1612), *indurate* (1646), *notch* (1693). As to quotations, see p. 493—4 and ultimately p. 187—216 supplemented with p. 478—482.

Again, when the predicate-verb is *non-causal*, a case represented by several instances in our material, they have, as a rule, already been recorded in the case of the two admit-class types which represent fertile formative principles, or else otherwise recorded in a passive sense dressed in the active form (especially the intemporal class function). When so, their use in *can* or *may-type* constructions is only a natural extension from this use. Here belong the following verbs in our material: a) *can-type*: *compare* (1796, 1876), *cut* (1839), *count* II 1 d (1857), *trace* (1889); b) *may-type*: *compare* (1577), *pull* (1778), *lead* (1822), *count* II 1 c a (1874). As to quotations, see p. 494. The only exceptions are presented by *draw*, 1703, and *deduce*, 1866 (cf. p. 494), both of which occur in our material earlier in the *may-type* than in other cases where these verbs present a passive sense dressed in the active form. But in the case of *draw* we may safely assume that its use in the *may-type* is an extension from its use in the *will-type* (or the other fertile admit-class type), though we happen to be destitute of examples of the latter use. As to *deduce*, its func-



tion in the *may*-type has of course the same explanation as its use in the intemporal class function (quot. 1889), see p. 525.

We have still to consider a category which may be described as *pseudo-admit-class sentences*. The admit-class sense is here not the proximate sense of the verb in its converted function, but a secondary meaning, a synonymous sense, and this secondary signification is always the same, *i. e.* 'to admit of being seen' (cf. p. 419). Here belong in our material the following verbs: *kithe* (a 1300, 1535, 1586, 1827), *disclose* (1494, 1627—77), *exhibit* (1768—74), *open* (1745, a 1822, 1844), *evolve* (1860). As to quotations, see p. 420. All these verbs may be apprehended as causal, *i. e.* 'to bring into view' = 'to cause to come into view'. Apart from *kithe* and *open*, their passive function, *i. e.* to be brought into view, oscillating towards the correlative intr. sense 'to come into view' = 'to admit of being seen', may therefore be ascribed to the causative law. But, if we so will, this function may also be explained as having evolved from the use of the verb in the reflexive form. For these verbs were often combined with subjects capable of the reflexivity conditioned by these verbs, and the reflexive pronoun was omitted, since the verbs oscillated between the reflexive sense 'to show itself', 'to bring itself into view' and the intr. sense 'to come into view' = 'to admit of being seen'. The reflexive interpretation must be employed in the case of *kithe* whose pseudo-admit-class function is met with as early as a 1300. As to *open*, we are evidently concerned with an extension from its general use in the active form but with a passive sense oscillating towards an intr. meaning, a use already met with in the OE. period (cf. p. 251 seq.).

The second subcategory of the modal class, *i. e.* the should or must-class, has a very small compass in our material, and all our examples happen to illustrate the NE. period only, though also the ME. and OE. periods could not be devoid of instances. Like the *may* or *can*-class this class is destitute of the morphological prerequisite for developing into a fertile formative principle (cf. p. 500).

As to the *should*-class we rarely meet with instances where the modal element has no particular morphological representative. Here belong *demise*, 1823 Now arose a difficulty — whether the property of the late King demised to the King or to the Crown (= should [or even must] be demised or should [must] pass as a possession

to); *screw*, 1881 The face-plate which screws on the mandrils (= should be screwed on; perhaps also = admits of being screwed on; possibly also = is always screwed on). The trans. sense of *demise* has a causal structure, *i. e.* 'to let (a thing) pass as a possession to (a person)', and therefore the correlative intr. sense is distinctly salient in our quotation, though oscillating towards the passive meaning. Considering this causal aspect, it is superfluous to seek for an etymological explanation of the use of the verb in *should*-class function other than the operation of the causative law. The non-expression of the modal element is out of the common but may be explained as an extension from the use of the verb in the intemporal class function, where it easily oscillates towards the *should*-class (cf. *class* 1816, *deduce* 1889, *rive* 1804, 1866, *screw* 1881, see p. 433—434, 444, 478). Again, the trans. sense of *screw* has a non-causal aspect. The explanation of the use of the verb in *should*-class function has already been given when we dealt with the intemporal class (cf. p. 525).

The modal element of the *should*-class sentences, however, is mostly represented by a modal auxiliary. As to this type we meet in our material with a couple of instances where the trans. sense of the predicate-verb is causal, *viz.* *extirp* (1606) and *boil* (1845), (cf. p. 501), and where therefore the passive import of these predicate-verbs oscillates towards the correlative intr. sense, *i. e.* 'to lose existence', 'to undergo the action of boiling or to be in the state of boiling'. This being so, their *should*-class function may be explained as due to the causative law (as to *boil*, cf. p. 402). For this use is entirely on a par with their general use in the active form but with a passive sense oscillating towards the correlative intr. meaning.

In our material we also meet with three non-causal verbs employed in *should*-class function, *viz.* *count* II 2 b (1861), *graft* (1894), *lace* (1888), cf. p. 501. As to *count* its use in *should*-class sentences is of course an analogical extension from its oft-occurring use in the active form but with a passive sense in sentences other than those of the *should*-class (cf. p. 519—520). As to *graft* and *lace*, their *should*-class function is undoubtedly an extension from their use in admit-class constructions, all the more as in the case of *lace* also an admit-class sense seems to be salient. For the latter use is of earlier date (*graft*, 1884, *lace*, 1792) than their *should*-class function.



The *must*-class is in our material represented by two instances only, *viz.* *cure* (1791) and *found* (1837), cf. p. 501. The trans. senses of these verbs have a causal structure, *i. e.* 'to bring into a state of health, to cause to get well again)', 'to let (a thing) have as foundation' (the sense 'to consider a thing to have as foundation' is non-causal), and therefore in the quotation mentioned the passive sense oscillates towards the correlative intr. meaning. But, if so, their *must*-class function should be explained as due to the causative law. For this function is entirely on a par with their use in other sentences where they, dressed in the active form, present an oscillation between the correlative intr. sense and the passive meaning. As to *found*, cf. p. 378—9.

3) *The  
resultative  
class.*

The etymological explanation of the resultative class sentences remains still to be considered. To begin with, it should be remembered that all such instances of the resultative class as oscillate towards the admit-class (cf. p. 434—443) have already been explained when we dealt with the etymological interpretation of the modal class. For, from a descriptive point of view they may just as well be assigned to the modal class as to the resultative class, but from an etymological point of view they should be assigned to the modal class only, since the resultative class has never developed into a fertile formative principle and besides, unless the sentences under consideration are explained as admit-class constructions, their oscillation towards the admit-class would be incomprehensible. Thus we have here to pay attention only to those instances of the resultative class sense which present either no oscillation or at most a very faint oscillation towards the admit-class. As to the rare case when a resultative class sense oscillates towards the intemporal class, it has been paid attention to in connection with our explanation of the latter category (cf. p. 523—6).

The etymological explanation of the resultative class sentences is of a heterogeneous nature, and it is of importance to know whether a corresponding trans., *i. e.* non-converted, sentence may be formed from the linguistic material of the resultative class sentence. We must therefore examine each instance of the resultative class separately. When so doing, we should pay attention to our semological subdivision of the resultative class sentences in order to ascertain as to whether an agreement in semological aspect corresponds to an accordance in etymological interpretation.

a) The sense = to prove to *taste* or *feel* in a specified manner when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

The earliest instance of this subcategory is represented by *feel*: 1581 The hande . . feeling to bee rough (the quot. is not exactly to the point, the verb being here used in the present pple); 1665 The substance of it feels . . exactly like a very fine piece of Chamois leather (= proves to be like . . when examined by touch or is felt to be like . .). In the present case the resultative class sense distinctly oscillates towards the passive sense 'to be felt', and, at least from the point of view of present-day English, it also oscillates towards the intr. sense 'to have a feel of a specified or implied kind', 'to produce a certain impression on the senses (esp. that of touch)'. The cause of this oscillation has already been indicated in the preceding pages (cf. p. 502—3), and the use of the verb *feel* in such constructions as bring about these senses is no doubt due to associative influence from *taste* and *smell*. Both these verbs are often used in the sense 'to have a taste or a smell of a specified or implied kind', a sense faintly oscillating towards the resultative class sense 'to prove to have a specified taste or smell when examined by the sense of taste or that of smell' (cf. p. 502—3).

Also the verb *touch* may be used in the resultative class sense 'to prove to have a feel of a specified or implied kind when touched': 1770—4 We say this beast touches nicely upon its ribs (as to the form 'nicely' see p. 441 and 428); 1855 They touch rough — dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused. Here, too, the import oscillates towards the intr. sense 'to have a feel of a specified or implied kind', but it does not oscillate towards the passive sense 'to be felt', since *touch* does not present the corresponding trans. sense 'to perceive by the sense of touch'. The best explanation of this function of *touch* is to assume that we are concerned with associative influence from the corresponding use of *feel* recorded more than a century earlier. But it is also possible to assume that we are face to face with a new formation from the subs. *touch* in the sense of 'tastile quality', 'feel', a sense met with about 1674, consequently earlier than our instances of the resultative class function of *touch*.

As early as c 1600 we find the verbs *eat* and *drink* employed in a distinctly resultative class function, which is still met with in colloquial speech, viz. 'to prove to have a taste of a specified or implied kind when eaten or drunk': 1601 Like one of our French



wither'd peares . . it eates drily (= proves to taste dry when eaten); 1607 Being dressed they eat like Barbles; 1607 The wine . . drunk too flat; 1697 It drinks brisk and cool; 1758 The Burgundy drinks as flat as Port. In spite of the identity in sense as to the first part of the resultative class meaning we are perhaps not justified in assuming that this function of *eat* and *drink* has been induced by the resultative class function of *taste*, i. e. 'to prove to have a taste of a specified or implied kind when examined by the sense of taste' (cf. p. 502). There is no doubt that, if this sense of *taste* were distinctly salient, then it might easily have induced the origin of the corresponding sense in the case of *eat* and *drink*. But, as already pointed out, the resultative class sense of *taste* had probably only a faint salience, and instead the intr. sense 'to have a taste of a specified or implied kind' was the predominant one (in the constructions under consideration), since the latter could, nay, should, be apprehended as a denominative new formation from the sb. *taste* in the sense of 'savour', 'sapidity' (cf. 503). It is evident that this fact reduces the likelihood of the explanation mentioned. But since a resultative class sense is no doubt distinguishable in the case of *taste*, though less so than in the case of *feel*, it is perhaps not impossible to assume that the resultative class function of *eat* and *drink* is due to influence from *taste*, an influence perhaps supported by the resultative class function of *feel*, another verb having bearing upon our senses. However, it is preferable to adopt the only other explanation that may be taken into consideration, i. e. influence from admit-class sentences oscillating towards the resultative class. As early as about 1600 this influence can scarcely have been exercised by verbs in general employed in this function, since at that time the admit-class construction had only an incipient fertility. The influence must have taken place in such a way that the same verb, i. e. *eat* or *drink*, was used in admit-class function oscillating towards a resultative class sense and that this use was analogically extended to such cases where an oscillation towards the admit-class was out of the question. In point of fact, in the case of one of our quotations it is possible to trace also an admit-class sense, viz. 1607 Being dressed they eat like Barbles (= prove to taste like b. when eaten; also = admit of being eaten like b. [with the same result as to sense-impression]). The only objection to this explanation that can be made is that in the case of the verbs *eat* and *drink* we have not come across other instances presenting the

oscillation mentioned and that the salience of the admit-class sense is not particularly conspicuous. But we may safely assume that when the adverbial extension is an adjunct of comparison (as in quot. 1607) such an oscillation mostly existed and that therefore, if we stick to our explanation, the resultative class function of these verbs must have started from constructions with this kind of adverbial extension. Our explanation is substantiated by the fact that the first part of the resultative class sense here oscillates towards the sense 'to prove *to be*', a sense characteristic of subcategory d, which has originated from admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense (see p. 554 seq.). Certain it is, however, that the resultative class function of *eat* and *drink* is due to one of the factors mentioned or else to both of them.

Let us turn to the resultative class function of *handle*: 1727 If they handle moist or clammy when you squeeze them they are fit to bag (= prove to feel moist or clammy when handled); 1847 The wheat . . soon handles cold and damp; 1881 If the balance is not the same, they will handle as if of different bends. In these examples the resultative class function, *i. e.* 'to prove to feel in a specified manner (= passive sense) or to have a feel of a specified kind (= intr. sense) when handled', does not oscillate towards an admit-class sense or to any other import involving a change in predication aspect. We may here, too, maintain that, when the adverbial extension is an adjunct of comparison the resultative class sense may oscillate (though faintly) towards an admit-class sense and that these cases have been the starting-point for the use of the verb in pure resultative class function. But this interpretation should not be adopted, if there is a better explanation. The date of the resultative class function of *handle* does not prevent us from assuming that this function may have been induced by verbs in general employed in a meaning oscillating between a resultative class sense and an admit-class sense. But, since the verb *feel* may be used in a sense distinctly oscillating towards a resultative class sense and since the first part of the latter sense is identical with that of the resultative class sense of *handle*, it is most likely that the resultative class function of *feel* has induced the same function in the case of *handle*. This explanation is the more probable, since in our quotations the verb *feel* may be substituted for *handle* without conveying any conspicuous deviation in sense.



Also in respect of *tread* its resultative class function does not in our quotations imply an oscillation towards another import: 1847 When the soil treads loose in the spring, it is very important to use the heavy roller, or some other means of consolidating the soil (= proves to feel or to be loose when trodden); 1891 When once the land 'treads' the horses are best in the furrow ('treads' is used elliptically for 'treads loose'); 1891 Land is said to tread when it puddles or poaches under the feet of the horses employed upon it (as to 'tread', cf. quot. 1891). The etymological explanation is here the same as in the case of *handle* or, if we so will, the resultative class function of *tread* has been induced by that of *handle*.

A non-oscillating resultative class sense is met with in the following instance of *smoke*, but only as far as the verb is qualified by the adverbial extension 'cool': 1910 Smith's Glasgow Mixture . . Always smokes evenly and cool (= proves to feel [or to be] cool when smoked; the complement 'evenly' requires the sense 'admits of being smoked evenly or proves to burn evenly when smoked'). If we so will, we may here employ the same explanations as in the case of *handle* and *tread* or else assume that these very verbs have induced the resultative class function of *smoke*. But the factors involved in these explanations should here rather be looked upon as contributory causes. For in the present case the verb has actually been recorded in an admit-class function oscillating towards a resultative class sense. The very quotation adduced is an example in point, since the complement 'evenly' requires the sense 'to admit of being smoked evenly or proves to burn evenly when smoked'. But, if so, it is evident that the construction 'to smoke cool' predicated of tobacco, where a resultative class sense only is salient, has been proximately conditioned by the use of the verb in admit-class sentences oscillating towards the resultative class. The co-ordination of the complements 'evenly' and 'cool' is incongruous not only from the point of view of oscillation towards the admit-class but also from the point of view of the import of the first part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove to burn evenly' and 'to prove to feel cool'. This co-ordination is of course due to analogical influence from ordinary ἀπό κοινοῦ constructions where the element in common (here = the predicate-verb) has the same import.

Thus in the case of instances of the present semological subcategory of the resultative class the etymological explanation is no uniform one, though in the majority of them the same etymological considerations are applicable. It should be noticed that

we have not been forced to assume that the sole operating factor has been inducing influence from verbs in general employed in an admit-class sense oscillating towards a resultative class sense.

b) The sense = to prove to *amount to* a specified number, etc., when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

Our earliest instance of this semological subcategory is as late as about 1800, *viz. tell*, c 1794 Our butter tells to fourteen pun! If there were a correlative trans. expression, *i. e.* 'to tell the butter to fourteen pounds', then it would be possible to trace also an admit-class sense in this quotation, and we would undoubtedly be concerned with a manifestation of the fertility of the admit-class. But such a trans. construction does (or did) not exist. But at that time, too, it was no doubt possible to say 'of butter or as to butter we can tell ([up] to) fourteen pounds'. In this sentence we meet with about the same linguistic material as in the quotation of c 1794. In fact the latter sentence may be looked upon as a conversion of the former. The expression 'of butter' or 'as to butter' should be looked upon as 'an adjunct of reference', *i. e.* an adjunct denoting the thing which the rest of the whole sentence has bearing upon. In other words, the real purpose of this non-converted sentence is to add a qualification to the adjunct of reference, *i. e.* 'of butter' or 'as to butter', *i. e.* 'our butter amounts to 14 pounds' is a synonymous sentence. This qualification is represented by the predicate of the sentence, *i. e.* 'can tell to fourteen pun'. It is on account of these facts that to instinctive linguistic sense it appears possible to dispense with the actual grammatical subject, *i. e.* 'we', and to let the predicate be directly predicated of the adjunct of reference, *i. e.* to form such a sentence as 'our butter can tell to fourteen pounds'. But this change of grammatical subject brings about a change at the same time in the import of the expression 'can tell', inasmuch as it oscillates towards the sense 'amounts to', a sense which of course is chiefly associated with the verb *tell*, which makes the use of the modal auxiliary superfluous. The salience of also a resultative class sense is of course due to the tendency on the part of the primary trans. sense to maintain itself in the converted construction. This explanation involves that our quotation should be apprehended as a predication of adverbial adjunct, *i. e.* that kind of such a predication which may be described as 'predication of adjunct of reference'. The explanation



mentioned is in our opinion a very plausible one. For the change of grammatical subject is here easily brought about on the one hand by the syntactically speaking independent or loose relation existing between the adjunct of reference and the rest of the non-converted sentence and on the other hand by the more intimate relation which from a predication point of view exists between this adjunct and the predicate of the sentence, since the principal object of the whole sentence undoubtedly is to add a qualification to the adjunct of reference. As to predications of adverbial adjunct, though of descriptions different from the present one, see Essay I, p. 90 seq.

The correctness of our explanation is in some measure at least substantiated by the fact that in the case of verbs denoting 'count' other languages, too, which otherwise are destitute of resultative class constructions, present the same constructive or, if we so will, semological change, *e. g.* Germ. 'Die Truppe zählte 10 Mann'. Swed. 'Truppen räknade 10 man'. For this shows that the cause of the change is connected, not with linguistic facts peculiar to the English language, but with facts also existing in other languages. And such are undoubtedly those on which the explanation given above has been based.

As to the following quotation of *tell*, it is no doubt a secondary formation as compared with the quotation of c 1794: 1825 Put it in the savings' bank, and it will tell up to something (= will prove to amount to something when counted). For it is here difficult to apprehend the sentence as a conversion of a particular non-converted sentence. It has, no doubt, been formed after the time when *tell* had already acquired the new sense, *i. e.* 'to amount to' or to 'prove to amount to when counted'.

A resultative class sense is in the following quotation presented by *count* II 1 c  $\beta$ : 1819 They counted thirty (= amounted to thirty or proved to amount to thirty when counted). The function of *count* is here exactly the same as that of *tell* as used in quot. c 1794, and the etymological explanation of this function is in both cases the same.

An equivalent resultative class sense is also presented by the verbs *muster*, *number*, and *reckon*, which are semologically closely allied to the verbs *tell* and *count*. As examples: *muster*, 1837 The whole garrison mustered but six or eight men (= amounted to . . or proved to amount to . . when mustered). 1907 Davout's corps . . defeated a force . . mustering nearly double its numbers; *number*, 1842

When The maiden blossoms of her teens Could number five from ten (= amounted to five from ten or proved to amount to five from ten when numbered). 1867 It would show not only that the Anglican Communion numbered so many Bishops; 1883 The crew and passengers numbered 33; *reckon*, 1877 He marched [them] into the camp before his own troop, which did not reckon nearly so many (= did not amount to nearly so many, also = did not prove to amount to nearly so many when reckoned).

As to the resultative class function of *reckon* we may adopt the same explanation as in the case of *tell* and *count* or, if we so will, this function of *reckon* has been induced by that of *count* (the resultative class function of *tell* is rare).

As to the resultative class function of *muster* and *number* it is preferable to adopt other modes of explanation. In the case of *muster* it is possible to assume not only that, when combined with a modal auxiliary such as *can*, the primary *trans.* sense may oscillate towards the *intr.* sense 'to amount to' or the resultative class sense 'to amount to when counted' but also that this oscillation may occur in sentences which do not (or at least need not) imply a conversion of non-converted sentences. The former assumption but not the latter is true in the case of *tell*, *count*, *reckon*, and *number*. We are still concerned with a *trans.* sense only, in such a sentence as 'the commander can muster six or eight men'. The same is the case, if we say, 'the enemy (the fortress, the force) can muster six or eight men', a sentence which presents a quite natural extension in the way of grammatical subject. Now, if the modal auxiliary is omitted, then we are concerned with the resultative class sense 'to prove to amount to when mustered' or else the *intr.* sense 'to amount to' (unless the fact of a muster actually taking place is meant to be expressed). An omission of *can* is not remarkable, if we remember that *can muster*, when predicated of subjects such as 'the enemy' (the fortress, the force), is equivalent to the resultative class sense or the *intr.* sense mentioned.

As to *number*, its resultative class function, is perhaps best explained as a denominative new formation from 'number', sb. *i. e.* 'to be in number', 'to amount to (when numbered)'. Cf. p. 308.

The verb *make up* in the sense of 'to make fat' is employed in a resultative class function in the following quotation: 1867 If they [fowls] have been 'sent along' with Indian corn (etc.) . . they will make up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier (= will prove to amount to or to be nearly 2 lbs. heavier when made up, *i. e.* fattened). In the present



case there exists a correlative trans. expression, *i. e.* 'to make up fowls to nearly two pounds heavier'. But, if so, we must also admit that in our quotation the corresponding passive sense is distinguishable, *i. e.* 'will be made up to nearly two pounds heavier'. In other words our quotation may be apprehended as a conversion of the corresponding trans. construction, consequently as a predication of direct object. The oscillation towards the resultative class sense is due to the nature of the adverbial extension. For the complement in the converted sentence denotes an adjunct of amount oscillating towards an adjunct of result. But a complement involving an adjunct of amount usually qualifies a predicate-verb involving 'to amount to'. Therefore instinctive linguistic sense tends to lend this import to the predicate-verb. But on the other hand the primary trans. sense naturally tends to maintain itself in the sentence. The struggle between these two conflicting tendencies results in a compromise, inasmuch as a resultative class sense originates, *i. e.* a sense whose former part contains the sense 'to amount to' but whose latter part contains the primary trans. sense, though in a converted function, *i. e.* 'when made up'. In fact, the same struggle is distinguishable in the corresponding trans. expression. If we say, 'this will make them up to nearly 2 lbs. heavier', we may distinguish not only the sense 'this will fatten them so as to become nearly two pounds heavier', but also a causal sense consisting of a trans. element, *i. e.* 'to cause to', and an intr. element, *i. e.* 'to amount to when fattened', *i. e.* the very resultative class sense which is met with in the corresponding converted sentence. The salience of the latter sense is due to the factors mentioned above. Now, if the whole trans. expression may be apprehended as causal, then the corresponding converted expression dressed in the active form may be explained as due to this very fact, *i. e.* as due to the operation of the causative law. There is no doubt that this explanation is the correct one, though the structure of the intr. element is here other than the ordinary one.

An equivalent instance is presented by *print up* in the following quotation: 1886 I wish there was space here to say more about all this; but the great book before me would print up into several volumes (= would prove to amount to several volumes when printed). Also in the present case there exists a correlative trans. expression, *i. e.* 'this would print up the book into several volumes'. Consequently we must admit that in our quotation also the sense

'to be printed up into several volumes' is distinguishable, a sense involving a predication of direct object. The oscillation of this sense towards the resultative class sense is due to the same causes as in the case of *make up*, i. e. in the first place to the nature of the adverbial extension which involves an adjunct of amount oscillating towards an adjunct of result, though — as is shown by the fact that the predicate-verb is combined with *up* — the former sense is the predominant one. In spite of the non-causal aspect of *print*, a causal sense is easily distinguishable in the whole corresponding trans. expression. In other words, the sentence 'this would print up the book into several volumes' is equivalent to 'this would cause the book to amount to several volumes when printed'. It is to this causal aspect of the correlative trans. expression that we should ascribe the use of the active form in the converted sentence in question. In other words, we are here, too, concerned with a manifestation of the causative law.

Thus also in the case of the present subcategory of the resultative class there is no uniform etymological explanation. It should also be noticed that the etymological interpretation is not bound up with such admit-class sentences as oscillate towards the resultative class.

c) The sense = to prove to *yield* or *weigh* a specified amount, etc., when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

Our earliest instance of this category belongs to the second half of the 19th century, viz. *shear*, 1854 The tegs . . shear a fleece varying from 5 to 7 lbs. (= prove to yield a fleece etc., when shorn). The same construction and the same resultative class sense are presented by *cut* and *clip*, the synonyms of *shear*: 1854 The Hampshiredowns . . cut a heavier fleece than the Southdowns; 1858 The half-breds cut less wool than the Shropshire Downs; 1879 There were . . sheep in the pen that would clip as much or more wool. It is evident that the resultative class function of these verbs has the same etymological interpretation. To begin with, it should be observed that in the case of all these instances there exists a corresponding non-converted construction where also the grammatical subject of the resultative class construction is represented, though in the form of an adverbial adjunct. In other words, we are allowed to form such sentences as 'you can *shear* a fleece varying from 5 to 7 lbs. *from* the tegs', 'you can *cut* a heavier fleece *from* the Hampshiredowns than from the Southdowns', 'you can *clip* as



much or more wool *from* the sheep in the pen', etc. Since these non-converted constructions are met with, we should consider the resultative class constructions mentioned as converted from these trans. constructions. In the latter constructions the relation between the substance represented by the grammatical object and the substance involved in the adverbial adjunct may be apprehended as a relation of co-existence. If so, the verbal action implied in the trans. phrase denotes that the latter substance is deprived of the former substance and that therefore the adverbial adjunct may be described as an adjunct of privation. If so, the corresponding resultative class sentence must be described as a predication of adjunct of privation. But, if we stick to this point of view, it seems to be impossible to account for the origin of this converted predication. However, the relation between the two substances in the trans. expression may also be apprehended in another way. The substance represented by the adverbial adjunct is in reality the generator, the source of the substance represented by the grammatical object. In this case the adverbial adjunct appears as an adjunct of provenience. This being so, the trans. phrase denotes that the grammatical subject obtains the substance indicated by the object (*i. e.* fleece, wool) from the substance indicated by the adverbial adjunct (*i. e.* the sheep), when the former is made the object of the verbal action (*i. e.* shorn, cut, clipped). From this point of view the resultative class function of the verbs *shear*, *cut*, *clip* involves a predication of adjunct of provenience. There is no doubt that to instinctive linguistic sense the adverbial adjunct of the trans. expression appears as an adjunct of provenience and not as an adjunct of privation. For, if made into the subject of the corresponding converted sentence, an adjunct of provenience must of course condition such a sense on the part of the whole predicate as gives salience to its function of representing the provenience of the substantival part of the whole predicate. Such a sense is actually represented by the resultative class sense 'to *yield* fleece (wool) when shorn (cut, clipped)', the only sense distinguishable. Moreover it is not impossible to understand the origin of an active predication of adjunct of provenience. It should be noticed that, though in the primary trans. construction, *e. g.* 'you can shear a fleece varying from 5 to 7 lbs. from the tegs', the grammatical subject is the actual performer of the verbal action, yet the result of this action, *i. e.* the fleece yielded, ap-

appears to instinctive linguistic sense as principally or at least as equally due to the adjunct of provenience. Now, if this idea predominates when we are on the point of forming a sentence from the linguistic material represented by the trans. construction, then the grammatical subject of this construction is dispensed with and the adverbial adjunct becomes the subject. The correctness of this explanation is in some measure at least substantiated by the fact that predications of causal adjuncts are often met with (cf. Essay I, p. 94). For there is a certain affinity between a causal adjunct and an adjunct of provenience.

The verb *kill* may be used in a resultative class function involving 'to prove to *weigh* a specified amount, etc., when killed': 1868 I saw the cow in the slaughter-house . . She killed 34 stones. In the present case there is no corresponding trans. construction. It would be impossible to understand the origin of this resultative class construction of *kill*, if we were ignorant of the resultative class function of *shear*, *cut*, and *clip*. For there is no doubt that our quotation has been formed on the pattern of such resultative class sentences as those just mentioned, where *shear*, *cut*, and *clip* imply 'to prove to yield . . when clipped', all the more as the import of *kill* here oscillates between 'to prove to *weigh* . . when killed' and 'to prove to *yield* . . when killed'.

An equivalent resultative class sense is presented by *dress* in the following quotation: 1895 The sheep . . should dress about 75 lbs. each (= should prove to weigh or to yield about 75 lbs. when dressed). Here also it is impossible to use a correlative trans. expression, i. e. we cannot say, 'you can dress 75 lbs. *from* each of these sheep' or the like. Here also we are concerned with associative influence from the resultative class function of *shear*, *cut*, *clip* and, if we so will, of *kill*. And in the present case, too, there is an oscillation between the sense 'to prove to weigh' and the sense 'to prove to yield'.

Lastly, we have to deal with a case where the first part of the resultative class sense involves 'to prove to *bring* a specified amount of money', a sense, however, which may be apprehended as oscillating towards the import 'to prove to *yield*'. This case is presented by *realize* as used in the following quotations: 1863 if the same pictures realised a hundred guineas each (= proved to bring or yield a h. g. e. when realized or were actually realized at a h. g. e.); 1885 His duty was to see that the property realised its full value. In these two quotations we are face to face with an oscillation be-



tween the resultative class and a predication of direct object with temporal tense-aspect (= cat. E). This oscillation involves that there are correlative trans. expressions, *i. e.* we can use such sentences as 'you can realize the same pictures *at* a hundred guineas each', 'he realized the property *at* its full value'. In the converted sentences the adjunct of amount or price has changed its morphological aspect. This change should be apprehended as a conformation to the morphological aspect required by the first part of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove to bring or yield'. But, if so, we should take this fact as a criterion that a resultative class sense was actually meant to be expressed. The use of *realize* in the present case should undoubtedly be apprehended as an extension from its use in an admit-class sense oscillating towards a resultative class sense (cf. p. 525—6, 492).

Thus we find that in respect of etymological interpretation the present semological subcategory presents a uniform aspect, inasmuch as the resultative class function of the verbs should be apprehended either as predications of adjunct of provenience or else as having been formed on the pattern of such predications. The only exception is presented by *realize* whose resultative class function is due to its use in admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense. But — as already pointed out — the semological aspect of the first part of its resultative class sense is not entirely on a par with that of the rest of the verbs. This instance might therefore have been assigned to another semological subcategory, *i. e.* cat. e, whose characterization, however, must then be changed so as to obtain a wider range.

d) 'The sense = to prove to *be* (or *become*) such as is implied in the complement when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

An instance of this semological subcategory is met with as early as the beginning of the 17th century, *viz.* *touch* 3, 1618 And now, you are brought to th' test; touch right now, soldier. Now shew the manly pureness of thy mettle (= prove to be right when touched). This resultative class function of *touch*, here occurring in the imperative mood, has no connexion with its resultative class function involving 'to prove to *feel* in a specified manner when touched', as is also suggested by the chronology of the latter (cf. p. 543). In the former case the trans. sense constituting the starting-point for the resultative class function of *touch* is 'to test the

fineness of (gold, etc.) by rubbing it upon a touchstone', fig. 'to test', 'to try', in the latter case it is 'to put the hand or finger, etc., upon, or into contact with (something) so as to feel it'. Nor is the etymological interpretation the same. We have seen that in the latter case the resultative class function of *touch* is due to associative influence from *feel* whose resultative class function in its turn is due to influence from the verbs *taste* and *smell* (cf. p. 542). Again in the present case we are undoubtedly concerned with an extension from the use of the verb in an admit-class function oscillating towards a resultative class sense. In fact such an oscillation is more or less distinguishable in the following quotations, which therefore might have been assigned to the admit-class: 1701 His honesty is right sterling, and touches as well as it looks (= proves to be as good as it looks when touched; also, though faintly = admits of being touched as well as it looks, *i. e.* with as favourable a result as is indicated by its appearance). 1705 These Lumps or Pieces are called Mountain-Gold, which being melted, touch better than Dust-Gold (= prove to be better than dust-gold when touched, *i. e.* tested, or admit better than dust-gold of being touched [with a favourable result]). The late date of these quotations is of no moment, since already at the beginning of the 17th century admit-class constructions of this type had acquired an incipient fertility. Therefore we may unhesitatingly stick to our explanation, which involves that the quotation 1618 is actually a proof of the use of *touch* in oscillating admit-class sentences already at the beginning of the 17th century.

Another instance of the present subcategory is presented by *eat* as used in the following quotation: 1766 If the cakes at tea ate short and crisp they were made by Olivia (= proved to be short and crisp when eaten). It is evident that we are here concerned with the same function of *eat* as in those quotations where the resultative class function has been described as implying 'to prove to *taste* in a specified manner when eaten'. For the first part of this sense actually oscillates towards the import 'to prove to *be* such as is implied in the complement, whereas in the present quotation the nature of the complement is such as to preclude the salience of the sense 'to prove to have a specified taste (when eaten)'. Cf. p. 543—4.

The use of the verb *ride* in the following quotation may be assigned to the present subcategory: 1805 Can you get me a nag That will ride very quiet (= will prove to be very quiet when ridden)? True, this resultative class sentence has on the whole the form of



an admit-class sentence of the *will*-type, and in fact an admit-class sense is perhaps also distinguishable, *i. e.* 'admits of being ridden *quietly*'. But the salience of this admit-class sense is highly counterbalanced by the use of the complement in the adjectival form. For, since the use of *quiet* as an adverb is now obsolete and has always been very rare (one example from 1573 in NED), it is evident that in our quotation the use of the adjectival form has been conditioned by the resultative class sense 'to prove to be *quiet* when ridden' and that this fact may therefore be taken as a criterion that such a sense was meant to be expressed (cf. p. 440). But on the other hand it is also evident that this resultative class construction has developed from admit-class constructions with an adverb as the adverbial extension, a construction which oscillated towards the resultative class, *e. g.* 1598 The horse whose back the tamer oft bestrides, At length with easie pace full *gently rides* (= admits of being ridden gently or proves to be gentle or to go gently when ridden) 1692 A Chestnut Gelding . . rideth gracefully, paceth a little. As a matter of fact, in the very quotation in question (*i. e.* quot. 1805) we may exchange the adjective *quiet* for the adverb *quietly*, but we are then concerned with an oscillation between the admit-class and the resultative class (cf. p. 440).

An equivalent example is presented by *read* II 2 in the following quotation: 1828 Nothing can read more free and easy than his present translation (= can prove to be more free and easy than h. p. t. when read). Here, too, the use of the adjectival form should be apprehended as a criterion that a resultative class sense was meant to be expressed (cf. p. 440). And here, too, it is possible to use the corresponding adverbs, and with the same result as in the case of *ride*, *i. e.* the sentence oscillates then between an admit-class sense and a resultative class sense. This latter fact shows that in the quotation 1828 the resultative class function has proximately developed from the use of the verb in such admit-class sentences with an adverb as the adverbial extension as oscillated towards the resultative class and that the use of the adjectival form should be apprehended as a morphological conformation to what is required by the resultative class sense (cf. p. 440). The use of the modal auxiliary *can* need not suggest that our sentence has developed from the *can*-type of the admit-class. For resultative class sentences are of course no more than other sentences destitute of various shades of modality. There is no doubt that also in quotations such as the following we are

face to face with an extension from the use of *read* in admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense: 1863 There are lives that read like one long sorrow (= prove to be like one long sorrow when read); 1878 The joke does not read to us like a very good one (= does not prove to us to be like a very good one when read). In these examples the context is such as to preclude the salience of an admit-class sense. This is especially true of the quotation 1878 where the addition of the complement 'to us' may be apprehended as qualifying, or, if we so will, as having been conditioned by, the first element of the resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove'. But that we are here in the presence of only an extension from the use of *read* in oscillating admit-class sentences is shown by examples such as the following where, as in the quotations mentioned, the complement is an adjunct of comparison but where an oscillation between the admit-class and the resultative class is clearly distinguishable: 1805 This Pamphlet is so pious as to read more like a sermon than a political address (= admit of being read more like a sermon than a political address or prove to be more like a s. than a p. a. when read). We have previously pointed out (cf. p. 533—4) that the reflexive form of *read* met with in the following resultative class sentence (cf. above, quot. 1878) should be apprehended as due to influence from foreign languages: 1865 CARLYLE *Fredk Gt* XIV, vii (1870), V 239 The small riddle reads itself to him so (= proves to him to be so when read). This is evident not only from the fact that we have not come across other instances of this type, but also from the fact that, in the case of a reflexive interpretation of the origin of the admit-class or the resultative class constructions of the present type, the very omission of the reflexive pronoun would be unaccountable.

A resultative class sense is presented by *count* II 1 a in the following quotation: 1845 An unimpeachable verse, for it counts right (= proves to be right when counted). The trans. sense of *count* which is here employed in a resultative class function is 'to tell over one by one'. We have seen that in the case of this verb, two other trans. senses are in the active form employed in an intemporal class function, *viz.* 1) to include in the reckoning, 2) to consider (a thing) to be so and so (cf. p. 519), and we have explained this use as an extension from the use of the verb in admit-class function or else as due to the fact that the sense 'to consider (a thing) to be so and so' presents a parallel to causal verbs (cf. p. 520 seq.). We have also seen that *count* may be used in the resultative class sense described as 'to prove to *amount*



to a specified number, etc., when counted' and that this use should be ascribed to the purpose of forming a predication of adjunct of reference (cf. p. 547—8). Again in the present case it is evident that our quotation has been formed on the pattern of admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense or rather that it actually is such a sentence, since a faint oscillation towards an admit-class sense seems to be distinguishable, *i. e.* 'admits of being counted right'.

The same explanation is also true of *rear* as used in the following quotation where the predicate is by the NED interpreted as 'have turned out well in course of or after rearing': 1894 In the counties mentioned pheasants have reared well. This sentence has such a morphological structure as is very common in the case of that type of admit-class sentences which is destitute of a modal auxiliary, and in fact a faint oscillation towards an admit-class sense is no doubt distinguishable. The predominance of the resultative class sense is here due to the fact that the predicate-verb is used in a past tense emphasizing the result of the verbal action.

The explanation of the present semological subcategory of the resultative class presents a uniform aspect. For all our instances have no doubt originated from admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense. We have seen that this origination has taken place in such a way that an admit-class sense may have been meant to be expressed, though, owing to the context, such a sense is only faintly traceable (*touch* 1701, 1705, *count*, *rear*), or else in such a way that a resultative class sense only was meant to be expressed, a sense, however, which either faintly oscillates towards an admit-class sense (*ride* 1805, *read* 1828) or else is the only sense distinguishable (*touch* 1618, *eat* 1766, *read* 1863, 1878). But also in the latter case the use of the verb has started from its use in admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense.

e) The sense = to prove to *have* a specified quality (or to *act* in a specified manner) when being (having been) made the object of a specified action.

The earliest instance of this category is presented by *eat* as used in the following quotation: 1682 A Chine of this Beef . . Eat with a savour like Marrow (= proves to have a savour l. m. when eaten). The nature of the complement is here such as to require on the

part of the predicate-verb the sense implied in the present semological subcategory. But it is evident that the resultative class function of *eat* with this complement is only an extension from its use in resultative class function with other complements, all the more as we may in the present case also distinguish the sense 'to prove to *taste* with a savour like marrow when eaten'. Cf. p. 543—4 and 554—5.

An equivalent explanation should be given in the case of *ride* as used in the following quotation: 1714 Commonly Rides with her Tongue out of her Mouth (= proves to usually have, or to go with, her tongue out of her mouth when ridden). Here, too, we are concerned with an extension from the use of the verb in resultative class function (cf. subcat. d) or, if we so will, in admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense.

Let us turn to the resultative class sense presented by *open* (II 4 β) as used in the following quotations: 1760—72 A door that opened into a garden: and . . . another door that opened to the street (= proved to give admission to a garden, to the street). 1855 The rooms have an outer door opening on to a common staircase (= to prove to face on to a c. s. or to give admission to a c. s. when opened). We cannot here be concerned with a conversion of such trans. constructions as 'to open a door to a garden, to the street'. For in the latter constructions the complements 'to a garden', 'to the street', have the function of a prepositional attribute, consequently a less independent function than is presented by them in the resultative class function. Such a discrepancy may perhaps occur, but only in the case of admit-class sentences whether they oscillate towards a resultative class sense or not. But in our quotations an admit-class sense, *i. e.* 'admits of being opened into', is scarcely distinguishable. An explanation of the resultative class function of *open* should start from the fact that ever since OE. times the verb may in the active form be used in a reflexive sense mostly oscillating towards a passive and an intr. import (see p. 251). Now we mean that in this form and this sense the verb may be used in such a context that it oscillates towards the sense 'to have its opening or passage (in)to, its outlet towards', 'to give access to' or else 'to face on to'. Such instances are presented by the following quotations: 1615 BEDWELL *Arab. Trudg.* Mj. Babe'lmandeb, . . . is the mouth of the Arabian gulfe (*i. e.* Red Sea), by which it *openeth* and *falleth into* the Red sea (*i. e.* Indian Ocean) (= opens itself [fig.] into or is opened into or is open to [= has its opening or outlet into or even gives access to]). 1722 DE FOE *Plague* (1884) 171 The back



Road . . opened into the said great Road (= opened itself [fig.] into or is opened into or is open to = has its opening into or gives access to). But the sense 'to have its opening or passage into', 'to give access to', or, if we so will, the sense 'to open itself', 'to be open to' easily oscillates towards the import 'to face (on) to', 'to give upon', *e. g.* 1697 DRYDEN *Virg. Georg.* III 472 A Cote that openes to the South prepare (= a cot or shed that is open to, has its opening to = faces (on) to). 1839 YEOWELL *Anc. Brit. Ch.* xii. 140 A valley opening to the sea shore (= opening itself, being open to = facing [on] to). From these and similar sentences the use of *open* in the senses 'to give access to', 'to face on to' has been extended to other sentences where the subject is such as to preclude the salience of the original senses 'to open itself', 'to be open to', which oscillated towards the former senses. Such sentences are presented by our quotations of *open* as used in a resultative class sense. In other words, we must in them recognize the salience of also an intr. sense only, *i. e.* 'to give access to' or 'to face on to'. That these senses strongly oscillate towards a resultative class sense, *i. e.* 'to prove to give access to when opened', 'to prove to face on to when opened', is due to the nature of the grammatical subject (*i. e.* *door*). This nature is such as not to permit the predicate-verb to have the reflexive sense 'to open itself' or the intr. sense 'to become open or to make the movement involved in opening'. Instead it suggests the sense 'to be opened'. But this sense can here become salient only in a subordinate clause added to the intr. senses 'to give access to', 'to face on to', *i. e.* 'when opened'. Again the cause of the possibility of making such an addition when interpreting the predicate, should be ascribed to the predominance of the primary trans. meaning. For when the verb is used in the active form, this sense, if possible, always tries to maintain itself. In the present case this can only be done in such a way that the trans. sense is taken passively and appears in a subordinate clause added to the intr. senses mentioned.

The verbs *row* and *pull*, when predicated of boats, present a resultative class sense in quotations such as the following: 1769 Pin-naces . . are somewhat smaller, and never row more than eight oars (= never prove to employ or to have more than *e. o.* when rowed = carry; also = row with . .). 1854 I purchased . . a light little yawl . . that rowed four oars. — 1804 She should be fitted so as to pull thirty eight sweeps and two skulls. 1829 She pulls six oars. MARRYAT, She [a galley] pulled fifty oars. These sentences may also be dressed in the passive form but with a change of the morphological aspect of the

adverbial extension, *i. e.* we may form such sentences as 'pin-naces are never rowed *with* more than eight oars', etc. This fact involves that there actually exist corresponding trans. constructions where the adverbial extension is dressed in casus præpositionalis, *i. e.* 'to row or pull (a boat) *with* so and so many oars'. Our present instances of the resultative class may therefore also be apprehended as predication of direct object, which involves that the complements, though dressed in casus rectus, are regarded as instrumental adjuncts. But since the verbal sense has intemporal tense-aspect, they should ultimately be described as specimens of the intemporal class of prædicatio objecti & attributionis, yet oscillating towards a resultative class sense. This description would undoubtedly have been the only correct one, if in our examples the complements had been dressed in the form of casus præpositionalis. But the omission of the preposition suggests a different semological interpretation. This omission was undoubtedly due to the salience of the resultative class sense whose first part had such an import (*i. e.* 'to prove to employ or to have') as required a direct object as complement. In other words, we are here concerned with a case when the morphological aspect of the adverbial adjunct as used in the trans. construction has in the corresponding converted construction been conformed to what is required by the oscillating resultative class sense (cf. p. 426). But this very conformation may be taken as a criterion that in our quotations a resultative class sense was actually meant to be expressed and that therefore, if we so will, we need not recognize the salience of also an intemporal class sense. The employment of *row* and *pull* in resultative class function (proximately with the complement in the form of casus præpositionalis) is in reality only a natural extension from its use in such sentences as the following: c 1375 As fysche wald he dwel in þe flud, & our tyrwit batis, þat rowyt þare (cf. p. 213). The latter function oscillating between a passive sense and an intr. sense denoting action has already been explained when we dealt with cat. C (cf. p. 362).

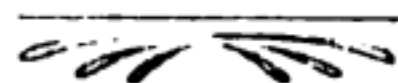
Lastly, we have still to consider the resultative class function of *mesh* as met with in the following quotation: 1827 In the summer fishery the herrings always mesh with their heads to the north (= prove to have their heads turned to the north when meshed or go in the meshes with their heads turned to the north). This oscillation between a resultative class sense and an intr. sense suggests the



etymological explanation of the construction. For the salience of the intr. sense is due to the possibility of apprehending it as a denominative new formation from the subst. *mesh*. Again the salience of also a resultative class sense is due to the predominance of the primary trans. meaning. Therefore we may safely assume that the resultative class function of *mesh* should ultimately be looked upon as a denominative new formation.

As shown above the present subcategory is a very heterogeneous one as to its etymological explanation.

In the case of the whole resultative class we have found that it has sprung from very different sources. Thus among other things we have seen that resultative class sentences should sometimes be described as predications of adjunct of reference or of adjunct of provenience, *i. e.* as predications of adverbial adjunct. But from a descriptive point of view they may also be looked upon as predications of direct object, yet such as are bound up with connotations making the verbal import, the whole predicate stand out as a more or less characteristic quality of the grammatical subject (here = specimens of the resultative class). For the nature of the grammatical subject is such that it can be the object but not the performer of the verbal action represented by the correlative trans. sense of the predicate-verb. Moreover we have seen that as a source of pure resultative class sentences, admit-class sentences oscillating towards a resultative class sense have played an important part. This influence has taken place in such a way that the verb has first been actually employed in an admit-class function oscillating towards a resultative class function and subsequently used in sentences which exclusively or predominantly present a resultative class sense. In no case have we been forced to assume that the operating factor has been a collective influence from verbs in general employed in such oscillating admit-class sentences.



RIMMEN

HOS

VIKTOR RYDBERG

AV

**VICTOR SVANBERG.**



UPPSALA

EDV. BERLINGS BOKTRYCKERI  
1918.



**Uppsats för Nordiska proseminariet vårterminen 1916.**

Oklanderligt byggda verser och tadelfria rim göra ej versifikatören till skald. Och hos verkliga diktare vilja vi känna, att formens skönhet troget speglar stämningens eller tankens. I rimmet, som ju är en av den moderna versens mest framträdande prydnader, stöta väl mest bristfällig samklang och liknande fall av »rimnöd». Vidare värdesätta vi rimmen efter deras friskhet: leder av grånade veteraner i rimsmidarens tjänst sådana som *är* och *mig* föra vi ej upp på diktarnas meritlista. Å andra sidan kunna rimmen bli *alltför* originella och inge den misstanken, att skalden och verskonstnären gått var sin väg. Särskilt i lyriska dikter äro de fyndigaste rimmen icke alltid de mästerligaste. De äro en detalj i versen och skola som sådan först och främst harmoniera med den byggnad, vari de ingå.

Viktor Rydbergs poetiska stil opererar med ett jämförelsevis begränsat ordförråd. Givetvis sammanhänger detta med hans puristiska språksträvanden men torde till stor del kunna förklaras ur hans diktnings grunddrag. Han hade ej många strängar på sin lyra. Reflexionspoesi med nyanseringar ut i natursymbolik och abstrakt livsskildring utgör — med några få undantag — hans repertoar. Vidare visa de enskilda dikterna sällan eller aldrig några kastningar i stämningen.

Rydberg var emellertid så till vida språkkonstnär, som han ville och kunde forma det språkmateriel, han godkände som svenskt, till ett fint uttryck för tanke och känsla. Tillämpat på hans diktning betyder detta, att dess enkelhet — den må sedan kallas »plastik» eller enformighet — också kommer till synes i hans verskonsts detaljer, icke minst i rimmet.

Med det sagda vill jag ingalunda påstå, att Rydbergs rim ur betydelsens synpunkt genomgående äro svaga eller fattiga. Våra skalder finna ofta friska rim i egennamn och ovanliga lånord. En och annan gång, när det kan tjäna hans syftemål, anlitar Rydberg denna utväg, och med god verkan. När t. ex. i »Prometeus och Ahasverus» den senare skildrar »allas strid mot alla» och vill be-



visa dess allmängiltighet med exempel ur sin rika erfarenhet, speglas detta fågelperspektiv över tid och rum i följande rim inom 20 versrader: *Myosot, pyramider, Panteon, gepider, karavan, indian, humarang*. Därtill strax förut: *polyper*. Rimordet *caliga* i samma dikt är såsom teknisk term motiverat i Ahasverus' mun. Det är emellertid ett slående exempel på, hur fort ett friskt och fyndigt rim kan bli onjutbart: numera måste en stor del av vår bildade — men inte klassiskt bildade — allmänhet räkna ut nämnda ords betydelse ur sammanhanget.

Rydbergs tolkning av Goethes Faust anses allmänt vara en verklig översättarbragd. Om och i vad mån denna bragd sträcker sig till rimmen, kan nedanstående förteckning utvisa, först då något material till jämförelse föreligger.<sup>1</sup> En väsentlig skillnad mellan originalet och översättningen är den, att Goethes många orena rim *ej* åga motsvarighet i Rydbergs tolkning. Warburg framhåller detta som ett företräde hos den senare, något som det torde vara djärvt att kategoriskt påstå, då ju traditionens makt utplånat eller avsevärt försvagat karaktären av fel hos ifrågavarande art av »licentia poetica» i den tyska poesien. Rydbergs Faust har i stället fler slitna och svaga rimord. Detta är för övrigt en nästan oundviklig följd av det tvång, en översättning med rim medför.

Det är onekligen frappant, att rimformernas frekvens i medeltal är endast obetydligt mindre i Rydbergs Dikter än i Faust. Förklaringen ligger otvivelaktigt däri, att Goethes dikt omspanner ett betydligt större område av livet och därmed av språkets ordförråd, än Rydbergs skaldskap gör. Därigenom uppvägas i statistiken de ständigt återkommande, svaga rimord, som finnas i långt större utsträckning i översättningen än i originaldikterna.

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<sup>1</sup> En undersökning av rimmen i Strandbergs Byronöversättningar vore t. ex. intressant.

## Åberopad litteratur.

- N. Beckman*: Grunddragen av den svenska versläran. Andra upplagan.  
*T. Bergh*: Rimmen hos Heidenstam. Meddelanden från Nordiska seminariet 5.  
*N. Gobom*: Rimmen hos Karlfeldt. Meddelanden från Nordiska seminariet 2.  
*I. A. Lyttkens och F. A. Wulff*: Svensk uttalsordbok (Cit. L. W. 1889).  
—— Svensk ordlista med uttalsbeteckning (Cit. L. W. 1911).  
*J. Mjöberg*: Stilstudier i Tegnér's ungdomsdiktning.  
*A. Noreen*: Vårt språk I.  
*B. Risberg*: Den svenska versens teori.  
*H. Söderbergh*: Rimstudier på basis av rimmets användning hos moderna svenska skaldar. Från Filolog. föreningen i Lund 1897.
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## Förteckning över rimorden.

### Innehåll och uppställning.

Uppsatsen avser att omfatta Rydbergs hela rimförråd och ge fullständiga hänvisningar till rimmens förekomstställen, där de lättast äro tillgängliga — däremot inte att direkt belysa hans rimkonsts utveckling. Det har därför varit lämpligast att använda de av K. Warburg utgivna:

*Skrifter av Viktor Rydberg.*

Hänvisningarna följa ordningen i dessa:

- I. *Dikter.*
- II. *Faust och Fauststudier.*
- III. *De vandrande Djäknarna.* (och Singoalla).
- IV. *Fribytaren på Östersjön.*
- V. *Den siste athenaren.* Första boken.
- VII. *Vapensmeden.*
- IX. *Romerska kejsare i marmor.*

Rimord, som endast förekomma i:

*Utgifvarens tillägg och anmärkningar till I.*

och i:

*Bilder ur Goethes Faust i II*

ha i förteckningen införts med hänvisningen till sidan inom parentes. Med denna beteckning har jag velat skilja ifrågavarande rim från dem, vilka ingå i dikterna, sådana Rydberg upptagit dem i sina båda sista diktsamlingar, eller i den slutgiltiga Faustöversättningen. Däremot har sådan beteckning ansetts onödig för de rimord, som upptagits från:

*Viktor Rydberg. En lefnadsteckning af Karl Warburg.* Sthlm 1900. [Förre delen i hänvisningar *S I = Supplement I.* Senare delen: *S II = Supplement II.*]

De äro hämtade ur under skaldens livstid utgivna eller under hans tidigare år publicerade, sedan kasserade eller omarbetade dikter.

Endast för några få rimord har jag behövt gå tillbaka till originalupplagor, nämligen, enligt anvisning i Anmärkningar till II:

*Faust. Sorgespel av Goethe öfversatt af Viktor Rydberg.* Sthlm 1876. [I hänvisning F.]

*Ny illustrerad tidning 1867* där *Bilder ur Faust* (I hänvisn. N. I. T.) finnas införda.

Slutligen till:

*Flora, Toilett-kalender för 1864*, med dikter av Rydberg under titeln: *Strandvrak. Några spillror hopplockade av Robinson Crusoe* (I hänvisn. Fl.)

Hänvisning till rim i översättningar, utom Fausttolkningen och dess förstudier, har kursiverats.

Asterisk (t. ex. I: 173\*) anger inrim, som ej ingår i rim-schemat.

I förteckningen ha ej medtagits stående rimförbindelser, t. ex. ur och skur, rätt och slätt, sus och dus.

Då jag ej kunnat komma åt Rydbergs stavning — Warburgs utgåvor äro i detta avseende otillfredsställande — har jag ansett det konsekventast att genomföra den officiella ortografien. Missvisande vad skaldens uttal angår torde den endast vara i ett fall: *tjäna* rimmar blott med e och har väl av Rydberg uttalats med detta ljud. I Faustöversättningens andra upplaga, 1878, har jag funnit motsvarande stavning. I åtskilliga juxta-positioner skrev Rydberg av princip<sup>1</sup> lederna åtskilda, mot det vedertagna bruket. Jag har uppfört dessa ord efter deras vanliga stavning men därjämte upptagit Rydbergs.

Indelningen av rimorden, efter rimvokalens a) kvalitet, b) kvantitet, och deras uppställning inom rimklasserna, i regressiv bokstavsordning från rimvokalen räknat, är densamma som Goboms<sup>2</sup> med ändringar, som T. Bergh genomfört.<sup>3</sup> Från Berghs skiljer sig min uppställning blott däri, att jag inte sammanfört en-, två- och trestaviga rim till underavdelningar i grupperingen efter vokaler. Indelningen och den fonetiska beteckningen äro gjorda uteslutande ur överskådlighetens synpunkt och därför tämligen grova. Så har det enda rimparet med *ø* som vokal i båda leden, *hattarne ~ venerabile*, förts till e-gruppen. I rimklassernas överskrifter anges

<sup>1</sup> Se Saml. Skr. XIII sid. 367, i uppsatsen Tysk eller nordisk svenska? först pulicerad i Svensk tidskrift 1873.

<sup>2</sup> Anf. arb. sid. 6 f.

<sup>3</sup> Anf. arb. sid. 5 f.



rimvokalens kvalitet men ej stavelsens kvantitetsförhållanden; de efterföljande ljuden betecknas — utom i några få fall — med den stavning, som de i rimklassen ingående orden eller flertalet av dem ha.

De upplysningar, som lämnas om en del rimord, angivande ordklass m. m., skilja fullständigt endast homonymer, som förekomma i rimlistan och ej ha olika stavning. För homonymer, av vilka blott en förekommer i förteckningen, och särskilt beträffande homonyma böjningsformer är distinktionen kanske något godtyckligt genomförd. Jag hoppas emellertid, att de flesta möjligheter till missförstånd skola vara undanröjda.

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## Slutet A.

*a*

ha. . . . . II: 94 1  
bra . . . . . 1

*ad*

bad (s.) I: 17; 20; 140; 212; (298) 5  
kaskad . . . . . I: 79 1  
blad I: 20; 22; 80; 79; 285; (298) 6  
stamboksblad . . . . . II: 96 1  
glad . . . . . I: 80 1  
gosseglad . . . . . I: 140 1  
kolonnad . . . . . I: 212 1  
rad . . . . . I: 24; II: 96; 197; 213 4  
grad . . . . . I: 212; 212 2  
tempelpelarrad . . . . . I: 140 1  
stad . . . . . I: 17; 22; 24; II: 197 4  
vad (pron.) . . . . . I: 285; II: 213 2

*ade*

hade I: 56; II: 40; 106; S II: 322 4  
lade . . . . . I: 56; II: 40 2  
sade . . . . . I: 56; 106; S II: 322 8

*adel*

adel . . . . . II: 125 1  
tadel . . . . . 1

*adeln*

adeln . . . . . II: 245 1  
sadeln . . . . . 1

*aden*

ha den . . . . . II: 160 1  
bladen . . . . . I: 108 1  
kolonnaden . . . . . I: 213 1  
raden . . . . . I: 213; II: 11 2  
paraden . . . . . II: 10 1  
maskraden . . . . . II: 10 1  
staden . . . . . I: 108; II: 11; 160 8

*ader*

arkader . . . . . I: 108; 181 2  
kolonnader . . . . . I: 147; 212 2  
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solskensdagen . . . . .	S II: 688	1	skakande (s.) . . . . .	I: 219	1
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bedragen . . . . .	II: 68	1	brakar . . . . .	I: 149; IV: 441	1
penseldragen . . . . .	S II: 688	2	försakar . . . . .	I: 137	1
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<i>akna</i>			salen . . . . .	I: 197	1
sakna . . . . .	I: 112	1	ättarsalen . . . . .	II: 139	1
vakna . . . . .		1	talen (s.) . . . . .	II: 66	1
<i>al</i>			kvalen . . . . .	I: 113	1
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bal . . . . .	I: 210	1	cymbaler . . . . .	I: 223	1
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skal . . . . .	I: 40; II: 241	2	caliga . . . . .	I: 128	1
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smal . . . . .	II: 37	1	lam . . . . .	II: 195	1
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riddaresal . . . . .	I: 78	1	tam . . . . .	II: 196	1
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pelarsal . . . . .	I: 209	1	Gautama . . . . .		1
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portal . . . . .	I: 17	1	lekamen . . . . .		1
upprorstal . . . . .	I: 131	1	<i>an</i>		
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<i>alar</i>			orkan . . . . .	I: 93; 99	2
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talar . . . . .	I: 126; 189	2	talisman . . . . .	I: 212	1
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bana (v.) . . . . .	I: 8	1	drar . . . . .	II: 177	1
fana . . . . .	I: 8	1	honorar . . . . .	II: 10	1
mana . . . . .	II: 78	1	var (v.) I: 21; 73; II: 12; 59; 130;		
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<i>anad</i>			var (ind. pron.) II: 34; S I: 477	2	
banad . . . . .	II: 97	1	var (adv.) . . . . .	II: 28	1
danad . . . . .		1	envar . . . . .	II: 217	1
<i>anar</i>			kvar I: 112; II: 5; 12; 42; 77; 130;		
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danar . . . . .	II: 75	1	svar I: 51; 70; II: 84; 99; 168	5	
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efterspanat . . . . .	I: 218	1	181; 213; 265; 275	21	
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avgrundsgap . . . . .	II: 88	1	förfara . . . . .	II: 163	1
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djävulskap . . . . .	II: 62	1	71; 72; 87; 212; 241; S I: 143	17	
vetenskap . . . . .	II: 88	1	änglaskara . . . . .	II: 236	1
<i>ar</i>			mänsskoskara . . . . .	IV: 439	1
bar (v.) . . . . .	II: 12	1	klara (adj.) II: 71; 72; 190; 241	4	
uppenbar . . . . .	II: 12	1	förklara I: 253; II: 27; 37; 53; 87;		
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far (s.) . . . . .	I: 27; II: 53; 93; 258	4	snara . . . . .	II: 57	1
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99; 130; 130; 168; 188	17		vara (n.) . . . . .	S I: 143	1
			vara (v.) I: 58; 103; 131; 132; 133;		
			111; 189; 249; II: 13; 19;		
			22; 37; 39; 57; 62; 75; 90;		
			91; 94; 103; 111; 135; 147;		
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snaran . . . . .		1	kvarn . . . . .	I: 217; II: 218; 233	3
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förvarat . . . . .	II: 84	1	farna . . . . .	I: 86	1
<i>arda</i>			klarna . . . . .		1
varda . . . . .	II: 235	1	<i>arnen</i>		
överantvarda . . . . .		1	barnen . . . . .	I: 209; 220	2
<i>ar den</i>			trålabarnen . . . . .	I: 208; 209	2
har den . . . . .	II: 128	1	kvarnen . . . . .	I: 209; 220	2
var den . . . . .		1	Grottekvarnen . . . . .	I: 208	1
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har det . . . . .	I: 225	1	barnet . . . . .	II: 132	1
tar det . . . . .		1	garnet . . . . .		1
<i>arelse</i>			<i>art</i>		
uppenbarelse . . . . .	I: 21; 250	2	art . . . . .	II: 165	1
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rådstalaren (: talar) . . . . .		1	klart . . . . .	I: 182	1
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klarligt . . . . .	II: 47	1	<i>as</i>		
varligt . . . . .	II: 95	1	as . . . . .	II: 123	1
<i>arn</i>			glas . . . . .	II: 108; 119; 123	3
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trålabarn . . . . .	I: 217	1	grace . . . . .	II: 108	1
flickebarn . . . . .	II: 184	1	kras . . . . .	II: 120	1
älsklingsbarn . . . . .	II: 41	1	<i>asa</i>		
			fasa (s.) . . . . .	II: 172	1
			trasa (s.) . . . . .		1
			<i>asor</i>		
			fasor . . . . .	I: 223	1
			trasor . . . . .		1



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soldat . . . . .	II: 160	1	
fat . . . . .	II: 114	1	
hat . . . . .	II: 80	1	
mat . . . . .	II: 114; 160	2	
prat . . . . .	II: 80	1	
ackurat . . . . .	II: 160	1	
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prater . . . . .		1	
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utav . . . . .	II: 37	1	
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trava . . . . .	S I: 478	1	
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gravar . . . . .	I: 138	1	
jättegravar . . . . .	I: 138	1	
fogdestavar . . . . .	I: 220	1	
herdestavar . . . . .	I: 212	1	
<i>av dem</i>			
av dem . . . . .	II: 228	1	
gav dem . . . . .		1	
<i>av dig</i>			
av dig . . . . .	II: 163	1	
gav dig . . . . .		1	
<i>avel</i>			
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<i>aven</i>			
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begravet . . . . .		1	
<i>avlar</i>			
gavlar . . . . .	II: 48	1	
kravlar . . . . .		1	
<b>Öppet A.</b>			
<i>ader</i>			
pladder . . . . .	II: 235	1	
sladder . . . . .		1	
<i>adra</i>			
pladdra . . . . .	II: 128	1	
sladdra . . . . .		1	
<i>aft</i>			
haft . . . . .	I: 207; 207; 208; II: 13; 36; 61; 86; 125; 128; 171; 284; (346)	12	
skaft . . . . .	I: 221; II: 203; S I: 478	3	
kraft . . . . .	I: 35; II: 13; 29; 36; 61; 76; 83; 86; 111; 125; 128; 171; 203; 250; (346); S I: 478	16	

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husbondmakten . . . . .	II: 211	1
guddomsprakten . . . . .	I: 130	1
trakten . . . . .	II: 212	1
<i>akter</i>		
schakter . . . . .	S I: 469	1
gudamakter . . . . .	II: 8	1
trakter . . . . .	VII: 85; S I: 469	2
vakter . . . . .	II: 8	1
änglavakter . . . . .	VII: 85	1
<i>al</i>		
all . . . . .	I: 103; II: 81; 176	3
fall . . . . .	I: 103; 134; 219; II: 269	4
Geyserfall . . . . .	I: 218	1
kall (s.) . . . . .	I: 134; 136; II: 81; 269	4
kall (a.) . . . . .	I: 180; II: 176	2
skall (v.) . . . . .	I: 218; II: 75	2
återskall . . . . .	II: 269	1
trall . . . . .	II: 75	1
metall . . . . .	I: 136; 218	2
kristall . . . . .	I: 87; 132	2
svall . . . . .	I: 87; 218; 219; II: 269*	4
båljesvall . . . . .	I: 132	1
stjärnesvall . . . . .	I: 180	1
<i>ala</i>		
alla . . . . .	I: 111; 144; 180; 196; 196; II: 47; 62; 77; 192; 205; 207; 256; 281; 241; I: (301); IV: 442	16
falla . . . . .	I: 132; 144; 196; II: 47; 81; 207; 256; 281; I: (301)	9
befalla . . . . .	II: 62; 67	2
kalla (a.) . . . . .	II: 67	1
kalla (v.) . . . . .	I: 132; II: 77; 192; I: (300); FI: 107	5
skalla . . . . .	I: 111; 180; II: 81; 205; 241	5
svalla . . . . .	I: 196; IV: 442	2
<i>alande</i>		
fallande (s.) . . . . .	I: 183	1
svallande (s.) . . . . .	I: 182	1
<i>alar</i>		
hallar . . . . .	I: 37; S I: 161	2
kallar . . . . .	I: 37; S I: 133; 133; 161	4
skallar (s.) . . . . .	S I: 133; 133	2
vallar (s.) . . . . .	II: 267	1
svallar . . . . .	II: 267; S I: 161	2
<i>alas</i>		
överfallas . . . . .	II: 215	1
kallas . . . . .		1
<i>aler</i>		
faller . . . . .	I: 147	1
galler . . . . .		1
<i>alkas</i>		
skalkas . . . . .	I: 260	1
nalkas . . . . .		1
<i>alm</i>		
halm . . . . .	II: 98	1
malm . . . . .	I: 131	1
psalm . . . . .	I: 131	1
morgonpsalm . . . . .	I: 134	1
kvalm . . . . .	I: 134; II: 98	2
<i>alt</i>		
allt . . . . .	I: 21; 96; 104; 124; 213; (297); II: 35; 56; 104; 121; 124; 182; 280	13
hundrafalt . . . . .	II: 84	1
befällt . . . . .	I: 213; III: 10	2
tusenfalt . . . . .	II: 104; 280	2
kallt . . . . .	I: 21; 137; II: 35; 56; 104; 162; 182	7
överallt, (över)allt . . . . .	I: 21; 135; 137; 283; II: 84; 162; 264; III: 10	8
basalt . . . . .	I: 213	1
gestalt . . . . .	I: 21; 96; 124; 135; 283; (297); II: 121; 124; 265	9
drömgestalt . . . . .	I: 104	1
<i>alta</i>		
Malta . . . . .	II: 151	1
föranstalta . . . . .		1
<i>altar</i>		
altar (n.) . . . . .	I: 235	1
förvaltär . . . . .		1
<i>altare</i>		
altare . . . . .	I: 128	1
psaltare . . . . .		1
<i>alv</i>		
skalv . . . . .	I: 18; 93	2
valv . . . . .	I: 18; 93	2
<i>am</i>		
damm (r.) . . . . .	II: 233	1
damm (n.) . . . . .	I: 13; 27	2
dvärgaham . . . . .	I: 46	1
kam . . . . .	I: 15; 46; 79; 92; 254; II: 211	6
skam . . . . .	I: 46; 125; II: 198	3
lamm . . . . .	I: 20	1

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<b>spann</b> (n.) . . . . . V: 148	1	Judaland . . . . . I: 245	1
<b>spann</b> (v.) . . . . . II: 53	1	ibland I: 172; II: 129; 139; 146; 160	5
<b>varann</b> I: 29; 71; 73; 138; 210;		underland . . . . . I: 7; 172	2
II: 84; 234	7	fosterland . . . . . I: 30; II: 109	2
<b>brann</b> . . . . . F: 4	1	Österland . . . . . I: 245; 249	2
<b>grann</b> . . . . . II: 146	1	girland . . . . . I: 223	1
<b>minsann</b> (min) sann, II: (308)		skönhetsland . . . . . I: 88	1
S I: 132; 138	3	rand I: 46; 149; 170*; II: 55; 161;	
<b>vann</b> . . . . . I: 134; II: 230; F: 4	3	267; 276; 281; 209; N I T: 211	10
<b>svann</b> . . . . . I: 73	1	<b>brand</b> I: 25; 30; 46; 88; 145; 147;	
<b>försvann</b> I: 33; 71; 138*; 144;		II: 89; 66; 207; 282	10
II: 54; 230; F: 4	7	<b>västerrand</b> . . . . . I: 245	1
<i>ana</i>		<b>purpurrand</b> . . . . . I: 128	1
<b>förbanna</b> . . . . . I: 224; IV: 441	2	<b>strand</b> I: 7; 79; 97; 132; 170*; 245;	
<b>hosianna</b> . . . . . I: 224	1	(299); II: 18; 109; 139; 209;	
<b>panna</b> I: 39; 125; 147; II: 35; 39;		III: 10; S I: 456; 456	14
274; S I: 468	7	<b>sjöastrand</b> . . . . . I: 46	1
<b>sanna</b> (a.) . . . . . II: 35	1	<b>sand</b> I: 12; 132; 223; (299); II: 207;	
<b>sanna</b> (v.) . . . . . II: 39	1	282	6
<b>stanna</b> I: 39; 125; 147; II: 274;		<b>tand</b> . . . . . II: 72	1
S I: 468	5	<b>barnatand</b> . . . . . II: 103	1
<i>anan</i>		<i>anda</i>	
<b>annan</b> I: 35; 145; 222; II: 137;		<b>anda</b> . . . . . II: 280	1
S II: 358	5	<b>landa</b> . . . . .	1
<b>kannan</b> . . . . . I: 35	1	<i>andar</i>	
<b>pannan</b> I: 145; II: 137; S II: 358	3	<b>andar</b> . . . . . II: (300)	1
<b>fogdepannan</b> . . . . . I: 222	1	<b>blandar</b> . . . . . S I: 148	1
<i>anar</i>		<b>randar</b> . . . . . II: (300)	1
<b>förbannar</b> . . . . . S I: 148	1	<b>strandar</b> . . . . . S I: 148	1
<b>stannar</b> . . . . .	1	<i>andas</i>	
<i>anat</i>		<b>andas</b> . . III: 3; IV: 439; S I: 469	3
<b>annat</b> . . . . . II: 165	1	<b>blandas</b> III: 3; IV: 115; S I: 469	3
<b>stannat</b> . . . . .	1	<b>randas</b> . . . . . IV: 115; 439	2
<i>and</i>		<i>ande</i>	
<b>Helge and</b> . . . . . II: 92	1	<b>ande</b> . . . . . I: 251	1
<b>band</b> (s.) I: 36; 145; 172; II: 39; 72;		(i allo) lande . . . . .	1
91; 114; 140; S I: 456;		<i>anden</i>	
N I T: 211	10	<b>banden</b> . . . . . I: 71; 88	2
<b>hand</b> I: 25; 36; 46; 95; 97; 127;		<b>tjänsteanden</b> . . . . . II: 79	1
128; 145; 147; 149; 249;		<b>handen</b> . . . . . II: 186	1
II: 27; 72; 77; 91; 92; 103;		<b>barnahanden</b> . . . . . I: 184	1
106; 113; 114; 129; 139;		<b>landen</b> . . . . . II: 71	1
191; 233; 281; III: 158;		<b>mänskoanden</b> . . . I: 110; II: 88	2
S I: 456	27	<b>randen</b> . . . . . I: 74; 184	2
(efter) hand I: 147; II: 146; 161	3	<b>himlaranden</b> . . . . . I: 9	1
<b>kämpehand</b> . . . . . S I: 456	1	<b>avgrundsbranden</b> . . . . . II: 228	1
<b>modershand</b> . . . . . II: 160	1	<b>stranden</b> . . . . . I: 110; II: 79	2
<b>land</b> I: 12; 46; 79; 95; 127; II: 18;		<b>sanden</b> . . . . . I: 9; 74; 110; II: 136	4
27; 55; 66; 72; 78; 106; 113;		<b>helvetesanden</b> . . . . . II: 228	1
191; 233; 267; 276; III: 10; 158;			
S I: 456	20		

<i>andra</i>			<i>anka</i>		
andra	I: 191; 217; 285; 248; 286; II: 26; 28; 48; 55; 219; (839); S I: 161; 478; S II: 822	14	ranka . . . . .	II: 71	1
klandra	I: 285	1	evighetstanka . . . . .		1
varandra	I: 17; 107; 193; II: 28; 211; 255; IV: 115; 116; S I: 469; S II: 858	10	<i>ankar</i>		
vandra	I: 17; 107; 188; 191; 217; 248; 286; II: 26; 43; 55; 211; 219; 255; (839); IV: 115; 116; S I: 161; 469; 478; S II: 822; 858	21	ankar . . . . .	I: 41; II: 22; 122	8
			bankar (s.) . . . . .	II: 122	1
			tankar (: tanke) I: 41; II: 22; 122		8
<i>andrare</i>			<i>anke</i>		
klandrare	I: 180	1	Ananke . . . . .	I: 195; 197	2
vandrare		1	skapartanke . . . . .		2
<i>andras</i>			<i>ans</i>		
andras	II: 95	1	dans I: 150; 178; II: 18; 49; 49; Fl: 118		6
kländras		1	cirkeldans . . . . .	II: 108	1
			vapendans . . . . .	I: 26; 210	2
			fanns . . . . .	I: 45; II: 49; 66	8
			hans I: 80; 109; II: 84; 180; 188; 268; Fl: 118		7
			lans . . . . .	I: 26; 28; 210	8
			glans I: 18; 28; 32; 45; 247; 260; II: 18; 66; 84; 180; 280; S I: 142		12
			måneglans . . . . .	I: 178	1
			vapenglans . . . . .	II: 268	1
			morgonglans . . . . .	I: (291)	1
			fenixglans . . . . .	I: 109	1
			krans I: 150; 178; 247; 260; II: 49; 188; 268		7
			stjärnekrans . . . . .	II: 280	1
			törnekrans . . . . .	I: 18	1
			rosenkrans . . . . .	I: 30; (291)	2
			lotuskrans . . . . .	I: 82	1
			substans . . . . .	S I: 142	1
			svans . . . . .	II: 103	1
<i>ang</i>			<i>ansade</i>		
(bing) bang	I: 17; 182	2	cederfransade . . . . .	I: 20	1
sammanhang	II: 10	1	offerkransade . . . . .		1
klang (s.)	I: 69; 181, 182,	8	<i>ansar</i>		
klang (v.)	I: 17; 27; II: 80*	8	dansar (v.) . . . . .	I: 216; 223	2
bumarang	I: 189	1	lansar . . . . .	I: 220	1
sprang	I: 27; 69; 189; II: 10	4	plansar . . . . .	I: 216	1
tvang	I: 181; II: 80*	2	pansar . . . . .	I: 220	1
			kransar (s.) . . . . .	I: 228	1
<i>anger</i>			<i>ansen</i>		
komplimanger	II: 14	1	dansen (s.) . . . . .	II: 76; 284	2
haranger		1	virveldansen . . . . .	II: 18	1
			segerglansen . . . . .	II: 76	1
			kransen . . . . .	II: 284	1
			segerkransen . . . . .	II: 13	1
<i>ani</i>					
fann i . . . . .	I: 28	1			
Giovanni . . . . .	I: 22	1			
<i>aning</i>					
skeppsbemanning	I: 38	1			
sanning		1			
<i>ank</i>					
slank (s.) . . . . .	II: 126	1			
stank (s.) . . . . .	II: 125	1			



<i>ant</i>					
pedant . . . . .	II: 82	1	harm	I: 45; 91; 177; II: 21; 84; 249	6
elefant . . . . .	II: 64	1	fönsterkarm . . . . .	I: 45; 112	2
komediant . . . . .	II: 32	1	larm	I: 45; 78; 89; 250; (296); II: 21; 59	7
kant . . . . .	II: 64	1	varm	I: 21; 80; 45; 248; II: 50; 182; 230	7
bekant . . . . .	I: 21; II: 12; 82	3	levnadsvarm . . . . .	I: 95	1
pant . . . . .	II: 139	1	kärleksvarm . . . . .	II: 280	1
underpant . . . . .	I: 12; II: 279	2	<i>armande</i>		
grant . . . . .	I: 21; II: 139	2	förbarmande (s.) . . . . .	I: 182	1
sant . . . . .	I: 12; 235; II: 32; 279	4	larmande . . . . .		1
intressant . . . . .	II: 12	1	<i>armar</i>		
representant . . . . .	I: 235	1	armar . . . . .	II: 13; IV: 441	2
<i>anter</i>			larmar . . . . .		2
kanter . . . . .	I: 149; II: 49; 207	3	<i>armen</i>		
backanter . . . . .	I: 259; 260	2	armen . . . . .	I: 75; 195; II: 220	3
demanter . . . . .	I: 148	1	barmen . . . . .	I: 39; 75	2
panter (-charen) . . . . .	I: 260	1	jättinnebarmen . . . . .	I: 195	1
branter . . . . .	I: 148; 149; 259; II: 49; 207; 210	6	harmen . . . . .	I: 39; II: 220	2
själsförvanter . . . . .	II: 210	1	<i>art</i>		
<i>ap</i>			vart (v.) . . . . .	II: 188	1
slapp (a.) . . . . .	I: 221	1	svart . . . . .		1
gisselrapp . . . . .		1	<i>arv</i>		
<i>apa</i>			arv . . . . .	I: 127; II: (840)	2
kappa . . . . .	I: 67	1	tarv . . . . .	II: (840)	1
munkekappa . . . . .	VII: 21	1	yrkesvärv . . . . .	I: 127	1
klappa . . . . .	S I: 467	1	<i>as</i>		
trappa . . . . .	I: 67; S I: 467	2	övervåldigas . . . . .	I: 139	1
kyrkotrappa . . . . .	VII: 21	1	klass . . . . .		1
<i>ark</i>			<i>asa</i>		
mark . . . . .	I: 221	1	massa . . . . .	II: 9	1
spark . . . . .		1	passa . . . . .	II: 10	1
<i>arken</i>			<i>asar</i>		
arken . . . . .	I: 148	1	gassar . . . . .	II: 118	1
marken . . . . .		1	tassar (s.) . . . . .		1
<i>arker</i>			<i>ask</i>		
marker . . . . .	IV: 115	1	mask . . . . .	II: 35	1
blomstermarker . . . . .	I: 285	1	fnask.. . . . .		1
parker . . . . .	I: 285; IV: 115	2	<i>aska</i>		
<i>arm</i>			flaska . . . . .	II: 125	1
arm (s.) I: 43; 111; 177; 248; II: 50; 95; 182; 230; 249		9	snaska . . . . .		1
barm I: 30; 43; 78; 89; 91; 95; 111; 112; 250; (296); II: 59; 84; 95; 280		14			
gossebarm . . . . .	I: 45	1			
mänskobarm . . . . .	II: 21	1			
modersbarm . . . . .	I: 21	1			

<i>asla</i>					
rassla . . . . .	II: 241*	1	skratt . . . . .	I: 223; II: 19	2
prassla . . . . .	241*	1	satt (pret) . . . . .	I: 73; II: 26; 187; S II: 410	4
<i>aslar</i>			satt (part, sup.) I: 15; II: 66; 84; 85		4
rasslar . . . . .	II: 205	1	besatt . . . . .	II: 204; 212	2
prasslar . . . . .		1	<i>ata</i>		
<i>ast</i>			besatta . . . . .	I: 57; II: 98	2
fast . . . . .	II: 88; 216	2	fatta . . . . .	II: 60	1
ackligast . . . . .	II: 83	1	skatta . . . . .	I: 57; II: 60	2
billigast . . . . .	I: 217	1	skratta . . . . .	I: 57; II: 98	2
hast . . . . .	I: 93; 217; 221; II: 45; 88; 216	6	<i>atar</i>		
ögonkast . . . . .	II: 88	1	fattar . . . . .	I: 40	1
last . . . . .	I: 92	1	skrattar . . . . .		1
mast . . . . .	I: 92; 93	2	<i>atas</i>		
axelmast . . . . .	I: 221	1	fattas (saknas) II: 174; N I T: 186		2
rast . . . . .	I: 92; 92; 221	3	fattas (förstås) . . . . .	II: 61	1
brast . . . . .	II: 83	1	skattas . . . . .	II: 61	1
kvast . . . . .	II: 45	1	beskrattas . . . . .	II: 174; N I T: 186	2
<i>asta</i>			<i>aten</i>		
fasta (s.) . . . . .	II: 52	1	hatten . . . . .	I: 287; 288	2
fasta (a.) . . . . .	II: 29	1	sommarhatten . . . . .	I: 75	1
hasta . . . . .	I: 36; II: 29; 52	3	skatten . . . . .	II: 256	1
kasta . . . . .	I: 36; II: 29	2	natten . . . . .	I: 48; 113; 189; 148; 287; 288; 288; II: 60; III: 158; IV: 442; S I: 468	11
lasta . . . . .	II: 29	1	sommarnatten . . . . .	I: 67	1
rasta . . . . .	II: 52	1	tratten . . . . .	S I: 183	1
<i>astar</i>			vatten . . . . .	I: 48; 67; 75; 113; 189; 148; 287; II: 60; III: 158; IV: 442; S I: 183; 468	12
hastar . . . . .	I: 57	1	spegelvatten . . . . .	II: 256	1
kastar . . . . .		1	<i>ats</i>		
<i>at</i>			palats . . . . .	II: 207	1
att . . . . .	I: 95; 223; II: 132; 228	4	plats . . . . .	II: 207; 211	2
(ta) fatt . . . . .	I: 46; II: 84; 134; 216; 228	5	sats . . . . .	II: 211	1
fregatt . . . . .	II: 151	1	<i>atser</i>		
junkerhatt . . . . .	I: 73	1	palatser . . . . .	I: 181	1
katt . . . . .	II: 192	1	huvudskalleplatser . . . . .		1
skatt I: 38; 46; 77; II: 46; 54; 77; 121; 132; 134; 143; 151; S I: 99		12	<i>E</i>		
glatt (: glad) . . . . .	I: 94; 181; II: 48	3	<i>e</i>		
platt . . . . .	II: 19	1	de . . . . .	I: 102; 132; 209; 209; II: 95	5
matt I: 10; 36; II: 27; 77; 192; 206;		6	ge . . . . .	II: 83; 77; 80; 82	4
natt I: 10; 15; 38; 46; 77; 91; 94; 95; 181; II: 26; 26; 48; 54; 66; 85; 132; 143; 187; 192; 204; 206; 216; 228; S I: 99		24	ske . . . . .	II: 9; 14; 61; 91; 122	5
stjärnenatt . . . . .	I: 36	1	le . . . . .	I: 44; 209	2
septembarnatt . . . . .	S II: 410	1	venerabile . . . . .	II: 52	1
Valborgsnatt . . . . .	II: 212	1	hättarne . . . . .	II: 52	1
bröllopsnatt . . . . .	II: 122	1			
Andersnatt . . . . .	II: 47	1			
ratt . . . . .	I: 91	1			



soaré . . . . .	II: 217	1
(ett, tu) tre . . . . .	II: 91	1
empyré . . . . .	I: 132	1
se . . . . .	I: 32; 33; 44; 101; 141; 167; 254; II: 9; 14; 30; 61; 63; 80; 82; 122; 217; 228	17
{(ve (int.) . . . . .	II: 77*	1
{ve (s.) . . . . .	I: 32; 33; 142; 167; 254; II: 30; 33; 63; 77; 95; 228	11

*ed*

hed . . . . .	I: 69; II: 211; 240	3
ked . . . . .	I: 70; II: 142; 143; 146; 198	5
besked . . . . .	II: 143; S I: 478	2
led (rf.) . . . . .	I: 10; 69; 69; 70; 98; 264; II: 97; 203; 232	9
led (rm.) . . . . .	II: 156	1
led (n.) . . . . .	I: 14; 18; 27; 208; II: (819)	5
led (imp.) . . . . .	II: 21	1
led (pret.) . . . . .	I: 104	1
gled . . . . .	II: 26	1
perlarled . . . . .	I: 213	1
segerled . . . . .	I: 24	1
med (prep.) . . . . .	I: 27; II: 7; 97; 142; 232; S I: 478	6
därmed . . . . .	II: 146	1
ned . . . . .	I: 10; 14; 24; 69; 70; 98; 104; 128; 129; 218; 264; II: 7; 21; 26; 57; 174; 203; 207; 211; 240; (819)	21
bred . . . . .	I: 128; II: 209	2
fred . . . . .	I: 69; 70; II: 146; 174	4
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vred (a.) . . . . .	II: 207	1
sed . . . . .	II: 7; 57; 156; 198; 209	5
kärleksed . . . . .	II: 156	1
kved (s.) . . . . .	I: 208	1

*edan*

medan . . . . .	I: 219; II: 87	2
nedan (s.) . . . . .	I: 129	1
redan . . . . .	I: 110; 219; II: 87	3
{sedan (s.) . . . . .	I: 129	1
{sedan . . . . .	I: 110; II: 87; 87	3

*ed den*

ned den . . . . .	II: 151	1
förspred den . . . . .		1

*ede*

(den) lede (s.) . . . . .	II: 22	1
lede (a.) . . . . .	II: 228	1
rede (v.) . . . . .	I: 130	1
vrede . . . . .	I: 130; II: 22; 228	3

*eden*

Eden . . . . .	I: 60; 246; VII: 86; 87	4
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*eder*

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reder . . . . .	I: 254; II: 52	2
breder . . . . .	II: 274; N I T: 218	2
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*edig*

be dig . . . . .	II: 204	1
sedig . . . . .		1

*edja*

bedja . . . . .	I: 123; 145; II: 228; 228	4
kedja . . . . .	I: 123; 145; II: 228	3

*edra*

edra . . . . .	I: 237	1
förnedra . . . . .		1

*eg*

deg . . . . .	I: 222	1
teg (v.) . . . . .	I: (296)	1
steg (s.) . . . . .	I: 222; (296)	2

*egel*

degel . . . . .	II: 97	1
Hegel . . . . .	S I: 142	1
spegel . . . . .	I: 17; II: 38; 256; IV: 115; S I: 142	5
regel . . . . .	II: 97; 218	2
segel . . . . .	I: 17; II: 38; 256; IV: 115	4
Tegel . . . . .	II: 218	1

*egen*

egen . . . . .	I: 244; II: 37; 235	3
tegen (s.) . . . . .	I: 244	1
förtegen . . . . .	II: 37	1
stegen (pl.) . . . . .	II: 235	1

<i>eget</i>			<i>eko</i>		
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steget . . . . .		1	veko . . . . .	I: 109; II: 76	2
			sveko . . . . .	II: 105	1
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förseglad . . . . .		2	arvedel . . . . .	II: 86	1
			fel (s.) . . . . .	II: 11; 152; 197; 283	4
<i>eglar</i>			spel . . . . .	I: 79; II: 197	2
deglar . . . . .	I: 191; II: 87	2	strängaspel . . . . .	I: 139	1
speglar (s.) . . . . .	I: 146; II: 240	2	skådespel . . . . .	II: 11	1
speglar (v.) . . . . .	I: 109; II: 71	2	gyckelspel . . . . .	II: 86; 60	2
reglar (s.) . . . . .	II: 87	1	tärningspel . . . . .	II: 152	1
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beseglar . . . . .	I: 191; II: 241	2	<i>ela</i>		
			dela . . . . .	I: 149	1
<i>egrar</i>			fördela . . . . .	I: 220	1
segrar (s.) . . . . .	II: 267; 282	2	hela . . . . .	I: 149; 220; II: 26	3
stegrar . . . . .		2	spela . . . . .	II: 26	1
			<i>elas</i>		
<i>ek</i>			delas . . . . .	II: 240	1
ek . . . . .	I: 26	1	helas (v.) . . . . .		1
lek . . . . .	I: 26; 30; 30; 118; 130; 208; 210; 248; II: 77	9	<i>elat</i>		
fågellek . . . . .	I: 209	1	delat . . . . .	II: 84	1
smek . . . . .	II: 77	1	helat . . . . .		1
grek . . . . .	I: 210	1			
vek (a.) . . . . .	I: 30; 130; 208; 209; 210	5	<i>e mig</i>		
vek (v.) . . . . .	I: 248	1	bege mig . . . . .	II: 190	1
svek (s.) . . . . .	I: 30; 118; 130	3	ve mig . . . . .		1
svek (v.) . . . . .	I: 248	1			
<i>eka</i>			<i>en</i>		
leka . . . . .	I: 132; II: 21	2	en (räkn.) . . . . .	II: 197	1
smeka . . . . .	I: 132	1	ben . . . . .	II: 27; 86; 189; 198; 226	5
förneka . . . . .	II: 21	1	Rhen . . . . .	I: 253	1
veka . . . . .	I: 132	1	Athen . . . . .	I: 24; 27	2
tveka . . . . .	I: 132	1	sken (s.) . . . . .	I: 27; 43; 171; 253; II: 12; 27; 204; 234; Fl: 113; 113	10
<i>ekar</i>			sken (v.) . . . . .	I: 16; 97	2
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ungdomslekar . . . . .	II: 41	1	återsken . . . . .	I: 77	1
nekar . . . . .	I: 179	1	purpursken . . . . .	I: 87	1
pekar . . . . .	II: 68	1	skymningssken . . . . .	II: 135	1
tvekar . . . . .	II: 41	1	klen . . . . .	II: 12	1
			allen, allen' . . . . .	I: (295); II: 52; 86; 136; 189	5
<i>eken</i>			ren (a.) . . . . .	I: 16; 77; 87; 243; II: 135	5
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leken (s.) . . . . .		1	gren . . . . .	I: 43; 243; II: 226	3
			syren . . . . .	I: 171	1
<i>ekna</i>			sen (: sedan) . . . . .	II: 197; 226	2
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vekna . . . . .		1	ögonsten . . . . .	II: 198	1
			marmorsten . . . . .	Fl: 113	1



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ena (a.) . . . . .	I: 198	1	ge oss . . . . . II: 140	1
Athena . . . . .	I: 58	1	ve oss . . . . .	1
tjäna . . . . .	I: 58; II: 142	2		
lena (a.) . . . . .	II: 282	1		
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enas			ger . . . . . II: 52; S I: 183	2
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renas . . . . .		1	kavaljer . . . . . II: 249	1
ena sig			sker . . . . . II: 82	1
ena sig . . . . .	II: 206	1	ler . . . II: 38; 182; 256; III: 158	4
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allenast . . . . .	I: 214; II: 108	2	banér . . . . . I: 11	1
senast . . . . .	I: 214	1	manér . . . . . I: 19	1
ene			ser . . . I: 11; 81; 87; 144; II: 8; 82; 181; 182; 182; 256	10
Anadyomene . . . . .	I: 185	1	ter . . . . . II: 8	1
rene (a. pl.) . . . . .		1		
enen		era		
benen . . . . .	II: 115	1	klassificera . . . . . II: 92	1
scenen . . . . .	II: 115	1	reducera . . . . . II: 92	1
grenen . . . . .	I: 129	1	negera . . . . . II: 91	1
nazarenen . . . . .	I: 129	1	flera . . . . . II: 214	1
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löparstenens . . . . .		1	planera . . . . . II: 152	1
enhet			genera . . . . . S I: 468	1
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			generar . . . . . II: 45	1
			parerar . . . . . II: 195	1
			manövrerar . . . . . II: 195	1
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			soulageras . . . . . II: 218	1
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spionerat . . . . .	II: 184	1		evigheten . . . . .	I: 109	1	
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kurerat . . . . .	II: 171	1		efterleten . . . . .	I: 237	1	
katekiserat . . . . .	II: 184	1		trumpeten (s.) . . . . .	I: 136	1	
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				omedveten . . . . .	I: 108	1	
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				poeter . . . . .	II: 14; 218	2	
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ser det . . . . .		1		elev . . . . .	II: 58	1	
				drev (v.) . . . . .	II: 28	1	
				skrev (v.) . . . . .	II: 28	1	
<i>eros</i>				<i>eva</i>			
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salighet . . . . .	I: 168	1					
odödlighet . . . . .	I: 33	1					
förgänglighet . . . . .	I: 264	1					
evighet . . . . .	I: 268; S I: 99	2					
erfarenhet . . . . .	Fl: 109	1					
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förtret . . . . .	II: 218	1					
realitet . . . . .	S I: 143	1					
kvalitet . . . . .	II: 85	1					
passivitet . . . . .	S I: 143	1					
objektivitet . . . . .	S I: 143	1					
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stretar . . . . .		1					
				<i>eken</i>			
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				lem . . . . .	II: 138	1	
				vem . . . . .	II: 32	1	
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återsett . . . . .	II: 124	1
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<i>i</i>		
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betäckt . . . . .	II: 124	1			
molnbetäckt . . . . .	II: 210	1	<i>æld</i>		
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			ställd . . . . .	I: 215	1
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smälta . . . . .		1		nämna . . . . .		1	
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				stämt . . . . .	II: 99; (886)	2	
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				(klämtande (a.) . . . . .		1	
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jättehäst . . . . . II: 61	1		N I T: 218			
mest . . . . . I: 215	1		Nasaret . . . . . I: 174	1		1
(här) näst . . . . . II: 69; 147	2		Genesaret . . . . . I: 175	1		1
darnäst . . . . . I: 212; 220	2		frätt . . . . . I: 175	1		1
själapest . . . . . I: 235	1		mänkskorätt . . . . . I: 175	1		1
			samhällsrätt . . . . . I: 237	1		1



taburett . . . . . II: 107	1	feberglöd . . . . . IV: 440	1
sätt . . . . . II: 75; 103; 137; 147; 248	5	nöd . . . . . I: 25; 89; II: 46; 148; 160;	
levnadssätt . . . . . II: 97; 170	2	174; 183; 189; 196; 227;	
		269; IV: 440	12
<i>æta</i>		mänskonöd . . . . . II: 54	1
detta . . . . . I: 65; 101; 123; 217; II: 83;		hungersnöd . . . . . II: 8	1
84; 61; 156; 170; 258	10	röd . . . . . II: 45; 51; 180; 156	4
hätta . . . . . I: 101	1	bröd . . . . . I: 89; II: 8	2
lätta (v.) . . . . . I: 122	1	purpurrod . . . . . I: 218	1
rätta (a.) . . . . . I: 123; II: 84; 61; 258	4	stöd . . . . . II: 184	1
(till) rätta . . . . . II: 156	1	samhällsstöd . . . . . I: 215	1
förrätta . . . . . I: 170	1		
sätta . . . . . I: 64	1	<i>øda</i>	
försätta . . . . . II: 88	1	blöda . . . . . I: 48	1
stätta . . . . . I: 217	1	glöda . . . . . I: 148; II: 56; 62; IV: 115;	
		VII: 86	5
<i>æte</i>		möda (s.) . . . . . I: 34; II: 62; 259	3
jätte . . . . . VIII: 94	1	snöda . . . . . I: 48	1
Lätte . . . . . VIII: 91	1	röda . . . . . II: 259; VII: 86	2
Nätte . . . . . VIII: 91	1	gröda . . . . . I: 34; II: 56	2
vätte . . . . . VIII: 91; 94	1	kopparröda . . . . . I: 148	1
		purpurroda . . . . . IV: 115	1
<i>ævs</i>			
Prometeus . . . . . I: 158	1	<i>ødande</i>	
Zevs . . . . .	1	dödande . . . . . II: 40	1
		blödande . . . . .	1
<b>Slutet Ö.</b>		glödande . . . . .	1
<i>ø</i>		förödande . . . . .	1
ö . . . . . I: 45; 48; 95; 141; 170; 178;	8		
247; II: 266	6	<i>øde</i>	
dö . . . . . I: 48; 94; 141; 235; 247; (296)	1	øde (s.) . . . . . I: 58; 184; 189; II: 5; 20;	
hö . . . . . I: 235	1	149; 175	7
sjö . . . . . I: 7; 17; 45; 95; 170; 170; 178;	9	döde (a.) . . . . . I: 58; 184; 189; II: 5;	
(296); II: 296	2	21; 149	6
mö . . . . . I: 94; II: 136	2	ljöde . . . . . I: 58	1
huldremö . . . . . I: 45; 48	2	snöde . . . . . II: 175	1
snö . . . . . I: 178; II: 186	1		
sagoö . . . . . I: 7	1	<i>øden</i>	
blomsterströ . . . . . II: 186	1	öden . . . . . I: 53; 112; 189; 195; II: 47;	
Visingsö . . . . . I: 17	1	157; IV: 116	7
tö . . . . . I: 170	1	döden . . . . . I: 39; 53; 86; 86; 112; 192;	
		195; II: 26; 47; 157; 157; 227;	
<i>øar</i>		IV: 116	13
öar . . . . . II: 71	1	flöden . . . . . I: 86; II: 189	2
sjöar . . . . .	1	glöden . . . . . II: 157	1
		morgonglöden . . . . . I: 189	1
<i>ød</i>		aftonrodnadsglöden . . . . . I: 86	1
Död, död (s.) . . . . . I: 25; 129; 180; 215;		levnadsglöden . . . . . II: 189	1
244; II: 180; 156;		nöden . . . . . II: 26; 227	2
174; 184; 189; 190;		själanöden . . . . . I: 89	1
227; 269	13	mänskoöden . . . . . I: 86; 192	2
död (a.) . . . . . I: 107; 114; II: 28; 148;			
160; 183; 196	7	<i>øder</i>	
bjöd . . . . . II: 269	1	föder . . . . . I: 192	1
glöd . . . . . I: 107; 114; 129; 218; 244;		blöder . . . . . I: 143	1
II: 51; 54; 189; 190;		bröder . . . . . I: 192	1
Fl: 104	10	söder . . . . . I: 143	1
morgonglöd . . . . . II: 28	1		

<b>ødes</b>				<b>sjön</b> . . . . . I: 108; 170	2
födes . . . . . II: 65	1			kön . . . . . II: 191	1
förödes . . . . .	1			skön I: 16; 21; 78; 170; II: 180;	
				180; 191; 208; 245; 252; 283;	
				III: 8; S I: 146; 464	14
<b>ødet</b>				underskön . . . . . S II: 722	1
ödet . . . . . I: 8; II: 274	2			lön I: 128; II: 151; 172; 245; 283;	
bjöd det . . . . . I: 8	1			III: 8	6
överflödet . . . . . II: 274	1			mön . . . . . II: 172	1
				snön . . . . . S I: 146	1
<b>ødlig</b>				rön . . . . . I: 140; II: 252	2
odödlig . . . . . I: 286	1			frön . . . . . I: 140	1
oförödlig . . . . .	1			grön . . . . . I: 16; II: 208	2
				krön . . . . . I: 21; II: 178	2
				jämmerstön . . . . . I: 183	1
<b>øg</b>				<b>øna</b>	
ljög . . . . . II: 78	1			sköna II: 45; 60; N I T: 211	3
smög . . . . . II: 78	1			röna I: 46; 60; 81; N I T: 211	4
drög . . . . . I: 238	1			gröna . . . . . II: 80; 207	2
trög . . . . . I: 238	1			stöna . . . . . II: 207	1
<b>øga</b>				<b>ønas</b>	
öga I: 18; 53; 118; 136; II: 54;				förskönas . . . . . I: 192	1
79; 208; 280	8			rönas . . . . .	1
föga . . . . . II: 79	1			<b>øner</b>	
höga I: 18; 53; 118; 136; II: 54;				modersböner . . . . . I: 138	1
280	6			röner . . . . . I: 58; II: 35; 283	3
medelhöga . . . . . II: 206	1			kröner . . . . . I: 58	1
<b>øka</b>				söner . . . . . I: 138; II: 35; 283	3
sköka . . . . . I: 198; VII: 22	2			mänskosöner . . . . . I: 58	1
spöka . . . . . I: 187	1			<b>øners</b>	
söka . . . . . I: 187; II: 198	2			böners . . . . . II: 70	1
försöka . . . . . VII: 22	1			söners . . . . .	1
<b>økas</b>				<b>ønet</b>	
ökas . . . . . II: 93	1			könet . . . . . II: 95; 214	2
försökas . . . . .	1			rönet . . . . .	2
<b>øken</b>				<b>ønt</b>	
spöken . . . . . I: 136; II: 68	2			skönt . . . . . I: 108	1
röken . . . . . II: 68	1			rönt . . . . . II: 96	1
altarröken . . . . . I: 136	1			grönt . . . . . I: 108; II: 96	2
<b>økt</b>				<b>øpa</b>	
rökt . . . . . II: 37	1			köpa . . . . . II: 86	1
försökt . . . . .	1			löpa . . . . .	1
<b>øn</b>				<b>øs</b>	
ön . . . . . I: 170	1			klanderlös . . . . . II: 174	1
bön I: 108; 123; II: 130; 151;				moderlös . . . . . I: 22	1
S I: 464; S II: 722	6			frös . . . . . I: 22	1
kärleksbön . . . . . I: 78	1			tös . . . . . II: 174	1
dön . . . . . I: 183; II: 180	2				



<i>ösning</i>		Öppet Ö.	
lösning . . . . .	I: 216	1	
kraftförlösning . . . . .		1	
<i>öt</i>		<i>ör</i>	
göt (v.) . . . . .	I: 47; II: 136	2	bör . . . . . II: 208 1
njöt . . . . .	II: 220	1	dör . . . . . II: 29; 218 2
sköt (s.) I: 47; 88; II: 18; 136; 161		5	för (v.) . . . . . II: 208 1
flöt . . . . . I: 47; 88; II: 190		3	för (prep.) . . . . . II: 44 1
slöt . . . . . II: 199; 220		2	nedanför . . . . . I: 110 1
knöt . . . . . I: 47		1	innanför . . . . . II: 227 1
bröt . . . . . I: 47; II: 13; 190		3	därinnanför . . . . . I: 219 1
söt . . . . . II: 161		1	utanför . . . . . II: 194 1
hjärtestöt . . . . . II: 199		1	därutanför . . . . . I: 174 1
<i>öta</i>		<i>öra</i>	
möta . . . . . II: 110	1	1	gör I: 219; II: 75; 105; 194; 218 5
söta (a.) . . . . .	1	1	tillintetgör . . . . . II: 30 1
<i>ötas</i>		<i>ör</i>	
Götas . . . . . I: 17	1	1	hör I: 110; 219; II: 70; 128; 194; 227; N I T: 218 7
mötas . . . . .	1	1	kör (s.) . . . . . II: 105; 128 2
<i>öte</i>		<i>öra</i>	
sköte I: 139; II: 72; 227; 229; 256; IV: 115; S II: 321	7	1	andekör . . . . . II: 70 1
möte I: 39; II: 71; 71; 227; 229; 256; IV: 115; S II: 321	8	1	fågelkör . . . . . II: 174 1
<i>öva</i>		<i>öra</i>	
öva . . . . . II: 53	1	1	mör (s.) . . . . . I: 80; II: 44 2
döva . . . . . I: 37	1	1	humör . . . . . II: 119 1
bedröva . . . . . II: 53	1	1	rör (v.) . . . . . N I T: 218 1
ströva . . . . . I: 37	1	1	strör . . . . . I: 80 1
<i>övande</i>		<i>öras</i>	
övande . . . . . II: 41	1	1	stör (v.) . . . . . II: 75 1
prövande . . . . . 41	1	1	kollektör . . . . . II: 119 1
kärleksutövande . . . . . 40	1		
<i>övas</i>		<i>öras</i>	
dövas . . . . . II: 38	1	1	tillintetgöras . . . . . II: 31 1
sövas . . . . .	1	1	störas . . . . . 1
<i>över</i>		<i>öra sig</i>	
över I: 101; 190; 210; II: 72; 72; 139	6	1	göra sig . . . . . II: 85 1
behöver . . . . . I: 190; 210	2	1	höra sig . . . . . 1
klöver . . . . . I: 101	1		
däröver . . . . . II: 139	1		
<i>ör</i>		<i>ör det</i>	
		1	för det . . . . . II: 218 1
		1	gör det . . . . . 1

<i>örelsens</i>			<i>öja</i>		
bönhörelsens . . . . .	I: 144	1	böja . . . . .	I: 86; II: 28	2
förstörelsens . . . . .		1	höja . . . . .	II: 28; N I T: 211	2
<i>örer</i>			slöja . . . . .	I: 86; II: 28	2
hörer . . . . .	I: 9; 72	2	dröja . . . . .	I: 219; N I T: 211	2
körer . . . . .		2	<i>öja sig</i>		
<i>öres</i>			böja sig . . . . .	I: 219; II: 225	2
föres . . . . .	I: 56	1	höja sig . . . . .		2
höres . . . . .		1	<i>öjd</i>		
störes . . . . .		1	böjd . . . . .	I: 30; II: 80	2
<i>ör han</i>			höjd I: 19; 96; 111; 127; 168; (295);		10
för han . . . . .	II: 274	1	II: 28; 30; 78; 264		2
gör han . . . . .	II: 274	1	slöjd . . . . .	I: 23; 127	2
rör han . . . . .	I: 58	1	nöjd . . . . .	II: 13; 136	2
stör han . . . . .	I: 58	1	röjd . . . . .	I: 77	1
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<i>örligt</i>			levnadsfröjd . . . . .	II: 28	1
görligt . . . . .	II: 159	1	<i>öjder</i>		
oupphörligt . . . . .	158	1	höjder I: 250; II: 38; 71; 171; 203		5
<i>ör mig</i>			fröjder . . . . .		5
för mig . . . . .	II: 74	1	<i>öjer</i>		
tillintetgör mig . . . . .	II: 231	1	dröjer . . . . .	I: 193	1
hör mig . . . . .	II: 231	1	töjer . . . . .		1
stör mig . . . . .	II: 74	1	<i>öjes</i>		
<i>ör sig</i>			höjes . . . . .	I: 10	1
framför sig . . . . .	I: 35	1	röjes . . . . .		1
gör sig . . . . .	I: 183	1	<i>öken</i>		
rör sig . . . . .	I: 35; 183	2	öken . . . . .	I: 48	1
<i>ört</i>			töcken . . . . .		1
fört . . . . .	II: 137	1	<i>öld</i>		
hört . . . . .	I: 163; S I: 464	2	samvetsböld . . . . .	I: 235	1
oerhört . . . . .	II: 218; 218	2	sköld . . . . .		1
kört . . . . .	II: 218	1	stöld . . . . .		1
rört . . . . .	II: 137; S I: 464	2	<i>olja</i>		
bestört . . . . .	II: 163	1	bölja (s.) . . . . .	II: 54	1
förstört . . . . .	II: 218	1	bölja (v.) . . . . .	II: 71	1
<i>Öppet Ö.</i>			följa II: 54; 70; 183; N I T: 218		4
<i>öde</i>			hölja . . . . .	II: 183; N I T: 218	2
födde (part.) . . . . .	II: 63	1	<i>öljda</i>		
blödde . . . . .	II: 63	1	höljda . . . . .	I: 221	1
förblödde . . . . .	II: (346)	1	gallbesköljda . . . . .		1



<i>ölje</i>		<i>ömt</i>		
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trolldomshölje . . . . .		1	dömt . . . . . II: 268	1
<i>öljer</i>		<i>önskar</i>		
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höljer . . . . .	219*	1	gömt II: 268; N I T: 211	2
<i>öl</i>		<i>önskar</i>		
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höll . . . . .		1	grönskar . . . . .	2
<i>önn</i>		<i>öenster</i>		
göm . . . . .	I: (298)	1	fönster . . . . . I: 40; II: 100	2
dröm I: 33; 101; 103; 177; (298)		5	mönster . . . . .	2
dröm- (gestalt) . . . . .	I: 104*	1		
morgondröm . . . . .	II: 240	1		
ström I: 33; 103; 104*; 177; II: 240		5		
töm . . . . .	I: 101	1		
<i>öma</i>		<i>ör</i>		
ömma (a.) . . . . .	I: 86	1	dörr I: 44; 129; II: 67; 109; 188; 281	6
bedömma . . . . .	II: 108; 217	2	ladgårdsdörr . . . . . I: 100	1
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drömma . . . . .	I: 44; 86	2		
berömma . . . . .	II: 108	1		
strömma . . . . .	I: 104; II: 39; 283	3		
tömma . . . . .	II: 39; 217	2		
<i>ömar</i>		<i>öre</i>		
drömmar I: 284; (294); II: 54; 136		4	förre . . . . . I: 207	1
morgondrömmar . . . . .	I: 7; 9	2	större . . . . .	1
kärleksdrömmar . . . . .	II: 137	1		
strömmar (s.) . . . . .	II: 54	1		
strömmar (v.) I: 284; (294); II: 136		3		
lavaströmmar . . . . .	II: 137	1		
glitterströmmar . . . . .	I: 7; 9	2		
<i>ömd</i>		<i>ören</i>		
fördömd . . . . .	I: 125	1	dörren . . . . . I: 55; 55	2
gömd . . . . .		1	förr än . . . . . I: 55	1
<i>ömdc</i>		<i>örja</i>		
gömde (part.) . . . . .	I: 55	1	börja . . . . . I: 113; II: 232	2
glömde (part.) . . . . .	I: 55; II: 39	2	sörja (v.) . . . . .	2
drömde . . . . .	I: 55; II: 39	2		
<i>ömen</i>		<i>örjer</i>		
drömmen . . . . .	I: 21	1	spörjer . . . . . S I: 99	1
orgelströmmen . . . . .		1	sörjer . . . . .	1
<i>ömliga</i>		<i>örn</i>		
fördömliga . . . . .	I: 211	1	källardörren . . . . . II: 114	1
outömliga . . . . .		1	förrn . . . . .	1
		<i>örst</i>		
		först . . . . . I: 145; II: 56		2
		törst . . . . . II: 56		1
		hämndetörst . . . . . I: 145		1
		<i>öss</i>		
		löss . . . . . II: 73		1
		möss . . . . .		1

<i>öst</i>			<i>öster</i>		
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röst I: 18; 28; 94; 118; 126; 220; (295); II: 20; 55; 229; 229; 230		12	röster . . . . .	I: 8; 148; 197; 246	4
bröst I: 11; 28; 50; 52; 80; 88; 90; 98; 113; 126; 150; 220; 235; 249; (295); II: 20; 28; 42; 55; 188; 229; 229; 230; 259; F: 95; 95; 95		27	<i>ött</i>		
mänskobröst . . . . .	I: 18	1	dött . . . . .	I: (298)	1
herosröst . . . . .	I: 150	1	mött . . . . .	I: 247	1
tröst I: 11; 52; 73; 80; 88; 90; 94; 118; 235; II: 20; 29; 42; 188; 259; F: 95; 95; 95		17	trött . . . . .	I: 246; 247	2
hjärtetröst . . . . .	I: 98	1	förstrött . . . . .	I: (298)	1
ögontröst . . . . .	I: 249	1	sött . . . . .	I: 246	1
<i>östa</i>			<i>öter</i>		
Gösta . . . . .	VII: 35	1	fötter . . . . .	I: 75; II: 205; 217	3
trösta . . . . .		1	nötter . . . . .	I: 75	1
			rötter . . . . .	II: 205; 217	2

## Tillägg.

hage . . . . .	VIII <sup>1</sup> : 95	1	bringe . . . . .	VIII: 93	1
mage . . . . .	VIII: 95	1	bo (s.) . . . . .	VIII: 95	1
gemak . . . . .	D <sup>2</sup> : 168	1	sko (s.) . . . . .	VIII: 95	1
tak . . . . .	D: 168	1	du . . . . .	D: 167; 168; 168	3
tack . . . . .	VIII: 93	1	nu . . . . .	D: 167; 168; 168	3
stack (s.) . . . . .	VIII: 93	1	blå . . . . .	D: 167	1
Snappe . . . . .	VIII: 91	1	stå . . . . .	D: 167	1
Rappe . . . . .	VIII: 91*	1	dädan . . . . .	P <sup>3</sup> : 413	1
flaska . . . . .	VIII: 96	1	hädan . . . . .	P: 413	1
slaska (s.) . . . . .	VIII: 96	1	säg . . . . .	D: 168	1
snaska . . . . .	VIII: 96	1	väg . . . . .	D: 168	1
strid (a.) . . . . .	VIII: 94	1	håpnad . . . . .	P: 413	1
tid . . . . .	VIII: 94	1	beväpnad . . . . .	P: 413	1
dig . . . . .	D: 168; 168	2	än . . . . .	D: 168	1
milt . . . . .	VIII: 91	1	den . . . . .	D: 168	1
pilt . . . . .	VIII: 91	1	hågn . . . . .	D: 167	1
vilt (a.) . . . . .	VIII: 91	1	regn . . . . .	D: 167	1
klinge . . . . .	VIII: 93	1			

<sup>1</sup> VIII = *Skrifter VIII. Sägner, berättelser och skizzer*. (Denna och följ. anm. utgöra tillägg till inledningens uppgifter om källor).

<sup>2</sup> D = *Dikter*. Andra saml. Andra tillökade upplagan. Sthlm. 1896.

<sup>3</sup> P = E. A. Poe. av G. Bjurman. Lund 1916. Där meddelas avvikelserna i Rydbergs första tolkning av *The Raven* (i *Nz Illustrerad Tidning* 1877) från senare versioner.



Tabellarisk översikt.  
 Tabell 1. Rimklasser, rimformer<sup>1</sup> och rimvokaler i Rydbergs hela rimförråd.

	Rimklasser				Rimformer	Rimvokalernas förekomst						Vokalernas förekomst i % av totalsumman									
	Enstav.	Tvåstav.	Trestav.	Summa		Enstav. rim	Tvåstav. rim	Trestav. rim	Summa lång vo- kal	Summa kort vo- kal	A			E	I	O	U	Y	Å	Ä	Ö
a	13	59	4	76	419	500	549	13	1062	—	2298	11	a	23,8							
ä	30	68	6	104	475	780	444	12	—	1236	A	12,8	a								
ē	10	47	2	59	282	298	277	4	579	—	626	6	ē	6,5							
ě	4	3	—	7	26	35	12	—	—	47	E	0,5	ě								
ī	11	33	4	48	313	428	312	13	753	—	1400	7,8	ī	14,5							
ĩ	14	50	8	72	295	193	429	25	—	647	I	6,7	ĩ								
ō	13	31	1	45	280	320	163	2	485	—	509	5	ō	5,3							
ö	2	1	—	3	15	18	6	—	—	24	O	0,2	ö								
u	11	31	3	45	203	294	169	6	469	—	828	4,8	u	8,5							
ü	11	30	2	43	174	180	175	4	—	359	U	3,7	ü								
ý	3	15	—	18	77	73	62	—	135	—	298	1,4	ý	3,1							
ÿ	9	20	2	31	89	49	110	4	—	163	Y	1,7	ÿ								
æ	10	40	1	51	257	472	199	2	673	—	1269	7	æ	13,2							
o	15	27	4	46	208	465	123	8	—	596	Å	6,2	o								
œ	11	43	7	61	267	377	342	17	736	—	1706	7,6	œ	17,6							
ø	28	87	10	125	493	400	539	31	—	970	Ä	10	ø								
ö	8	25	2	35	153	167	170	7	344	—		3,5	ö								
ø	2	9	3	14	68	44	63	6	113	—		1,2	ø								
ö	12	23	2	37	118	157	112	6	—	275	Ö	2,9	ö	7,6							
S:a	217	642	61	920	4162	5250	4256	160	5349	4317	9666	S:a									

<sup>1</sup> Jag använder denna term i stället för *rimord*, som möjligen kan missuppfattas.

Tabell 2. Rimklasser, rimformer och rimvokaler i Dikter (I).

Rimklasser				Rimformer		Rimvokalernas förekomst						Vokalernas förekomst i % av totalsumman	
Enstav.	Tvåstav.	Trestav.	Summa	Enstav.	Trestav.	Enstav. rim.	Tvåstav. rim	Trestav. rim	Summa lång vo- kal	Summa kort vo- kal	Summa		
a	10	38	4	52	232	236	209	13	458	—	971	a	11,5
ä	23	38	5	66	277	338	165	10	—	513	971	ä	12,9
ē	8	27	—	35	130	123	97	—	220	—	288	ē	5,5
ě	2	3	—	5	13	8	10	—	—	18	288	ě	0,5
ī	8	20	3	31	163	189	119	8	316	—	580	ī	7,9
ĩ	10	33	6	49	160	57	188	19	—	264	580	ĩ	6,6
ō	11	16	—	27	125	122	68	—	190	—	200	ō	4,8
o	1	1	—	2	10	8	2	—	—	10	200	o	0,3
u	8	23	2	33	116	113	80	4	197	—	352	u	4,9
u	8	18	2	28	98	73	78	4	—	155	352	u	3,9
ŷ	3	10	—	13	47	46	25	—	71	—	144	ŷ	1,8
ŷ	6	12	1	19	51	27	44	2	—	73	144	ŷ	1,8
æ	9	23	1	33	153	198	86	2	286	—	533	æ	7,3
o	14	12	3	29	120	196	45	6	—	247	533	o	6,2
œ	8	25	5	38	146	130	110	13	253	—	656	œ	6,3
œ	19	52	8	79	266	164	214	25	—	403	656	œ	10,1
ø	7	16	—	23	88	74	71	—	145	—	312	ø	3,6
ē	1	4	1	6	22	9	17	2	28	—	312	ē	0,7
ō	9	17	2	28	77	84	51	4	—	139	312	ō	3,5
S:a	165	388	43	596	2294	2195	1679	112	2164	1822	3986	S:a	7,3



Tabell 3. Rimklasser, rimformer och rimvokaler i *Faust* (II).

	Rimklasser				Rimformer				Rimvokalernas förekomst						Vokalernas förekomst i % av totalsumman	
	Enstav.	Tvåstav.	Trestav.	Summa	Enstav.	Tvåstav.	Trestav.	Summa	Enstav. rim	Tvåstav. rim	Trestav. rim.	Summa lång vok.	Summa kort vok.			
a	13	36	—	49	242	235	272	—	507	—	567	—	1074	a	10,6	A
ä	24	44	—	68	282	379	188	—	—	188	—	—	—	ä	11,9	—
ē	8	35	2	45	189	147	158	4	309	—	—	—	—	ē	6,5	E
ē	4	1	—	5	19	27	2	—	—	2	—	—	388	ē	0,6	—
i	10	25	1	36	193	219	161	5	385	161	5	—	—	i	8,1	I
i	10	29	2	41	174	117	189	6	—	189	6	—	312	i	6,5	—
ī	11	21	1	33	134	172	72	2	246	72	2	—	—	ī	5,3	—
ī	2	1	—	3	10	10	2	—	—	2	—	—	12	ī	0,3	O
o	8	18	1	27	108	172	71	2	245	71	2	—	—	o	5,1	—
u	10	15	—	25	99	92	72	—	—	72	—	164	—	u	3,4	U
ū	3	11	—	14	41	28	32	—	55	—	—	—	—	ū	1,1	—
ŷ	6	12	1	19	45	18	52	2	—	52	2	—	72	ŷ	1,5	Y
ŷ	9	22	—	31	133	239	86	—	325	86	—	—	—	ŷ	6,8	—
æ	11	21	1	33	125	234	67	2	—	67	2	—	308	æ	6,4	Å
o	9	31	2	42	158	193	199	4	396	199	4	—	—	o	8,3	—
æ	21	62	1	84	291	199	280	2	—	280	2	—	481	æ	10,1	Ä
æ	8	20	2	30	99	79	85	7	171	85	7	—	—	æ	3,6	—
ø	2	7	2	11	52	31	42	4	77	42	4	—	—	ø	1,6	—
ē	10	12	1	23	62	60	50	2	—	50	2	—	112	ē	2,4	Ö
S:a	179	423	17	619	2436	2646	2080	42	2716	2052	42	2716	2052	S:a	4768	

Man kan inte gärna uppställa någon överallt tillämplig regel för beräkning av *rimbandens omfattning*. Ett ovanligt rimord, som därjämte genom sin betydelse tilldrar sig särskild uppmärksamhet, ljuder längre i örat än ett nött och svagt rim med *är, dig* e. d. och kan lättare förbindas med avlägsna rimord.\* De mellanliggande versernas längd har naturligtvis stor inverkan på ändrimmens räckvidd. I korta verser försvårar den hastigt framvällande rimströmmen uppfattningen av rimflätningens detaljer. Mångtaktiga verser lägga å andra sidan alltför stora avstånd mellan rimorden för att de skola kunna associera sig över många versrader. Slutligen må anmärkas, att i strofiska dikter och även i andra, där rimflätningen f. ö. är regelbunden, närbelägna rimpar kunna flyta samman till ett enda större rimband utan att åhöraren observerar avvikelser från det förutsatta schemat, efter vilket rimmen ordna sig för honom. Dikter, som genomgående ha oregelbunden rimflätning, hålla bättre uppmärksamheten vaken för de växlande kombinationerna.

Alla dessa faktorer spela dessutom in i olika grad hos olika individer. Nedanstående tabeller hade därför kanske fått ett annat utseende, om de uppgjorts av någon annan:

*Tabell 4 a.*  
**Rimbandens storlek i Dikter.**

R i m b a n d	2-le- dade	3-le- dade	4-le- dade	5-le- dade	6-le- dade
Med enstav. rimord . . . .	865	78	18 <sup>1</sup>	11	3 <sup>3</sup>
» tvåstav. » . . . .	764	24	11 <sup>2</sup>	5	—
» trestav. » . . . .	48	4	2	—	1

<sup>1</sup> Därav 8 i strofknytning\*\*)

<sup>2</sup> » 4 i »

<sup>3</sup> » 1 i »

\* Ibsen rimmar i »Brand» (siffrorna ange antalet mellanliggande verser:) *pesthus* ~ 3 *arresthus* ~ 9 *festhus*. Det ur alla synpunkter kraftiga rimmet är lätt att hålla samman trots de långa avstånden mellan rimlederna.

\*\*) Jag använder denna benämning även för enstaka rim från strof till strof. Jmfr. Risberg, anf. arb. sid. 250.



I genomkomponerade<sup>1</sup> dikter förekomma ännu längre rimband:

8-ledat rim (*Nasaret* etc.): I: 174 f.  
 9- » » (*led* » ): I: 69 f.  
 10- » » (*unnar* » ): I: 243 f.  
 12- » » (*sval* » ): I: 85 f.  
 72- » » (*förbi* » ): I: 55 f.

Beträffande omkväden se nedan sid. 76.

#### Tabell 4 b.

##### Rimbandens storlek i Faust.

R i m b a n d	2-le- dade	3-le- dade	4-le- dade	5-le- dade	6-le- dade
Med enstav. rimord . . . . .	1105	88	30	6	2
» tvåstav. » . . . . .	926	56	8	1	2
» trestav. » . . . . .	13	1	2	1	—

Tvåstav. 9-ledat rim II: 49 f. }  
 Enstav. 10- » » II: 49 f. } I strofknytning

Den rikare förekomsten av långa rimband i Rydbergs översättning (ett 50-tal mera) är den frihet i förhållande till originalet, som medför de största olikheterna i rimflätningen. Sådana förekomma dessutom vid inskott av hela verser i översättningen utan motsvarande hos Goethe. För övrigt äro skiljaktigheterna inskränkta till enkla förskjutningar, t. ex. rimföljden *abab* utbytt mot *abba* eller omvänt.

Tabellernas siffror bli kanske mer talande, om de belysas med utdrag ur förteckningen. Innan jag övergår till uppsatsens sista del — några dylika utdrag och ett par andra korta notiser om Rydbergs rimvanor — ber jag få framhålla, att en *granskning* inte är avsedd. En sådan ligger utom ramen för denna uppsats, som uteslutande är ämnad att vara *materialsamling*.

#### Rimformernas frekvens.

De slutsatser äro långt ifrån säkra, som ur tabellariska översikter kunna dragas beträffande olika diktares relativa rimrikedom. Först och främst måste hänsyn tagas till storleken av de materialsamlingar, som jämföras. Eftersom språkets rimmöjligheter ej äro

<sup>1</sup> Se Risberg, *anf. arb.* sid. 251.

obegränsade, måste man tydligen a priori vänta ett högre medelvärde för rimformernas frekvens av en större samling rim än av en mindre. Med denna reservation mot förhastade slutsatser sammanställer jag de ur mitt material vunna värdena med Mjöbergs<sup>1</sup> och Berghs<sup>2</sup> motsvarande resultater:

**Varje rimform i genomsnitt i:**

Tegnér's rim 1808—11	: 1,51 ggr (på 1328 rim)
» » till 1807	: 2,01 » ( » 3602 » )
Rydberg's » i Dikter	: 1,7 » ( » 3968 » )
» » i Faust	: 1,95 » ( » 4768 » )
» » (alla)	: 2,3 » ( » 9666 » )
Heidenstams rim <sup>3</sup>	: 2,1 » (ung.) (på 8511 rim)

Anmärkningsvärd är den minimala skillnaden mellan medelvärdena ur Rydberg's egna dikter (och bland dem upptagna smärre översättningar) samt Faustöversättningen. Inledningsvis har antytts att detta faktum låter förklara sig ur inre olikheter mellan diktverken. Emellertid ställer sig jämförelsen mindre gynnsamt för *Faust*, om man kastar en blick i följande *förteckning på de vanligaste rimorden och deras förekomstsiffror*. Såsom det är att vänta återkomma de svaga, nötta rimorden betydligt oftare i *Faust*.

Rimord	Förek. i Dikter ggr.	Förek. i Faust ggr.	Förek. bland övriga rim ggr.	Summa
är . . . . .	15	28	14	57
opp . . . . .	13	41	—	54
gång . . . . .	21	14	3	38
dag . . . . .	12	22	3	37
jag . . . . .	5	28	1	34
mig . . . . .	2	32	—	34
gå . . . . .	6	25	3	34
vara (v.) . . . . .	8	21	4	33
ut . . . . .	12	19	1	32
dig . . . . .	4	26	2	32
du . . . . .	5	24	3	32
förbi, . . . . .	21	7	1	29
Förbi . . . . .				
lopp (s.) . . . . .	6	22	1	29
värld . . . . .	9	18	2	29

<sup>1</sup> Anf. arb. sid. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Anf. arb. sid. 68 f.

<sup>3</sup> Om materialets omfattn. i Berghs förteckn., se hans arb. sid. 5.



Rim ord	Förek. i Dikter ggr	Förek. i Faust ggr	Förek. bland övriga rim ggr	Summa
fram . . . . .	18	8	2	28
vän (s.) . . . . .	8	17	3	28
hand . . . . .	11	14	2	27
bröst . . . . .	14	9	4	27
natt . . . . .	9	14	1	24
gott . . . . .	6	14	3	23
slut . . . . .	5	16	1	22
vandra . . . . .	7	6	8	21
ned . . . . .	11	10	—	21
sång . . . . .	15	4	2	21
än . . . . .	10	7	4	21
igen . . . . .	11	9	1	21
land . . . . .	5	12	3	20
man (s.) . . . .	4	15	1	20
fri . . . . .	14	6	—	20
här (adv.) . . . .	2	17	1	20

Inalles 19 ggr: sinne; 18 ggr: grav, bara (adv.), hopp, blott; 17 ggr: skara, han, se, går (v.), den, blod, världen, 16 ggr: kraft, alla, sig, stund, då, så (adv.), år, bär (v.); 15 ggr: dal, makt, ner, däri, mod.

Ofta använda rimord, tillhörande samma rimklass, gå naturligen också ofta tillsammans i rimpar (-band). De mest tröttkörda bland Rydbergs parhåstar äro:

Rim par	Förek. i Dikter ggr	Förek. i Faust ggr	Förek. bland övriga rim ggr	Summa
opp ~ lopp . . . .	3	21	—	24
dig ~ mig . . . .	1	19	—	20
ut ~ slut . . . . .	4	15	1	20
{ du ~ nu (s.) . .	2	6	—	8
{ du ~ nu (adv.)	3	7	3	13
gång ~ sång . . .	11	2	1	14
dag ~ jag . . . .	2	11	—	13
opp ~ hopp . . . .	5	8	—	13
andra ~ vandra . .	4	5	3	12

R i m p a r	Förek. i Dikter ggr	Förek. i Faust ggr	Förek. bland övriga rim. ggr	Summa
färden ~ världen	1	9	2	12
hand ~ land . . .	8	7	1	11
vara ~ bara . . .	8	7	—	10

Vidare har jag funnit:

6 rimpar förekommande	9 ggr
4        »	8        »
12       »	7       »
26       »	6       »
21       »	5       »

Endast på varandra rimma bl. a. följande rimformer — sannskyldiga siamesiska tvillingar alltså —:

ej        ~ nej	i I: 8 ggr, II: 8 ggr, VII: 1 gg
Herran ~ fjärran	i I: 5 ggr, II: 2 ggr
mening ~ förening	i I: 2 ggr, II: 8 ggr
höjder ~ fröjder	i I: 1 gg, II: 4 ggr
röster ~ öster	i I: 4 ggr, —
fängelse ~ förgängelse	i I: 2 ggr —        S I: 1 gg

Inom de rimklasser, som dessa kombinationer tillhöra, har vårt språk f. övr. få och föga användbara rimmöjligheter.

Rimords upprepning är ju ofta ett stilistiskt konstgrepp. Rydberg använder detta i så stor utsträckning, att en värdesättning av hans rimkonst efter dess rikedom på rimformer skulle bli betydligt missvisande. Några uppgifter, som belysa denna företeelse i Rydbergs diktning, anser jag vara ett behöfligt supplement till tabellerna.

När i »Dexippos» slutstrofer rimordet *lek* förekommer två gånger, harmonierar denna upprepning med stämningen i en dikt, som vill skildra, hur Athens ynglingar

»med en gudingiven *barnlek* plåna seklers nesa ut».

Ej heller förvånas man över att finna *makt* sju gånger i rimställning i »Prometeus och Ahasverus», vilkas ordskifte gäller, om det är livets enda lag, att

»rätt har den allena, som har *makt*».



Ansatser till en genomförd rimtavtologi träffas redan i ett av Rydbergs första poetiska alster, »Mohikanens hund», S I: 456. I dess 16 rimpar förekomma:

2 rimklasser 6 ggr	1 rimord 3 ggr
2 » 4 »	4 » 2 »
6 » 2 »	21 » 1 »

I »Den flygande holländaren» måla de återkommande rimorden spökskeppets evigt enahanda färd.

Vi finna där:

1 rimklass 12 ggr	9 rimformer 3 ggr
1 » 10 »	33 » 2 »
1 » 8 »	131 » 2 gg
11 rimklasser 6 »	1 rimpar 3 ggr
36 » 2 »	10 » 2 »
	89 » 1 gg

Den långa kedjan (72-ledad) av *i*-rim i »Korpen» har följande rimord upprepade:

<i>förbi</i> rimmar 13 ggr	
<i>Förbi</i> » 2 »	<i>i</i> rimmar 7 ggr
<i>fri</i> » 9 »	<i>bli</i> » 4 »
<i>däri</i> » 8 »	<i>vi</i> » 3 »

*vi, harmoni, draperi, magi, hjärteskri, trolleri, melankoli, uti* rimma vardera 2 ggr.

Själva rimordsvalet i detta översättningsexperiment är väl dock till stor del dikterat av rimnöd.

Det är överraskande att finna denna rimtavtologi rikt använd också i en reflexionsdikt som »Grubblaren». Jag har ur den antecknat följande upprepade rim och rimband:

*tider* 3 ggr (+ *barndomstider* 1 gg), *graven* 3 ggr; vidare rimparen: *tjuta ~ ruta, prövningsstunder ~ under, är Han ~ äran* samt rimorden: *lider, skrivet, hallucinationer, zoner, jorden, alla, haven* vardera 2 ggr.

Särskilt starkt verkar återkomsten av rim, där den är förbunden med tavglogiska företeelser inne i tillhörande versrader. Så är förhållandet med många av de ovannämnda upprepningarna. Refräng med rim träffas S I: 478, en därmed besläktad tavglogi S I: 132 f., omkväde VII: 35. Inkomponerat i satssammanhanget är omkvädet I: 85 f. (strofernas sjätte och tolfte verser) och D: 167.

Ett slags partiellt omkvåde användes i stikisk vers I: 146 ff., med rimmet *hop ~ Iackusrop*. Rimmet *gång ~ sång* inleder »Klockringnings» avdelningar. Formens — bl. a. rimmens — enformighet i början av »Den nya Grottesången» är måhända ämnad att genom kontrastverkan mot innehållets klimax framhåva denna.

Faustöversättningens rimupprepningar äro efter vad jag kunnat finna endast sällan stilistiskt berättigade.

*De kluvna rimmen* förekomma rikligast i *Faust*. Tydligen äro de här ofta använda för att undvika de allra svagaste rimorden. Då *båda* lederna äro delade, kunna dessa rim rent av betraktas som en inflyttning af vokalassonansen från versens slutord till ett mera bärkraftigt inne i densamma.

# I. Båda lederna kluvna ha rimparen:

## a) Tvåstaviga:

jag för	~ undantag för	I: 208
var den	~ har den	II: 128
har det	~ tar det	I: 215
snart en	~ fart en	II: 71
av dem	~ gav dem	II: 228
av dig	~ gav dig	II: 163
ned den	~ förspred den	II: 151
bege mig	~ ve mig	II: 190
ser du	~ ber du	II: 189
ner det	~ ser det	II: 249
ge oss	~ ve oss	II: 140
på dig	~ bestå dig	S I: 478
förslår ej	~ går ej	I: 207
åt det	~ förlåt det	II: 19
är mig	~ beskär mig	II: 116
är han	~ bär han	II: 174
gör det	~ för det	II: 218
stör han	~ rör han	I: 58
för han	~ gör han	II: 274
stör mig	~ för mig	II: 74
rör sig	~ gör sig	I: 183
framför sig	~ rör sig	I: 35



b) **Trestaviga:**

ena sig	~ grena sig	II: 206
vinka och	~ blinka och	I: 42*
susa ju	~ brusa ju	II: 266
tycker mig	~ trycker mig	II: 97
plocka dig	~ locka dig	II: 267
slocknar nu	~ tjocknar nu	I: 99
domna och	~ somna och	I: 44*
bära vi	~ ära vi	II: 279
Omsväva mig	~ kväva mig	II: 230
sträckas dem	~ räckas dem	I: 246
höra sig	~ göra sig	II: 85
höja sig	~ böja sig	I: 219; II: 225*;

## II. Ett av lederna kluvet:

ha den	~ staden	II: 160
ha det	~ badet	S I: 478
ha det	~ Veckobladet	II: 153
Var en	~ rådstalaren	I: 128
Giovanni	~ fann i	I: 22
be dig	~ sedig	II: 204
återger oss	~ Eros ~ Heros	I: 135
stod där	~ moder	I: 21
förstå det	~ förrådet	II: 134
är Han	~ äran	I: 197
bjöd det	~ ödet	I: 8

[efter Rydbergs stavning också:

förrän (förr än) ~ dörren  
~ dörren I: 55]**Dubbelrimmen:**

förklara dig	~ svara mig	II: 27
begrinar mig	~ pinar dig	II: 63
prisar dig	~ visar mig	II: 74
skona mig	~ försona dig	II: 227
skonar mig	~ försonar sig	II: 158
ut mig	~ slut dig	II: 171

ha ungefär samma verkan som de i båda lederna kluvna rimmen.  
Dubbelrim med *båda rimparen tvåstaviga* äro betydligt kraftigare:

rassla, braka ~ prassla, knaka II: 241

trånger, knuffar ~ slånger, skuffar II: 211,

liksom de *5-staviga*:

vinka och nicka ~ blinka och blicka I: 42

domna och glömma ~ somna och drömma I: 44

Dubbelrimmen närstående äro:

drömgestalt ~ ström (där) allt<sup>1</sup> I: 104

samt:

guldregnskur ~ skimmermur ~ glimmerskal ~ kval I: 219

### Identiska rim.

Identiskt rim uppstår, då ett ord förekommer i rimställning två (eller flera) gånger med så litet mellanrum, att åhöraren uppfattar de lika lederna såsom rimmande på varandra. Upprepningen är självfallet mera märkbar, när det första av de identiska lederna omedelbart följes av det andra (direkt rimmande), än när ett eller flera andra, i samma rimband ingående ord stå mellan dem, (indirekt rimmande). Jag uppdelar därför Rydbergs identiska rim i två grupper:

#### I. Rimband med identiska leder, som rimma direkt:

~ fri ~ fri I: 57, 58

~ vi ~ vi I: 58

~ i ~ i I: 60

~ glöd ~ död ~ död I: 129

mor ~ tror ~ bor ~ skor ~ skor ~ klor I: 169

pepparkorn ~ pepparkorn ~ silverhorn I: 170

arbetskraft ~ haft ~ haft I: 207

tyngre ~ yngre ~ yngre I: 207

trålinnorna ~ kvinnorna ~ trålinnorna ~ trålinnorna ~

glädjelivsprästinna ~ dansarinna I: 207, 208

Grottekvarnen ~ trålabarnen ~ trålabarnen ~ kvarnen ~

barnen I: 208; 209

lik ~ lik ~ mosaik I: 210

Kolonnad ~ grad ~ grad ~ bad I: 212

<sup>1</sup> Denna art av rim närmar sig den företeelse, som träffas I: 130: *handen kom ~ andanom*. Det svaga rimmet har här upphjälpts med en assonans.



guld ~ skuld ~ huld ~ guld ~ guld	I: 213
Krigarglavar ~ fogdestavar ~ slavar ~ slavar ~ navar	I: 220
Mången ~ stången ~ stången	I: 222
offerväsen ~ offerväsen ~ gräsen	I: 235
friare ~ siare ~ 2 <sup>1</sup> siare ~ befriare	I: 256
slut ~ ut ~ ut	II: 68
redan ~ sedan ~ sedan ~ medan	II: 87
så ~ så (Goethe: so ~ so)	II: 91
här ~ där ~ är ~ är	II: 120
försvinn ~ in ~ in (G.: sein ~ ein ~ ein)	II: 194
dig ~ dig	D: 168

## Tvivelaktigt är:

möte ~ 4 möte ~ sköte	II: 71
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På första stället kan *möte* uppfattas som slutordet i en orimmad vers.

## I strofknytning:

svalla ~ alla ~ alla ~ falla	I: 196
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## II. Rimband med identiska leder, som rimma indirekt:

(Några hithörande fall äro redan anförda under I):

ner ~ 1 banér ~ 1 mer (inrim) ~ ser ~ 2 ner	I: 11
förbi ~ hjärteskri ~ förbi ~	I: 58
förbli ~ féeri ~ tokeri ~ förbli ~ fri ~ poesi	I: 173
de ~ le ~ de	I: 209
fem ~ dem ~ fem	I: 214
som ~ bakom ~ kom ~ bakom	I: 222
veten ~ utiliteten ~ 2 rättfärdigheten ~ efterleten ~ utiliteten	I: 237
natten ~ hatten ~ natten	I: 288
här ~ är ~ 4 här ~ när	II: 27
på ~ ändå ~ 3 på ~ töckengrå	II: 33
därpå ~ ändå ~ gå ~ två ~ gå ~ ändå	II: 45
dans ~ krans ~ 2 fanns ~ dans	II: 49

<sup>1</sup> Siffrorna mellan rimorden ange antalet mellanliggande rim (som tillhöra annan rimklass). Dessa uppgifter ha tagits med i en del rimföljder, som kanske inte av alla uppfattas sasom enhetliga rimband. Jmfr. ovan sid. 71.

djur ~ natur ~ 4 djur ~ dressur	II: 58
opp ~ lopp ~ 4 opp ~ kropp	II: 61
opp ~ kropp ~ opp	II: 64
akt ~ sagt ~ 4 lagt ~ sagt	II: 92
land ~ hand ~ 2 band ~ hand (G.: Land ~ Hand ~ Band ~ Hand)	II: 113
förbi ~ syndafri ~ förbi	II: 131
smått ~ fått ~ 4 gott ~ fält	II: 142
döden ~ öden ~ 6 glöden ~ döden	II: 157
visst ~ sist ~ visst	II: 157
oerhört ~ förstört ~ 4 kört ~ oerhört (G.: unerhört ~ aufgeklärt ~ hinausgekehrt ~ unerhört)	II: 218
bedja ~ kedja ~ bedja	II: 228
opp ~ hopp ~ opp ~ 7 opp ~ lopp ~ opp	II: 233
mig ~ 2 stig ~ mig ~ 2 dig ~ mig	II: 235
han ~ minsann ~ han	II: (308)
dag ~ 2 företag ~ 1 lag ~ 1 dag	F: 5

## I strofknytning:

tal ~ kval ~ 3 dal ~ kval ~ 3 skal ~ kval	I: 40
rast ~ mast ~ 4 rast ~ last	I: 92
vilja ~ lilja ~ vilja ~ skilja	I: 249
slag ~ dag ~ svag ~ dag	II: 18

De ovan, sid. 72, nämnda, i genomkomponerade dikter förekommande rimbanden innehålla flera identiska rim, som inte tagits med i ovanstående samling. Antingen återkomma dessa *regelbundet* strof efter strof — medan en *tillfällig* strofknytning med identiska rim uppfattas som en avvikelse från diktens schema — eller också skiljas de av så många rimleder, att de äro utom räckhåll för varandra, när åhöraren utan speciell uppmärksamhet just på rimflätningen lyssnar till dikten.

III. När *båda* (alla) lederna i ett rim upprepas, kan man tala om *identiska rimband*. Hos Rydberg träffas följande:

just ~ lust ~ 3 just ~ lust	I: 257
man ~ han ~ 2 man ~ 2 han	II: 52
luv ~ tjuv ~ luv ~ tjuv	II: 120
var ~ har ~ 4 kvar ~ ögonpar ~ var ~ har	II: 130



## I strofknytning:

leviatan ~ satan ~ mänskohatarn ~ 7 leviatan ~ satan ~ mänskohatarn	I: 60
haven ~ graven ~ haven ~ graven	I: 191
är Han ~ äran ~ är Han ~ äran	I: 197
färden ~ världen ~ 2 färden ~ världen	S II: 324

För omkväderna gäller vad jag under II sagt om genomkomponerade rim.

Rimlederna ha bytt plats i rimmen:

fjät ~ det ~ det ~ fjät	I: 217
röst ~ bröst ~ 4 bröst ~ röst	II: 229

Till identiska rim har man knappast rätt att räkna de fall då ett rimord antingen dels ingår i den regelbundna rimflätningen som ändrim, dels står som inrim i samma rimband eller endast förekommer (på tillfällig rimplats) inne i versen. Rimschemats krav äro ju då tillfredsställda. Sådana rimföljder äro:

tyst (inrim) ~ kysst ~ tyst	I: 177
bygd ~ dygd (inrim) ~ blygd (inrim) ~ dygd	I: 236
ve (inrim) ~ ge ~ ve	II: 77
opp (inrim) ~ lopp ~ opp (inrim) ~ rosenknopp ~ opp	II: 100
ut (inrim) ~ njut ~ slut ~ ut	II: 111
är (inrim) ~ där ~ är (inrim) ~ begär	II: 156
fått (inrim) ~ gott ~ fått	S II: 323

Å andra sidan kan ett svagt identiskt ändrim förstärkas med inrim:<sup>1</sup>

Klångande över	
Stångande öar	
Simmande över	
Glimmande sjöar	II: 72

skonar mig ~ försonar sig ~ mig ~ dig	II: 158
---------------------------------------	---------

Även det identiska rimmets ena led står inne i versen (vid versled) en gång:

Knappt jag börjat slumra *förr än* något knackade på *dörren*,  
något *pickade* på *dörren* — ticketick det ljud däri  
upp jag *blickade*

I: 55

Sådana rimordsupprepningar, som här sammanförts, uppdelar Risberg<sup>2</sup> på två kategorier: iterationsrim och identiska rim. Jag

<sup>1</sup> Jmf. sid. 77 och anm. sid. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Anf. arb. sid. 227.

kan ej använda denna indelning, emedan den lätt blir missvisande, om man efter den skulle vilja mäta deras estetiska värde.

*Halvidentiska*<sup>1</sup> kallar jag sådana rim — Risberg räknar dem till homonymrimmen — som innehålla antingen ett enkelt ord och en sammansättning med detta eller två sammansättningar med samma efterled, när de identiska rimlederna äro samma, relativt självständiga semem:

### I. Direkt rimmande:

däri ~ i	I: 56, 59
löparstenens ~ liggarstenens	I: 219
(rätt och) slätt ~ samhällsrätt ~ rätt	I: 237
här in ~ där in	II: 70

### II. Indirekt rimmande:

(hi och) ho ~ mo ~ ro ~ furumo	I: 42
Grottekvarnen ~ trälabarnen ~ kvarnen ~ barnen	I: 208
bok (inrim) ~ tok (inrim) ~ klok ~ räknebok	II: 127

## Homonymrim.

### A. Rimorden helt och hållet likaljudande:

#### I. Direkt rimmande:

stjäl ~ själ	I: 44
båda (pron.) ~ båda (v.)	II: 50
vård ~ värld	II: 64
jorden ~ hjorden (Goethe: Erde ~ Herde)	II: 277

#### II. Indirekt rimmande:

sjön ~ ön ~ skön	I: 170
gott ~ brått ~ gått	I: 214
får ~ sår (s.) ~ går ~ sår (v.)	I: 239
tro (v.) ~ bo ~ ro ~ tro (s.)	II: 275

<sup>1</sup> Den mera logiska benämningen: *rim med rimorden halvidentiska* är något obekvämt.



## B. Rimorden delvis likaljudande:

a) (Åtminstone) ett av rimlederna ingår i rimorden som sammansättningsled:

## I. Direkt rimmande:

vågen ~ oförvågen	I: 11; II: 14
bara ~ underbara	I: 58, II: 26
ena ~ förena	I: 193
bottenvåning ~ förvåning	I: 213
bar ~ uppenbar	II: 12
andra ~ varandra	II: 28
uppstånden ~ bestånden	II: 40
uppstånden ~ stånden	II: 40
förråda ~ råda	II: 50
bedragen ~ dragen	II: 68
om ~ dårom	II: 89
lag ~ vederlag	II: 104
fara ~ underbara ~ 2 bara ~ svara	II: 112
däröver ~ över (G.: darüber ~ über)	II: 139
varda ~ överantvarda	II: 233

## II. Indirekt rimmande:

sitter ~ glitterströdda ~ spritter ~ citterknäppars	I: 207
friare ~ siare ~ 2 siare ~ befriare	I: 235
visande ~ prisande ~ spisande ~ bevisande ~ lisande	II: 42
förlust ~ pust ~ lust ~ just	II: 170

## b) samma avledningsändelse i rimlederna:

De i äldre diktning synnerligen mycket använda *-het*-rimmen kunna möjligen vara representerade i rimbandet:

poet ~ kvalitet ~ snabbhet ~ färdighet	II: 85
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Endast med stor tvekan har jag dock uppfört de två sista orden bland rimmen.

De i svenskan inlånade avledningsändelserna *-eri*, *-era* har puristen Rydberg — mirabile dictu — inte försmått att använda i rim.

*-era*, *-erande*, *-erar*, *-eras*, *-erat* ingå i båda rimorden i elva rimpar. (Se förteckningen!)

-eri rimmar i följande:

### I. Direkt rimmande:

~ häxeri ~ draperi ~	I: 61
förbli ~ féeri ~ tokeri ~ förbli ~ fri ~ poesi	I: 173
sceneriet ~ världsmaskineriet	I: 194
tokeri ~ gårkokeri (!)	II: 116

Det sista rimmet förstärkes av assonans i en svagtonig stavelse *före* den egentliga rimvokalen — ett mycket ovanligt slag av rim.<sup>1</sup>

### II Indirekt rimmande:

~ bryderi ~ bli ~ däri ~ féeri ~	I: 56
fri ~ maskineri ~ parti ~ menageri	II: 15

c) Övriga rimord med likaljudande rimstavelser, som jag påträffat hos Rydberg, äro:

### I. Direkt rimmande:

ner ~ banér ~ mer ~ ser ~ ner	I: 11
försåt ~ myosot	I: 138
Palatinen ~ Aventinen	I: 149
~ mänskorätt ~ Genesaret ~ ätt	I: 175
iden ~ antropoiden	I: 193
paraden ~ maskraden	II: 11
hem ~ Betlehem	I: 246

Det sista rimmet kan också föras till a) ovan.

### II. Indirekt rimmande:

cymbal ~ pelarsal ~ bal	I: 209
då ~ små ~ ändå	II: 160

*Ändå* uppfattas väl ej längre som sammansättning med *dd*.

(De första) rimstavelserna äro slutligen lika i det egendommiga rimmet:

är Han ~ åran	I: 197
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<sup>1</sup> Se Beckman, *anf. arb.* sid. 97.



## Rimmets renhet.

Angående rimmens fördelning på de olika vokalerna hänvisar jag till tabellerna. De ha uppgjorts efter förteckningens uppställning. Därigenom ha emellertid några ord kommit med på två håll, andra blott under den vokal, som förekommer i rimmets andra led, nämligen då samklngen är ofullständig. De oegentligheter, som fördenskull vidlåda sifferuppgifterna, fordra några beriktigande upplysningar. Jämte dessa meddelas slutligen de rim med otillfredsställande överensstämmelse i den »eftervokaliska» delen, vilka jag funnit hos Rydberg.

### I. Rimvokalerna.

#### A. Kvaliteten.

*y : u.*

djur ~ dressur

II: 58

kan svårligen anses vara ett orent rim. Snarare har skalden velat ange ett uttal av det senare ordet, som ansluter sig till Goethes: Spur ~ Dressur.

Möjligen kan Rydberg själv alternativt ha använt detta uttal; stavningen finnes i Filosofiska föreläsningar III sid. 146 (Jmfr sid. 313). Å andra sidan rimmar han: styr ~ dressyr. II: 90

*e : æ* är som bekant en vanlig inkongruens hos vissa moderna diktare, (t. ex. Heidenstam och Levertin) Av de hithörande fallen hos Rydberg äro säkerligen inga att räkna till »stockholms-rimmen».

I rimmet:

Ahasver ~ där

I: 97

stöter kanske inkongruensen obetydligt på grund av egennamnets ovanliga form — en germanism, som skvallrar om att Rydberg upptagit denna diktgestalt från tysk poesi.

hem ~ dem

II: 279

representerar en traditionell art av »rim för ögat».

själaherde ~ på färde

II: 131

förutsätter hos skalden det förra ordets uttal med *æ*, vilket L. W. 1889 uppta som »individuellt.»

Eva ~ bäva

II: 96

finner sin förklaring i uttalet med *æ* av egennamnet, ett uttal, som tycks vara tämligen utbrett, att döma av Frödings rim: Eva ~ sträva och Karlfeldts: Eva ~ sväva.

Alternativt uttal har riksspråket i följande ord:

med	rimmar	hos Rydberg	med <i>e</i>	(6 gånger)
f ked	»	»	» <i>e</i>	(5 » )
l kedja <sup>1</sup>	»	»	» <i>e</i>	(3 » )
			och med <i>æ</i>	(2 » )
medan	»	»	» <i>e</i>	(2 » )
problemer	»	»	» <i>æ</i>	(1 gång)
diademet	»	»	» <i>æ</i>	(1 » )
tjäna	»	»	» <i>e</i>	(2 gånger)

ø : ø.

[I dessa rim tilldrar sig i första hand kvantitetsväxlingen uppmärksamhet. Jag uppför dem emellertid här, i det jag liksom i rimförteckningen utgår från det riksspråksuttal, enligt vilket ø i allmänhet är långt, ø kort, (utom före apikoalveolarer)].

töcken ~ öken

I: 48

Det senare ordet torde i svensk poesi oftare rimma med *ö* än med *ø*. Båda uttalen äro otvivelaktigt riksspråkiga.

ø är mindre vanligt, men tolererat uttal i bestämd form av ord med stamslutande ø. Hos Rydberg träffas rimmen:

bön ~ sjön	I: 108
sjön ~ ön ~ skön	I: 170
skön ~ snön	S I: 146

æ : a.

De frappanta rimmen:

arv ~ yrkesvärv	I: 127
Marta ~ hjärta	II: 153

torde sakna motsvarigheter hos andra skalder. Föreligger någon slags reminiscens av småländskt dialektuttal?

u : u.

ljus ~ Antonius	II: 148
tjuter ~ Luther	VII: 25

I det sista rimmet kan åsyftas ett förutsatt, äldre uttal av *Luther*, vilket mera liknade det tyska. Eller är rimmet — som förekommer i en nidvisa i »Vapensmeden» — ämnat att härma 1500-talets rimvanor med små anspråk på rimassonans?

<sup>1</sup> Noreen, anf. arb. sid. 50 anger för detta ord alternativt uttal, likaså L. W. 1889; 1911 däremot blott *e*.



Alternativt uttal försvarar rimmen:

pust ~ lust ( <i>u</i> el. <i>u : u</i> )	II: 170
pusta ~ rusta ( <i>u</i> el. <i>u : u</i> )	II: 205
till buds ~ bjuds ( <i>u</i> el. <i>u : u</i> )	II: 80

*o : æ*

tydningen ~ igen	II: 228
krigaren ~ vän	S I: 133

äro anmärkningsvärda hos en så pass sen poet som Rydberg. Utrotningskriget mot dylika rim med »grumliga» ändelsevokaler var i full gång under 1800-talets första decennier.<sup>1</sup>

*o : a*

Eddystone ~ ifrån	I: 93, 99
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Egennamnets uttal med *o* — detta kanske det vanligaste — eller *a*, vilket skalden tydligen tänkt sig, förbättrar rimmet eller gör det alldeles rent.

*a : a.*

(Kvantitetsväxlingen är måhända den mest framträdande inkongruensen).

man ~ fan ( <i>a : a</i> )	II: 132
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*Svart* rimmar hos Rydberg i följande kombinationer:

vart [v.] ~ svart ( <i>a</i> el. <i>a : a</i> )	II: 188
jättefart ~ svart ( <i>a</i> el. <i>a : a</i> )	I: 148
snart ~ svart ( <i>a : a</i> )	I: 288

I det andra rimmet är assonans med *a* överensstämmande med ett uttal av *fart*, vilket L. W. 1889 ange som variant till det vanliga med *a*. För ett uttal *svart* (med *a*) hos skalden talar möjligen den omständigheten, att i så fall oregelbundenheterna i de anförda rimbanden bleve begränsade till ett och samma ord.

Jag antecknar vidare:

kravlar ~ gavlar ( <i>a</i> l. <i>a : a</i> )	II: 48
tadel ~ adel ( <i>a</i> l. <i>a : a</i> )	II: 125

Alternativt uttal föreligger också i *hade* som hos Rydberg endast påträffas med *a* (4 ggr.)

*o : a.*

bort ~ hårt	II: 234
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blir rent enligt det dialektalt färgade uttalet *o* i *hårt*.

Maraton : då	I: 29
Panteon : vapendån	I: 138
Panteon ~ gorgon	I: 150

<sup>1</sup> Rydberg har ett rim med *o* i båda lederna:

hattarne ~ venerabile	II: 52
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De båda grekiska egennamnen äro väl allt för hemmastadda i svenskan för att behålla lång vokal i sina bitryckliga slutstavelser.

Till denna vokalvåxling är eventuellt att föra det förut behandlade rimmet Eddystone ~ ifrån.

*o : a.*

Våxlande uttal ha *pirog* och *norna*, som finnas i rimmen:

skog ~ pirog	I: 93
norna ~ himlaborna	I: 282

*o : o.*

blomma ~ komma	IV: 538
----------------	---------

bör säkerligen skrivas på rimtraditionens räkning. (För andra skalder, t. ex. Tegnér och Karlfeldt, har uttalet *o* i det förra ordet gjort dylika rim rena). Den strof, vari rimmet förekommer i »Fri-brytaren på Östersjön», är utesluten fr. o. m. tredje upplagan.

#### B. Kvantiteten.

Kvantitativa olikheter mellan rimvokalerna, som gå hand i hand med kvalitativa inkongruenser, torde sökas under A. Dessutom förekomma några andra växlingar.

*i : ī.*

givs (ī) ~ till livs (ī)	I: 141
Liderlig (ī) ~ sig (ī)	I: 131
oförbätterlig (ī) ~ mig (ī)	II: 162
in (ī) ~ vin (ī)	IV: 441
Harlekin (ī) ~ Kolumbin (ī) ~ karmosin (ī)	I: 223

Det sista rimmets första ord har skalden tydligen uttalat med *ī* (jmf. it. *arlecchino*!)

*ē : ē.*

en (rākn.) ~ sen	II: 197
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L. W. skriva dock: en <sup>4</sup>l. e <sup>4</sup>n.

*æ : æ̃.*

herrn (æ̃) ~ falern (æ)	I: 128
Zeus' (æ̃) ~ undergrävs (æ̃)	I: 133

Alternativt uttal gör följande rim rent:

konserter (æ̃r l. æ̃rt) ~ smärt (æ̃rt)	II: 72
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$\bar{o} : \tilde{o}$ .

tro ~ inkognito II: 213

motion ~ hon II: 128

Det senare rimmet tyder på ett nu föråldrat uttal med  $\bar{o}$  i pronominet.

Efter mitt uttal föreligger inkongruens i rimmet:

fot ~ Zebaot ( $\tilde{o}$  l.  $\bar{o}$ ?) I: 128

## II. Rimmens övriga ljud.

### A. Rimordens bitryckiga eller otryckiga stavelsers sonanter divergera:

latmanslivet ~ blivit II: 129

skvallrar om skaldens sydsvenska börd.

De flesta rim med ena ledet kluvet uppvisa i andra stavelsen kvalitets- eller kvantitetsväxlingar eller bådadera:

ha den ~ staden II: 160

ha det ~ badet S. I: 478

ha det ~ veckobladet II: 160

var en ~ rådstalaren I: 128

stod där ~ moder I: 21

förstå det ~ förrådet II: 134

förrän ~ dörren I: 55

bjöd det ~ ödet I: 8

En obetydlig kvantitetsskillnad finnes i rimmet:

voro ~ oro I: 37

### B. Konsonantinkongruenser.

#### 1. Olika ljud ingå i rimlederna.

leviatan ~ satan ~ människohatarn ( $n : n : \eta$ )<sup>1</sup> I: 60bekant ~ intressant ( $n : \eta$ ) II: 12

[Goethes motsvarande rim är: bekannt ~ interessant].

Alternativt uttal försvarar rimmen:

sand ~ girland ( $n : \eta$  l.  $n$ ) I: 223konsert ~ smärt ( $r$  l.  $t : t$ ) II: 72

<sup>1</sup> Söderbergh, *anf. arb.* sid. 152, menar, att det ena rimordet innehåller fler ljud än det andra, förledd av stavningen l. sitt eget sydsvenska uttal.

Ett enligt min mening fullt riktigt *svenskt* uttal gör följande rim fullgoda:

S:t Simon ~ gång I: 142  
 sans façon ~ gång II: 147

2. Det ena rimledet innehåller flera ljud än det andra.

manér ~ atelier I: 19

är rim för ögat (ett motsvarande uttal efter bokstaven gör tydligen rimmet rent).

högtidsdagar ~ laga II: (337)

har Rydberg i den slutgiltiga översättningen bytt ut mot: högtidsdagar ~ behagar.

Däremot har han äventyrat att till ett annat »vulgärrim» knyta sin diktnings »stora frågetecken», nämligen i »Grubblarens» slutstrofer:

är Han ~ äran I: 197

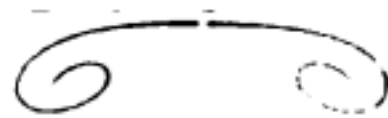
Minimal är konsonantinkongruensen i följande rim — den finns väl egentligen endast »på papperet» —:

stod där ~ moder I: 21  
 bjöd det ~ ödet I: 8

Utan anmärkning antecknar jag rimmen:

tungt ~ lugnt II: 176  
 tungt ~ punkt II: 148  
 tårbemängt ~ försänt I: 104  
 skänkt ~ stängt S. I: 477

*Anm.* På frågor om rimmens intensitetsförhållanden har jag avstått att ingå.







**JÖNS BUDDÉ**  
**OCH**  
**HELGA-KARIN-LEGENDEN**  
**I COD. HOLM. A 58.**

**AV**  
**EINAR SMEDBERG.**



**UPPSALA**  
**EDV. BERLINGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.**  
**1918.**



Uppsats för prof. v. Friesens seminarium vårterminen 1917.

Cod. Holm. A 58, den s. k. »Jöns Buddes bok», anses allmänt utgöra en samling originalöversättningar, verkställda och nedskrivna av Nådendalsmunken Jöns Budde åren 1489–1491 eller möjligen något år senare. Så yttrar utgivaren av hs., O. F. HULTMAN, dock utan närmare motivering, att intet skäl synes föreligga »till den slutsatsen, att själva översättningen av dessa skrifter icke skulle härröra från Budde» (Jöns Buddes bok, utgiven genom O. F. HULTMAN, Svenska Litteratursällskapets i Finland skrifter, Hfs. 1895, Inl. sid. XV). Vidare anser han, att det icke finnes »tillräcklig grund att betvivla, det hela handskriften utgått från en och samma hand» (ib. sid. XX). Någon allsidig i detalj gående undersökning av »Jöns Buddes bok» har mig veterligt icke publicerats, och utgivarens mening om Buddes författarskap och nedskrift av hela hs. har därför aldrig varit ställd under diskussion. Emellertid låter HESSELMAN (De korta vok. i och y sid. 238 not 1) den misstanken komma fram, att det sista partiet av hs. ej skulle vara en originalöversättning av Budde. HESSELMAN har nämligen vid sin undersökning fäst sig vid, att medan Budde i regeln har formen *byriæ*, förekommer denna form icke i det sista partiet av boken, legenden om Helga Karin, utan i denna heter ordet *børiæ* (eller *boriæ*, som väl är skrivfel för *børiæ*). En fortsatt jämförelse mellan Buddes språk och språket i Helga Karin-legenden skall måhända ge rätt åt denna HESSELMANS förmodan.

Det torde då vara lämpligast att först undersöka några rent yttre förhållanden. Heliga Fru Karin (här citerad HK) utgör den sista tärnen av hs. och är tydligt skild från de övriga. Tärnen är defekt i början och slutet, varför uppgift om författare eller nedskrivare saknas. Det finnes alltså inga rent yttre skäl, som nödga oss till den slutsatsen, att HK skulle vara originalmanuskript av Budde. Men man invänder, att det vore egendomligt, om ett arbete, som ej hörde till Buddes produktion, inbundits i samma band som Buddes övriga skrifter. Bandet är gam-



malt, och tradition om vad som härrörde från Budde borde väl ha hindrat ett icke-buddensiskt arbete att komma in i »Jöns Buddes bok». Härpå svaras, att vi ej veta, när och var de olika läggen bundits samman och att traditionen om vad som *verkligen* kommit från Buddes hand vid inbindningen därför ej behövt vara säker eller levande samt att namnet »Jöns Buddes bok», som ju vill säga, att boken på ena eller andra sättet härrör från Budde, icke på något ställe förekommer i hs. själv utan är bokens biblioteksnamn, som väl kan ha sin upprinnelse från de första av Budde signerade skrifterna. Det enda ställe där namnet förekommer är på hs-ryggen, och där skrivet av G. E. KLEMMING (Enl. välvilligt meddelande av f. d. Förste Bibliotekarien R. GEETE). Något tungt vågande yttre skäl att anse hela hs. för Buddes verk föreligger alltså ej — det är de inre, som äro avgörande.

Handskriften innehåller 10 olika arbeten, av vilka dock blott de trenne första bestämt anges såsom översättningar av Jöns Budde (Buddes bok sid. 70:38: »*ok vth tyddes i nadhendall Aff broder Jønes ræk eller budde* och sid. 95:31: »*thettæ sextern vthtydde broder jønes ræk eller budde j nadhendals closter*»). Huruvida man a priori skall anse Tundalus, Guido och S:t Bernhard såsom originalöversättningar, beror på tolkningen av orden *scripsit* och *screff*, vilka kunna betyda »översatte och nedskrev» eller blott »avskrev». (Sid. 121:25: *Frater johannes ræk male scripsit hec*, 177:36: *budde ræk scripsit hec*, 143:30: *Thettæ screff broder jønes ræk*). De 6:te, 8:de och 9:de arbetena sakna uppgift om översättare och nedskrivare, och det tionde, HK, är som förut nämnts, defekt. Vilja vi därför verkställa en jämförelse mellan HK och Jöns Budde (här cit. JB) torde det vara säkrast att till en början begränsa denna till en jämförelse mellan HK och språket i de trenne första arbetena, om vilka intet tvivel rörande Buddes författarskap synes kunna föreligga. Sidoantalet i dessa 3 första arbeten är dessutom tillräckligt stort för att få ett bestämt intryck av Buddes språk (sid. 1—95) och jämförelsematerial med HK, som omfattar sid. 191—229. Vi kunna sedan med stöd av funna fakta granska även de övriga skrifterna i hs. med hänsyn till författarfrågan. Undersökningen kommer alltså först och huvudsakligast att bli en jämförelse mellan HK å ena sidan och Lucidarius (cit. L.), S. Julianus och S. Basilissa (cit. S. Jul.) samt S. Justina och Cyprianus (cit. S. Just.)

å den andra. Beläggen hänföra sig genomgående till HULTMANS utmärkta edition av hs.

De olikheter, som äro mest anmärkningsvärda, äro följande:

1. HK. pron. *hwilken* konsekvent o. 125 ex.

Formen *hwilko* (228: 18) är snarast felläsning av utgivaren för *hwilko* eller möjligen felskrivning i hs.

L. S. Jul. S. Just.: *hulken* konsekvent o. 270 ex.

2. HK adv. prep. *up(p)* konsekvent 58 ex.

L. *op(p)* konsekvent o. 165 ex.

S. Jul. *op(p)* o. 40 ex. *upp* 84: 12 (samma rad även *opp*).

S. Just. *op(p)* 7 ex. *up* 93: 34.

3. HK prep. adv. *um* 93 ex. *om* 203: 12.

L. *om* o. 170 ex. *um* 20: 9, 36: 43, 39: 19. 57: 24, 27, 57: 2, 24, 68: 23.

S. Jul. *om* 27 ex. *um* 75: 13: 35, 78: 2, 40, 81: 19.

S. Just. *om* o. 20 ex. *um* 91: 40, 94: 43.

4. HK subt. *jomfru* konsekvent 35 ex.

L. S. Jul. S. Just. *jumfru* konsekvent 57 ex.

5. HK *børiæ*, *boriæ* etc. konsekvent 193: 39, 195: 33, 197: 9, 199: 41, 211: 35, 219: 23, 221: 42, 228: 13: 27: 29: 37, 39, = 12 ex.

L. *byriæ* etc. 1: 3, 8: 19, 20: 28, 31: 14, 33: 30, 34: 39, 39: 2, 41: 13, 51: 28 = 9 ex.

*børiædhe* 70: 20, *ophoriæn* 1: 29.

S. Jul. *tilbyriadhe* 75: 6.

S. Just. *tilbyriædhe* 94: 39.

6. HK har i motsats mot JB många former med *u* i stamstavelsen, där JB vanligast har *o* (a-omljud). Ex.

HK *bruth* 202: 9: 24, *brutligin* 218: 18, *budh(i)* 199: 10: 37, 206: 16, 207: 17, 211: 22: 34, *skudhan* 221: 12, *skudadhe* 204: 21, *hugh* 227: 36, *hugsualan* 195: 36, *hugsuala* 208: 34, *hugra* 226: 8, *hugswalare* 228: 4, *tillukkat* 192: 42, *lukkadhe* 193: 19, *lukkandes* 210: 23, *bughwm* 205: 2, *sluknar* 222: 3, *sukkan* 194: 1, *gull* 197: 43, *otuluga*, 227: 16, *hullan* 227: 17,

men *i hogh* 228: 5, *til bodz* 196: 12, *skodadhe* 208: 20.



JB *bodh* 4: 36, 5: 2, 10: 13, 15: 5, 25: 26, 30: 32, 41: 6, 43: 10, 24, 92: 6, 94: 19.

*broth* 15: 37, 16: 12, 40: 22, 46: 38.

*brotlign* 14: 40, 15: 27, 48: 8, 52: 28.

*brötliga* 21: 42, 48: 10, 12.

*brotlige(n)* 37: 41, 39: 4, 47: 4.

*ho(o)gh* 11: 28, 78: 2, 81: 39, *hoghenom* 3: 40, 20: 39.

*skodha* 8: 22, *beskodhan* 1: 35, *skodhas* 3: 8, *lokka* 49: 20, *dogha* 46: 41, 47: 10, 50: 15, 67: 34, *dogher* 50: 9.

JB ävenledes ej så sällan subst. *lokt* 54: 21, 55: 12, 13, 81: 17; *lochtena* 9: 30, HK endast *lukt* 226: 29, 30.

7. HK har vid sidan av vanligt adv. *at* även *æt*: 201: 24, 210: 31, 213: 16, 224: 7, 225: 7.

HK likaledes vid sidan av adv. *aff* även *æff*: 207: 26, 210: 21, 213: 3, 214: 43, 216: 15, 220: 6, 228: 18.

Varken *æt* eller *æff* förekomma i L. S. Jul. S. Just.

8. HK pret. sing. *hult* 213: 17, 215: 3, 221: 25, *hiolt* 225: 14, *holt* 211: 37.

L. *hult* 18: 10, 21: 28, 56: 32.

S. Jul. *hult* 81: 38, S. Just. saknar ordet.

9. HK pret. o. part. *sætte(s)*, *sæt(h)*.

*sætte(s)* 192: 19, 210: 42, 223: 42.

*sæt(h)* 198: 38, 200: 30, 209: 6, 218: 16, 219: 36, 220: 40, 221: 38, 222: 14.

Men även *foreseet* 195: 24, 196: 19, 206: 15.

L. stavningsvarianten *sette(s)* 6: 3, 11: 15, 14: 2, 4, 17: 12, 32: 30, 36: 4, 35, 70: 22, *seet* 17: 14, *setter* 47: 41.

Därjämte *sæth* 19: 22, 49: 39, *sætte* 23: 35, 48: 4, *sææth* 26: 12, *sætter*, 49: 19.

S. Jul. *sette(s)* 79: 35, 81: 21, 83: 29, 84: 7, 85: 38 *seet* 76: 15.

Därjämte *sætte* 75: 8, *sæth* 76: 25.

S. Just. *sette* 91: 41, 95: 18.

Även i andra fall föredrar JB stavning med *e* för ljudvärdet *æ* ex. L. *enlith mooth enlith* 3: 8, HK *ænlith* 204: 22.

10. HK dat. plur. av *ven* konstant *vynom* 194: 17, 211: 13, 213: 40, 216: 1, 228: 36.

JB *vynom* vanligast, men även

*vynum* 33: 10, 26, 34: 4, 39: 1, 42: 22, 52: 13, 63: 25,

*owenom* 30: 36, 63: 42.

11. HK prep. *epter* (*æpter*) konsekvent o. 65 ex.  
 L. prep. *effter* konsekvent o. 100 ex.  
 S. Jul *effter* 10 ex. *epter* 82: 10.  
 S. Just *effter* konsekvent 7 ex.
  
12. HK vanligast förbindelsen *-pt-* o. 30 ex.  
*scripten* 191: 24, *scripte(fadher)* 192: 3, 199: 16, 202: 13, 18, 24, 210: 35: 38, 213: 28, 227: 18, 30, 228: 20, 211: 8, 212: 27,  
*scripta* etc. 198: 22, 212: 27: 29, 214: 7, 8, 9, 213: 30, *scriptemal(l)* 212: 30: 35: 42, 223: 13,  
*skiptes* 200: 2, *apton* 202: 29, 204: 13,  
*lypte(s)* 203: 20, 206: 4, 217: 26.  
 Förbindelsen *-(f)ft*: *scriftafædher* 191: 26,  
*gifftomals* 193: 21, *affton* 224: 31, *krafft* 226: 28.  
 L. Förb. *-fft-* konsekvent o. 40 ex.  
 Ex. *skiffa* 3: 43, *oplyffte* 4: 28, *scrifft* 21: 4,  
*affton* 24: 41, *scrifftomalom* 46: 31, *scrifftadhe* 47: 29,  
 S. Jul. Förb. *-fft-* konsekvent.  
 Ex. *gifftomall* 73: 16, *lyffte* 76: 3, *scrifft*, 76: 9, *skiffte*, 81: 19, *krafftlogh* 80: 16, *kraffter* 84: 19.  
 S. Just. Förb. *-fft-* *krafft(er)* 92: 16: 20: 33; 35, 93: 32, 94: 10  
*omskiffter* 95: 25, men *scriptena* 94: 35.
  
13. HK använder *th* i uddljud blott där det motsvarar isl. þ och överhuvud även då sällan, egentligen blott i pronomena. Så ex. konsekvent *tala* etc. o. 15 ggr., *tiænæ* etc. o. 35 ggr., *tenkiæ* 226: 8 m. m., *tolde* 202: 10 219: 9 m. m., *tighiæ* 218: 20 *tanna* 229: 16.  
 L. S. Jul. S. Just. mycket ofta *th* i uddljud och även etymologiskt oriktigt. *T* och *th* ha alltså sammanfallit, och detta drag delar JB med bl. a. andra finländska texter: Cod Holm B 47 (Viborg) anteckningar i Cod Holm B 5 b, B 2, (BECKMAN: Studier i outgivna fsv. handskrifter sid. 50 och 52).  
 L. *thala*, *thal* etc. (ex. 1: 18) o. 23 ggr.  
*thienære* 15: 22 o. andra böjningar och avledningar av *thiænæ* o. 20 ggr.  
*thionde* 5: 20, *thekna* 19: 38, *tholde* 21: 23,  
*thola* 21: 40, *tharar* 46: 33, *thenkæ* eller *thala* 67: 36.



S. Jul. *thall* 75: 14 80: 40 *thalat* 75: 42.

*thiænæ* (ex. 77: 24) etc. 9 ggr. *thæliæ* 75: 12 *thola* 79: 1.

*tholamodh* 78: 43 *tharar* 80: 32 81: 14 *thænder* 83: 11.

S. Just. *thiænære* 92: 41 *thiæræ* 94: 2 *thekn* 91: 31.

14. HK har regelbundet nekande adverbet *ey* (ex. 197: 37). I JB förekommer även *ekke* 22: 39, 29: 7, 41: 38, 50: 28, 51: 43, 52: 11, 68: 31.

Av dessa olikheter äro några värda att närmare granskas. Det är fallen *børiæ*, *bruth* etc., *iomfru*, *hiolt* och *æt*, vilka torde kunna hänvisa på vissa dialektområden.

Jöns Budde har med säkerhet varit östsvensk, (se nedan) som förut, ehuru med tvekan, antagits av HULTMAN (Inl. sid. VI), NOREEN: Altschw. Gr. § 8 och HESSELMAN: De korta vok. etc. sid. 241. JB:s form *byriæ* o. d. är fullt överensstämmande med östsvenskt språkbruk. I östsv. dialekter kvarstår som bekant fsv. *ÿ* före r, då i (j) följer i nästa stavelse ex. *byri* (HULTMAN: De östsv. dial. § 1: 74): Att JB dessutom har enstaka fall av *børiæ* beror naturligtvis på inflytande från Vadstenaspråket, där formen är ljudlagsenlig. Där- emot synes mig det konsekventa bruket av *børiæ* (*boriæ*) o. d. i HK tyda på ett språkbruk, som i långt högre grad än JB är påverkat av götiska språkregler (Jfr. om *byria* > *börja* HESSELMAN: De korta vok. etc. sid 129 och BECKMAN: Studier, passim.) Vidare synes mig den stora saknaden av a-omljud i HK (fallen *bruth* etc.) överensstämma med den eller de dialekter under fsv. tid, som representeras av Östgöotalagen, Codex Bureanus och andra texter, som på ena eller andra sättet anknyta sig till Östergötland (HULTMAN: Hälsingelagen Exkurs I). De iakttagelser om a-omljudets spridning på ön. område, som Hultman sammanfattar sid. 330 ff. a. a. överensstämma nämligen vad dessa östgötskt färgade texter beträffar med beläggen från HK., medan JB:s många a-omljudda former mera peka på annat språkområde. Substantivet *jomfru* är i denna form synnerligen vanligt i Vadstena-texter, ex. Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser, Speculum Virginum, Peder Månsson, och är kanske därför i Vadstenaspråket ett traditionellt ord (varifrån det sedan spritt sig till andra texter). Men då formen är så vanlig just i dessa texter, är man benägen att söka förklaringen till vokalismen ur dialekten. Vi känna från fsv. tid. en ögg. av diftongen *iu* > *io* ff. velar nasal i östgötskan (NOREEN: Geschichte der Nord. Spr.<sup>8</sup> § 18) ex. *sionga* (Jfr. även O. OTTELIN: Studier i Codex

Bureanus II sid 54). Om vi alltså kunna förutsätta, att ögg *iu* > *io* försiggått före ögg.  $\eta > m$ , så kan ordet förklaras av denna specifikt östgötska ljudlag. Formen torde även kunna förklaras av den i vissa fsv. texter (Cod. A. L. av MELL) och nu levande östgötska dialekter bekanta ögg. *u* > *o* framför nasal + konsonant (BECKMAN: Studier etc. sid 212) och torde även med denna förklaring peka på östgötskt språkbruk. Preteritum *hiolt* synes mest tillhöra Vadstena-språket från msv. tid (se SÖDERWALLS Ordbok) då däremot *hult* visar på annat dialektområde (se nedan). Om vokalen i *æt* har förts en livlig diskussion (se om denna OLSON: Östgötalagens 1300-tals fragment sid XX). Här är ej platsen att gå in på denna fråga, men vi påpeka, att *æt* anträffats huvudsakligast i hskr., som på ena eller andra sättet ha östgötskt fårgat språk (Se OLSON: a. a. § 193 och BECKMAN: Studier etc. sid. 203). Förenlig med östgötsk dialekt kan även sing. *vægnen* (217:22) i HK vara. Sing. *vægn* har väl sin vokal från plur. *vægnir*, fsv. visserligen blott belagd från Södermannalagen (SÖDERWALL och NOREEN: Altschw. Gr. § 412:4). Men nu är plur. *vægner* känd från flera götamål (RIETZ) och under fsv. tid voro i-omljudda former vanliga i götadialekter (NOREEN: Geschichte<sup>3</sup> § 18), varför formen säkert kunnat tillhöra det msv. östgötska språkbruket. Jag har ej anträffat *vægn* i JB.

I flera fall synes alltså språket i HK peka på annat språkområde än språket hos Jöns Budde. HK har flera viktiga språkformer, som synas tyda på götiskt, väl närmast östgötskt språkbruk, medan Budde däremot bör ha tillhört uppsvenskt dialektområde. Även HESSELMAN (De korta vok. etc. sid. 246) anser Jöns Buddes bok för typiskt uppsvensk, så även BECKMAN (Studier etc. sid. 77) vilka båda dock ej observerat de många genomgående skillnaderna mellan HK och JB. Grundstommen f. ö. i HK är den vanliga medelsvenskan (jfr. dock nedan), som anses utgå från och bygga på huvudsakligast Vadstena-språket — sammanställt med vad som förut sagts, blir alltså resultatet det, att HK i långt högre grad än JB har östgötskt fårgat språk och mera överensstämmande med vanligt Vadstena-språk.

Men i detta med Vadstena-texter överensstämmande götaspåk finnas även andra viktiga former, som ej låta sig förenas med östgötska eller vanligt msv. skriftspråk men väl med det språkbruk, som synes representeras av Jöns Budde. De äro till-



lika överensstämmelser med Buddes eget språk, och vi övergå därför till att närmare undersöka några av dessa.

I. Ändelsen *ia* > *iæ*.

Ex. Lucidarius *byriæs* 1: 3, *kirkia* 11: 32, *vilia* 35: 13, *byggia* 61: 39, *aatskilia* 61: 39.

S. Jul. *sighia* 75: 31, *dengia* 79: 28, *thælia* 75: 12.

S. Just. *vilia* 91: 27, *vighia* 93: 15.

HK *kirkia* 210: 17, *smøria* 210: 44, *vilia* 214, 13. *bidhia* 214: 13.

Undantag finnas, exempelvis i HK *vilia* 196: 30, *sithia* 228: 31, *hengia* 223: 37, *vedervilia* 222: 24, *flængia* 202: 8.

Ögg. *ia* > *iæ* i svagton synes vara utmärkande för det medeltida språket i Finland, för så vitt vi nu veta. (NOREEN: Geschichte<sup>3</sup> § 18).

II. Vokalharmoni *a:æ* (*æ* efter *æ* (*e*)<sup>1</sup>, *ø* och verkligt *y* i rotstaveln).

Ex. Lucidarius *tydhæ* 1: 7, *nepsæs* 20: 41, *øghnæ* 3: 13, *beskæræn* 3: 57.

S. Jul. *forældræ* 73: 15, *forøkæ* 73: 17, *betenkæ* 73: 20, *dyrkæn* 77: 23.

S. Just. *dygdæfull* 91: 12, *hielpæ* 91: 19, *vændæ* 91: 21, *forøkæs* 92: 4.

HK *høghæ* 196: 5, *æræ* 196, 14, *dyyræ* 208: 23. *tilhielpære* 195: 22.

I HK finnas o. 60 undantag, men även i de andra skrifterna kan man träffa undantag, dock ej så många som i HK. Vokalharmoni på *a:æ* synes under msv. tid varit begränsad till dialekterna i Södermanland och Finland (NOREEN: Geschichte<sup>3</sup> § 18).

III. Pres. sing. *figh* konsekvent.

Ex. L. 6: 5, 35, 10: 24, 26, 40: 30, 47: 35.

S. Jul. 79: 16.

S. Just. 91: 25, 93: 10: 12.

HK 195: 17, 199: 16, 201: 5 m. m.

<sup>1</sup> Bokstaven *e* står i dessa fall som en ren grafisk variant för ljudvärdet *æ*. Så även BECKMAN Studier etc. sid. 173. Dennes »formella» förklaring av företeelsen (ib. sid. 174 not) framställd med stor moderation och tvekan, synes mig onödig och alltför osäker.

Enl. SÖDERWALL (Ordbok etc.) äro former med slutljudande *g* (*gh*) upptecknade från följande msv. källor:

1. Tundalus av Jöns Budde (Se nedan).
2. 2 Diplom från slottsfogden Josep(h) Pedersson på Åbo slott (1507, 1508).
3. Diplom från hövitsmannen på Raseborg, Tönne Eriksson Tott (1506).
4. Diplom från Lyndorm Brunsson, daterat Etagh (Ettak) (1510). Troligen daniserande.
5. Didrikssagan, hs. A hand 2, hs. från Uppland. Se E. NEUMAN: Utbredningen av vokalbal. a: å sid. 61 ff.

I moderna dialekter finnas former med slutljudande *-g* be-  
lagda från följande håll:

Ingo socken i Finland, Nylands län (Rietz).

Från följande socknar i Finland:<sup>1</sup> *fīg* Hi, *fig*, Vö, (m. fl. i m. Va) *feg* s Va, Re, *fæg* Hi, *feäg* Kim (samt flera dialekter med bortfall av slutkonsonant, väl representerande en fortsatt utveckling av former med *g* (*gh*)). (VENDELL: Ordbok över de östsv. dial.).

Med undantag av diplommet från 1510, vilket i detta fall ej torde vara så mycket att räkna med, visa alltså beläggen från msv. tid och ur moderna dialekter, att formen kan betraktas som ett typiskt östsvenskt, i mindre mån även uppsvenskt, språkdrag.

#### IV. Pret. *full(o)* konsekvent.

Ex. L. 6: 23: 29: 38, 7: 15, 8: 7: 31, 33: 32, 53: 24.

S. Jul. 76: 16, 86: 1, 27, 34.

S. Just. 92: 18: 40.

HK 203: 7: 27, 213: 24, 214: 2, 217: 23 m. m.

Under msv. tid är formen belagd från följande skrifter (enl. SÖDERWALL).

1. MB 1: 358 = Leviticus, översatt av Mathias Laurenti, född i Jönköping (C. SILFVERSTOLPE: Klosterfolket i Vadstena sid. 137).
2. MP 1: 44 enl. utgivaren G. E. KLEMMING ett »svenskt original, sannolikt skrivet i Vadstena kloster». Författaren känner man ej.

<sup>1</sup> Förkortningarna av sockennamnen äro Vendells.



3. MB 2: 44: 45 o. s. v. = Josua Bok, översatt av Nicolaus Ragvaldi. Var denne var född veta vi ej, men Vadstendiariet upplyser, att nunnan Anna Nilsdotter från Svanshals socken i Östergötland var hans syskonbarn (SILFVERSTOLPE a. a. sid. 94). Det är därför troligt, att även Ragvaldi varit östgöte.
4. RK 2 och 3 = Karls- och Sturekrönikorna. Författarna okända (KLEMMING: Sv. Medelt. Rimkr. III sid. 294 o. 299).
5. LfK 277 = Guido av Jöns Budde (se nedan).
6. Lg 3: 579 o. s. v. = HK.
7. Di 3: 55, 149, = Didrikssagan, se ovan!
8. Al 2430, Bil 229, om vilkas författare intet är känt.

Formen *full* synes alltså under msv. tid ej ha varit så ovanlig. Den förekommer i götiska och uppsvenska skrifter och i andra, vars dialektala ursprung är okänt. I moderna dialekter finnes *full* i Calix-målet (RIETZ) och enl. VENDELL (a. a.) i en del östsvenska dialekter (Nyl, Fby, Na, Å, Fö, Öb.). Det synes mig dock ej berättigat, att på grund av denna moderna begränsning av formen göra den till ett absolut dialektsärmärke under medelsvensk tid, eftersom den under äldre tid säkert haft en vidare spridning. Vi kunna dock med säkerhet anta, att den tillhört bl. a. det östsvenska språkbruket.

- V. Pret. *hult*, plur. *huld(h)o* konsekvent i JB.  
 Ex. L. 18: 10, 21, 28, 43: 6, 56: 32.  
 S. Jul. 81: 38, i S. Just. saknas ordet.  
 HK 213: 17, 215: 3, 221: 25, 211: 42, 218: 7, 224: 1. (Även *holt*, *hiolt* i HK se föreg.).

Under msv. tid förekommer *pret. med u* i följande skrifter (SÖDERWALL):

1. RK III: 133 = Sturekrönikan. (Se ovan).
2. ST 50: 238 m. fl. enl. BECKMAN (Studier etc. sid. 56) skriven av samma hand och representerande samma skrivsed som Arboga Lagbok, och ägande »flera specifikt uppsvenska drag än någon annan hittills undersökt svensk text, med undantag av Jöns Buddes bok» (ib. sid. 77).
3. LfK 219 = Tundalus i JB. (Se nedan).
4. MB 2: 212. 287 = Ruths och Maccabéernas böcker, översatta av Budde.

5. SDNS 1:781. Diplom från 1406, angående egendomsöverlåtelse i Fåssjö by (gård) av Ytterhogdals socken i Jämtland.

Spridningen av denna form under Medeltiden är alltså ganska begränsad och var kanske inskränkt till uppsvenskt-östsvenskt språkområde. I nutida dialekter förekomma *hul* i Norrbotten (RIETZ), *hulld* i Österbotten (ib.), *hull* i Hälsingland (ib.) och Västerbotten (ib. även *höll*), och enl. VENDELL (a. a.) i en del östsvenska dial: *hulld* Nyl. Kim, Pg. Hi, Na, Ko, Hsk, Hvbfj, Öb (med biformen *hul*) Buddes och HK:s form *hult*, (*huldo*) låta sig därför väl förklaras ss. dialektala, östsvenska former.<sup>1</sup>

VI. Pret. sing. *leet(h)*, *let(h)*, plur. *leet(h)o*, *let(h)o* konsekvent. Formerna ha säkert uttalats med *e*-ljud, ty i alla andra fall, där *e* dubbelskrives, betecknar det långt *e*.

Ex. L. 16: 13, 42: 25, 46: 32, 55: 26, 56: 31.

S. Jul. 79: 19, 81: 43.

S. Just. 93: 15, 16, 33, 34, 35, 38.

HK 197: 35, 202: 7: 16, 204: 41, m. m.

Även med *e* uppträder pret. av *grata*.

S. Just. *greet* 93: 9.

HK plur: *gritu* 224: 42, som förutsätter en sing. *grēt*, varpå sedan analogice plur. *gritu* bildats. (Jfr. HESSELMAN: Språk och Stil V sid. 101 ff).

I ordet *lēt* och *grēt* torde vi kunna se exempel på den i nutida östsvenska och uppsvenska uppträdande företeelsen, att *samn.* *ē* kvarstår utan att ss. i andra mål övergå till *æ* (HULTMAN: De östsvenska dial. § 1: 71 HESSELMAN: Sveamålen sid. 19 och 55). Även under msv. tid synes *lēt* i huvudsak varit vanligare i uppsvenska skrifter (Se SÖDERWALL).

Vi ha alltså funnit, att HK företer flera frappanta likheter med Jöns Budde och att dessa likheter synas hänvisa till uppsvenskt eller närmast östsvenskt språkområde. I motsats mot Buddes språk har HK å andra sida många genomgående drag, som peka på götiskt, snarast östgötskt, ursprung. Huru skola då dessa, som det synes oförenliga förhållanden förklaras? För att besvara denna fråga skola vi först undersöka, i vilket förhållande till HK Jöns Budde står, och vi övergå därför till denna författarbestämningsfråga.

<sup>1</sup> En annan preteritum-form, som är typiskt uppsvensk, är den i både HK och JB (ehuru med olika stavning, se föreg.) förekommande *sætte* (*sette*). Om denna forms spridning se E. NEUMAN: Utbredningen av vokal-balansen a: å i medelsvenskan sid. 36.



De konstaterade genomgående olikheterna mellan JB och HK torde hava visat, att den gängse åsikten om Buddes författarskap till hela handskriften ej kan vara riktig. Det synes mig nämligen oförklarligt, att en och samma författare vid olika tillfällen av sin skrifvarverksamhet skulle haft ett så konsekvent eller nästan konsekvent olika språk som fallen *hwilken*, *up*, *um*, *børiæ*, *jomfru*, *epter*, *script* etc. gentemot *hulken*, *op*, *om*, *byriæ*, *jumfru*, *effter*, *scrifft* etc. visa. Ty antag exempelvis, att Budde under en viss tid radikalt ändrat pronominet *hulken* till *hwilken*, så är det ju högst märkvärdigt, att ej gammal vana eller ouppmärksamhet någon enda gång förlett honom till att skriva det förut enda brukliga *hulken*. Eller tvärtom — om *hwilken* förut tillhört hans språkbruk, varför har det då aldrig någonsin omväxlat med *hulken*? Men *hulken* är konsekvent i partierna till HK, (Jfr. även nedan) *hwilken* i HK. Och denna förutsatta radikala språkändring hos en och samme författare är så mycket egendomligare, som den skulle inträtt i så många fall och med så ytterst få, i flera fall inga undantag. Ty även om vi kunna antaga, att Budde undantagslöst ändrat sitt språk i ett fall — även detta högst tvivelaktigt — så synes det mig omöjligt, att han skulle lyckats utan undantag ändra det i flere fall. Skiljaktigheterna visa dessutom på olika språkmiljö, och det är därför enligt min mening otvivelaktigt, att HK ej kan vara en originalöversättning av Jöns Budde, bevarad i hans egen nedskrift.

Har då Budde i HK avskrivit ett annat original? Detta skulle utan tvivel lättast förklara, varför så många intressanta former äro lika hos honom och i HK, ty det är ju känt från andra håll, hur en avskrivare ej så sällan låter sina egna språkformer smyga sig in i den text han avskriver. Men å andra sidan stöter denna förklaring på den stora svårigheten, att Budde i så fall skulle låtit sitt eget språkbruk i vissa fall konsekvent ändra förlagan men i andra bokstavstroget och i strid mot sitt eget språk undantagslöst följa grundtexten. Man förvånar sig då över, att han ej i något fall ändrat *hwilken* till *hulken*, *epter* till *effter*, *børiæ* till *byriæ*, *up* till *op* eller *jomfru* till *jumfru*, vilka senare former voro hans egna. Det skulle vara enastående, att en medelsvensk avskrivare så konsekvent kopierar en förlaga, vars språkbruk på många ställen avviker från hans eget, att han ej någonsin låter sina egna språkformer komma med. En så bokstavstroget avskrivning synes oantaglig, och redan

detta ett avgörande skäl mot Buddes avskrift af HK. Dessutom torde det ej vara ställt utom allt tvivel, att handstilen i HK är densamma som Jöns Buddes. Visserligen äro typerna mycket lika och tillhöra säkerligen samma skrivarskola, men ej blott helhetsintrycket av dem utan även vissa enskildheter äro olika. Redan utgivaren av hs. har konstaterat, att HK är det spatiösast skrivna partiet av hs. och att det diakritiska tecknet i bokstaven æ helt stryker det a, som utgör bokstavens huvuddel, medan det hos Budde f. ö. uppträder som en apostrof (HULTMAN: Jöns Buddes bok Inl. sid. XX). Vidare synes mig den nedgående slutstapeln i *h* och ofta *n*, *m*. vara olika och tyda på olika ductus av handen. I HK går den markerat rätt ned, hos Budde nästan som regel med tydlig sväng åt höger. Stilen i HK är utan tvivel mera driven, lättlästare och redigare, kraftigare och skarpare markerad samt mera sammanhängande än hos Budde. Intrycket av stilen i HK, jämförd med Buddes autentiska stil, är att den kan beteckna en betydlig utveckling och förbättring av den stil, som Budde själv företer. (Detta sista välvilligt påpekat för mig av f. d. Förste Bibl. R. Geete). HK skulle i så fall tillhöra en senare tid än de sist daterade Budde-texterna, alltså efter 1491, och under denna mellanliggande tid skulle Budde märkbart förbättrat sin handstil. Är detta möjligt?

Vi torde inom HK själv kunna finna vissa antydningar om tiden för dess nedskrift. I det latinska original, som säkert ligger till grund för HK, Vita Katerinæ, benämnes Katharina ofta Domina men aldrig Sancta (Scriptores Rer. Suec. III: 2 sid. 244 ff). I Ragvaldis Translatio Katerinæ (efter translationen 1489) benämnes Karin däremot Sancta (Script. Rer. Suec. III: 2 sid. 269 ff.). Och i HK får hon ofta hedersnamnet Sancta ex. 227: 6, 37, 39. Särskilt observeravi, att hon benämnes Sancta Kadrin i en bön till henne, en bön, som säkerligen är ett tillägg gjort av översättaren (205: 9). Kunna vi ej av denna skillnad mellan Vita och HK men likhet mellan Translatio och HK draga den slutsatsen, att HK är nedskriven efter Katarinas beatificering 1489? Gradskillnaden mellan Sancta och Beata synes ej ha stått så klar för Medeltidens folk, och Katarina dyrkades ju i Sverige såsom ett helgon, jämbördigt med andra, vilka med rätt buro namnet Sancta. Är denna slutsats riktig, kan texten ge oss vidare anvisning om tiden för legendens nedskrivning. I Translatio, där den beatificerade Katarina konsekvent benämnes Sancta,



förekommer mot slutet följande: — — — »androm, ther Canonizationes tillstunda,<sup>1</sup> nær Gudhi tæckes: först S. Sigfridi Söstersöner, Martyres, item helga Brynolph<sup>1</sup> Biscop i Skara, h. Biscop Nicolaus<sup>1</sup> av Linkopunge — — —» (Script. Rer. Suec. III: 2 sid. 275). Kanoniseringen av dessa båda biskopar har tydligen ännu ej ägt rum, fastän Ragvaldi hoppas därpå, och de få ej heller i likhet med Katarina hedersnamnet Sanctus. Bruket synes alltså ha varit att ej benämna en för helig ansedd man eller kvinna Sanctus, Sancta, förrän den officiella kanoniseringen ägt rum. Vi återgå till HK. I början av HK talas om Sanctus Brynolfus (191: 4) och om Sancto Nicolao (192: 31), samma män, som omtalas i Ragvaldis Translatio, men Mester Peder Olai 191: 32, doctor Mathias 191: 27, her Peder prior 191: 36, vilka samtliga, ehuru ansedda för heliga män, ej beatificerats och ej heller här i texten få namnet Sanctus. S. Nicolaus och Brynolfus beatificerades 1499, och efter detta år bör alltså sannolikt HK vara nedskriven. Denna tidsbestämning skulle följaktligen bra stämma överens med förutsättningen för en stark utveckling av Buddes stil. Är det då antagligt, att Budde omkring sekelskiftet skulle ändrat sin handstil? Tyvärr veta vi ytterst litet om den flitige Nådendalsmunkens liv. Han inträdde i klostret o. 1462 och måste då enligt klosterreglerna vara minst 25 år (HULTMAN a. a. Inl. sid. V och VIII). Vid sekelskiftet är han alltså minst några och sextio år. Före HK har han varit synnerligen flitig med översättning och avskrift, vi känna till 4 större arbeten av hans hand, tyvärr förlorade i hans egen nedskrift (HULTMAN a. a. sid. X ff). Dessutom ligger större delen av föreliggande hs. före HK, och Budde skulle alltså vid en förutsatt avskrift av HK haft en ganska betydande skrivarverksamhet bakom sig och hans individuella handstil borde ha varit utbildad. Det vore därför egendomligt, om den några och sextio års Budde (om han ens levde efter 1499, vilket vi ej veta, Jfr. HULTMAN Inl. sid. V) med en betydande skriftlig verksamhet redan bakom sig skulle så märkbart ändrat sin stil till det bättre. Sammanställes nu denna tidsbestämning av HK och de därur dragna konklusionerna med vad som förut sagts om undantagslösa språkliga skillnader och delvis olika språkmiljö samt om divergenser i handstilarna, måste man

<sup>1</sup> Spärr. av E. S.

komma till den slutsatsen, att Jöns Budde ej heller nedskrivit HK.

Är då HK en senare avskrift av ett Buddes original? Häremot talar bestämt den omständigheten, att de genuina Buddeformerna *hulken, op, byriæ, jumfru, effter* aldrig någonsin uppträda i HK, trots att exemplen äro så talrika. Det synes oförklarligt, att en avskrivare skulle ändrat en förlaga så konsekvent som i dessa fall — på något ställe borde väl originalets form kommit med. Men intet undantag finnes i dessa fall. Jag tror därför ej, att man kan räkna med en senare avskrift av ett Buddes original, och vi se oss sålunda nödsakade att helt skilja Jöns Budde från den svenska legenden om Helga Karin.

Men huru skola då de östsvenska och uppsvenska former, vi funnit i den östgötska grundstommen förklaras? Den konsekvens, som utmärker flertalet viktiga språkliga företeelser i HK, gör det från början osannolikt, att vi skulle ha att räkna med en hs., som ej är ett original, nedskrivet av författaren (översättaren) själv. En avskrivare skulle säkerligen ej med samma konsekvens skrivit exempelvis *up, jomfru, bəriæ, figh, full*, försåvitt han ej haft absolut samma språkbruk som förlagan. Denna möjlighet synes mig dock alltför hypotetisk och det torde vara bäst att såsom en säkrare utgångspunkt anta, att vi framför oss ha ett originalmanuskript. Huru skola vi då förklara språkets skiljaktigheter? Jag har tänkt mig följande förklaring. HK bör på något sätt höra till Nådendal, där handskriften förvarats och väl bör anses ha sitt ursprung. Detta antagande stödes av att papperet i HK säkerligen är samma papper som det sista lägget i codicen *före* HK. I hs. finnas flera olika vattenstämplar, i HK tvenne olika sådana. Dessa HK:s stämplars förekomma ej i större delen av hs., där vattenstämplarna äro av annan typ, men i det sista lägget före HK äro de desamma som i HK. Papperet i dessa sista lägg förefaller även att vara något glattare och bättre än i de föregående. Denna likhet är ett indicium för att papperet i HK tillhör samma skrivarcentral som det föregående lägget. Att detta sistnämnda är av Buddes hand är otvivelaktigt (se nedan) och att Budde skulle nedskrivit det på annat ställe än i Nådendal är ej troligt. Åtminstone föreligger intet som helst skäl att anta detta. Det synes därför sannolikast, att HK kommit till inom Nådendalsklostret. Detta stod i ständig förbindelse med moderklostret i Vad-



stena och dess svenska litteratur stod i beroende och tog intryck av det språk, som utbildats av Vadstena-klostrets litterära förmågor. Det litteraturspråk, som så skapades i Nådendal, sökte därför mer och mer närma sig till Vadstena-språket, eftersom detta ansågs såsom normgivande för god skriftsvenska. Men detta hindrade dock ej, att östsvenska språkdrag i vissa fall bibehöllos, väl ibland uppblandade med former från Vadstena-texter.

HK skulle enligt ovan framställda åsikt vara yngre än det sist daterade arbetet av Budde. Under den tid, som ligger mellan 1491 och tiden efter 1500, skulle det nyss skizzerade närmandet av Nådendalsspråket till Vadstenaspråket ha tagit ett steg framåt. HK skulle sålunda representera ett yngre skede av Nådendalsspråket än Jöns Budde. I så fall förklaras å ena sidan dess många överensstämmelser med Vadstenaspråket (som samtidigt äro skillnader från Budde) och å andra sidan dess kvarstående östsvenska former. Därjämte förklaras den stora likheten i handstilar om HK tillhör samma klosterskola som Budde. En annan man än Budde kan vidare i vissa fall, som ej bero på dialektalt inflytande, haft ett annat språkbruk än Budde (fallen *hwilken*, *epter*, *script* etc.). Jag håller därför för sannolikast, att legenden om den heliga fru Karin i Cod. Holm. A 58 är en originalöversättning från Nådendal, verkställd av en östsvensk andlig i Nådendal och representerande ett yngre östsvenskt skriftspråk än Jöns Budde. Cod. Holm. A 58 torde alltså för fortsatt forskning över våra medelsvenska dialekter erbjuda ett synnerligen intressant material — dels såsom grundlag för fastslående av medeltida östsvenska språkdrag, dels för att visa det starka inflytande, som Vadstena-språket med säkerhet utövat på hela vårt medeltida skriftspråk.

\* \* \*

Sedan vi nu efter en jämförelse mellan »Helga Karins leverne» och de trenne första arbetena i »Jöns Buddes bok» konstaterat vissa drag, som äro utmärkande för Buddes språk, kunna vi övergå till hs:s 6 återstående arbeten, vilka vi vid början av vår undersökning avskilde såsom a priori ej fullt säkra Budde-skrifter. Dessa arbeten äro: Tundalus, Guidos själs uppenbarelse, Biskopen Udo, S:t Bernhards betraktelser, Sanctus Albertus och Tolf gyllene fredagar. Äro de originalöversätt-

ningar av Budde och nedskrivna av honom själv? Vi kunna fatta oss kort. För det första företer handstilen i dem i intet hänseende några avvikelser sins emellan eller med JB. Vid de mellan HK och JB genomgående språkliga skillnaderna följa för det andra de 6 arbetena JB, vilket följande sammanfattning visar.

1. Tundalus.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent o. 90 ex.

Prep. *op(p)* över 50 ex. *up(steegh opp)* 108: 32.

Prep. *om* konsekvent o. 40 ex.

Prep. *effter* konsekvent o. 40 ex.

Subst. *jumfru(r)* 118: 18, 120: 22.

Verb *tilbyriædhe* 100: 10, 13. *børiæde* 120: 41.

Förb. -*fft-* ex. *oplyffte* 104: 30, 100: 4, *skaffta* 108: 19, *scrifftade* 115: 7, *oplyffte* 111: 16, *skiffte(s)* 99: 18, 114: 17, 30, 115: 10, 40, 116: 38, -*a* 120: 41, (*skipta* 100: 10, *skapt* 112: 26).

Stavningen *th-* ex. *thiænæ* etc. 115: 36, 37, 38, 116: 10, 37, 117: 29, *thala* etc. 99: 15 m. m., *thola* 107: 25 m. m., *tharanna* 104: 23, *thannanna* 104: 23, 107: 20.

Adv. *ekke* 110: 30.

2. Guidos själs uppenbarelse.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent o. 70 ex.

Prep. *op(p)* konsekvent o. 20 ex.

Prep. *om* konsekvent o. 55 ex.

Prep. *effter* konsekvent o. 20 ex. (Se särskilt 143: 27, som står i avslutningen, säkert original av Budde).

Subst. *jumfru* konsekvent 9 ggr. ex. 130: 14.

Verb *byriæd(h)e* 137: 40, 138: 1, (*børiædhe* 125: 41, *børiæs* 137: 24).

Verb *sette(s)* 125: 36, 135: 10.

Förb. -*fft-* ex. *scriffta* 143: 12 m. m., *scaffter* 126: 38, *scrifften* 128: 33, 143: 30, *scrifftemall* 130: 20 m. m., *skifftes* 132: 42, 134: 2, 5.

Stavningen *th-* ex. *thala* 126: 17 m. m., *thenkiæ*, 127: 21, *tholde* 131: 3, *thanka* 137: 11, 19, *thendrene* 138: 2.

3. Biskopen Udo.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent o. 25 ex.

Prep. *om* konsekvent 18 ex.



Prep. *op(p)* o. 20 ex *up* 152: 8.

Prep. *effter* 28 ex. *ep̃ter* 147: 16, 148: 16, 149: 7.

Subst. *jumfru* etc. konsekvent 147: 22, 30, 36, 148: 1, 150: 21, 151: 27, 30, 155: 15.

Verb *settæ* 147: 18, *sette(s)* 148: 10, 150: 2, 24, 151: 28, 152: 31.

Verb *byriedhe* 153: 27, *byriædes* 152: 16.

Subst. dat. plur. *venom* 153: 40.

Förb. *-fft-* ex. *gifftom* 148: 19, *scrifften* 149: 9, *oplyffte* 151: 21, *skafftet* 152: 26, *krafftogher* 148: 3.

Stavningen *th-* ex. *thala* 147: 15, 148: 2, *tharom* 147: 30, *tholl* 152: 4, *thiænærom* 152: 22, *thienære* 153: 30, *thekn* 155: 10.

#### 4. St. Bernhards Betraktelser.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent o. 60 ex.

Prep. *op(p)* konsekvent o. 50 ex.

Prep. *om* 52 ex. *um* 161: 2, 163: 41, 164: 8, 169: 29, 37, 171: 15, *umsorgh (om)* 168: 40, 175: 25.

Subst. *jumfrur* 170: 23, *jumfruna* 169: 15.

Subst. *owenom* 175: 12.

Verb *tilbyriæ* 175: 15.

Prep. *effter* konsekvent o. 20 ex.

Förb. *-fft-* ex. *scriffta(r)* 172: 35, 162: 22, *skafftom* 161: 9, *oplyffter* 174: 30, 176: 34.

Stavningen *th-* ex. *thala(r)* 176: 40, 177: 3, *thalan* 175: 7, *thungona* 163: 9, *thanna* 167: 22, *thannom* 163: 3, *tharar* 166: 1, 2, *thiænæ* 165: 22 m. m., *thoc* 166: 6, *thanke(n)* 173: 28, 174: 20, *thola* 165: 41, *tholl* 167: 17, 177: 3.

#### 5. Sanctus Albertus.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent 181: 14, 15, 27, 183: 6.

Prep. *om* konsekvent 181: 19, 27, 42, 182: 1, 4, 7, 12 (2 g.), 32, 38.

Prep. *op(p)* konsekvent 181: 21, 25, 35, 182: 5, 23, 33, 34, 43.

Prep. *effter* konsekvent 181: 34, 40, 182: 7: 19.

Förb. *-fft-* *opplyfftæ(s)*, *-a* 181: 21, 25, 182: 23, *lyffte* 182: 43.

Stavningen *th-* ex. *thienist*, *thienæ* 181: 17, *tholl* 181: 42, *tharar* 181: 41, *tharom* 182: 19, *thola modhe* 182: 26.

#### 6. Tolf gyllene fredagar.

Pron. *hulken* konsekvent 187: 11, 14, 18, 35.

Prep. *om* konsekvent 187: 18, 38, 188: 9, 18, 27.

Prep. *op* kons. 188: 1, 3, 14, 16.

Subst. *jumfru* kons. 187: 37, 188: 18.

Prep. *effter* kons. 187: 15, 21.

I intet av dessa 6 arbeten förekomma heller *æt*, *æff*.

Både paleografiska som språkliga skäl göra det sålunda klart, att dessa 6 arbeten, i likhet med de 3 första äro originalöversättningar av Budde och bevarade i hans egen nedskrift. I sin mån styrker detta resultat vår åsikt, att HK måste avsöndras från Buddes produktion. Orden *scripsit*, *screff* kunna alltså med rätt tolkas såsom *översatte och nedskrev*, och de 6:te, 8:de och 9:de arbetena, som sakna varje uppgift om översättare eller nedskrivare, böra av inre skäl med säkerhet tillskrivas Budde.

\* \* \*

Till prof. A. Noreen, vilkens stora välvilja möjliggjort publicerandet av denna uppsats, och till prof. O. v. Friesen, på hvil-  
kens seminarium undersökningen i sina huvuddrag först ventilerades och vilken för det fortsatta utarbetandet av densamma givit mig värdefulla principiella råd, ber jag att få uttala mitt varma tack.







# SPRÅKVETENSKAPLIGA SÄLLSKAPETS

## I UPPSALA FÖRHANDLINGAR

Jan. 1916—Dec. 1918.



UPPSALA  
EDV. BERLINGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.  
1919.





## Berättelse öfver Språkvetenskapliga sällskapets i Uppsala värksamhet Januari 1916—December 1918.

Sällskapets medlemsantal har utgjort c:a 85 och var i December 1918 85. Såsom ordförande ha under perioden fungerat från januari 1916 t. o. m. den 11 Oktober 1917 prof. Erik Staaff, därefter undertecknad. Såsom ekonom ha fungerat från Januari 1916 t. o. m. den 4 Okt. 1918 Doc. Erik Noreen, därefter fil. mag. K. Michaëlsson. Sällskapets sammanträden ha tillfälligtvis bevistats av bl. a. några av dess f. d. medlemmar, samt av doc. A. Oden-  
crants, doc. E. Wigfors från Lund och d:r J. Brøndum-Nielsen från Köpenhamn, vilka tre senare hållit var sitt föredrag:

Sällskapet har under perioden hållit 20 sammanträden med följande föredrag:

1916. 10 Febr. Prof. Johansson: Är hetiternas språk indo-europeiskt?

7 Mars. Fil. lic. R. Nordenstreng: Några principspörsmål rörande långods och nybildningar i vårt språk.

13 April. Doc. Noreen: Järsbergsstenens inskrift (här tryckt som Bil. A.)

Doc. Torbiörnsson: Ordförklaringar (här tryckt som Bil. B.)

12 Okt. Fil. lic. R. Nordenstreng: Riktlinjer för svensk språkförbättring.

10 Nov. Doc. Nachmanson: Erotianos och Gregorios af Korinth.

11 Dec. Doc. Odencrants: Om fotografien som hjälpvetenskap för filologien.

Doc. Wessén: Ordet *morgon* i de germanska språken (här tryckt som Bil. C.)

1917. 9 Febr. Prof. v. Friesen: Sigvat Tordsson och slaget vid Stiklastad.

Fil. lic. R. Nordenstreng: Betydelsen av namnet *Gustav*.

9 Mars. Lektor Wiget: Der *i*-umlaut von *a* im Oberdeutschen.

29 Mars. Doc. Wellander: Den historiska betydelselärans utvecklingsmöjligheter.

14 Maj. Doc. Ruben G:son Berg: Lagarna tör enskilda och stilistiska värden.



11 Okt. Prof. Johansson: Ordet *rönn*.

Doc. E. Noreen: Om ordet *skogsrå* samt om '*Pāos* hos Dio Cassius (här tryckt som Bil. D.)

15 Nov. Doc. Karlgren: Källor till den kinesiska ljudhistorien.

7 Dec. Prof. Björkman: Sköldungarnas mytiska stamfäder.  
1918. 22 Febr. Prof. v. Friesen: Om Reidgoterna.

14 Mars. D:r H. Alving: Objektssubjektets plats i ackusativ med infinitiv i forn-, ny- och nusvenska.

Doc. Wigfors: Germanskt *e* i fornsvenskan.

12 April. Doc. Kjellman: Några drag ur de franska infinitivkonstruktionernas historia, särskilt infinitiv efter opersonliga uttryck.

3 Maj. Prof. Noreen: Preteritum *setta* och typen *bodde* (här tryckt som Bil. F.)

Doc. Noreen: Preterita *selda* och *keypta* (här tryckt som Bil. G.)

Prof. Björkman: Fgutn. *laþih* 'vår'.

4 Okt. Fil. lic. E. Hjärne: Taciti uppgifter om suionerna.

8 Nov. Doc. Geijer: En språkgräns och en sockengräns Jämtland.

27 Nov. D:r J. Brøndum-Nielsen: Pronominet *hinanden*.

Fil. lic. R. Nordenstreng: Om lånordens förekomst och täthet i äldre och nyare svenska.

Uppsala i Februari 1919.

ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

### Förteckning över sällskapets aktiva medlemmar i December 1918.

Alexander, H., Universitetslektor.	Erdmann, A., f. d. Professor.
Almgren, O., Professor.	v. Friesen, O., Professor.
Alving, K. H., Lektor.	Gabrielsson, A., Docent.
Andersson, L. A., f. d. Överbibliotekarie.	Gagnér, A., Fil. Lic.
Björkman, E., Professor, Sällskapets ordförande.	Geijer, H., Docent.
Boëthius, A., Docent.	Geijer, K. R., f. d. Professor.
Brilioth, Y., Fil. D:r.	Geijer, P. A., f. d. Professor.
Brolén, C. A., Rektor.	Gjerdman, O. H., Docent.
Charpentier, J. H. R. T., Docent.	Grape, A., Förste Bibliotekarie.
Danielsson, O. A., f. d. Professor.	Götlin, J., Fil. D:r.
Ekman, M., Fil. Lic.	Hagendahl, H., Fil. Lic.
	Hjärne, E., Fil. Lic.
	Hjärne, H., Professor.

Holmberg, J., Docent.	Redin, M., Fil. Lic.
Johansson, K. F., Professor.	Reuterskiöld, E., Professor.
Kjellberg, E., Fil. Mag.	Rooth, E., Fil. Lic.
Kjellberg, L., Professor.	Rudberg, G., Docent.
Kjellman, H., Docent.	Samuelsson, J., Lektor.
Kolmodin, J., Docent.	Sandsioe, G., Fil. D:r.
Langenfelt, G., Fil. Lic.	Schagerström, A., f. d. Lektor.
Liljeblad, J., Rektor.	Schmidt, F., Lektor.
Lindblom, J., Docent.	Schück, H., Professor.
Linderholm, J. E., Docent.	Sjögren, H., Docent.
Lindqvist, N., Docent.	Smedberg, E., Fil. Lic.
Lundberg, O., Andre Bibliotekarie.	Staaff, E., Professor.
Lundell, J. A., Professor.	Stave, E., Professor.
Mattson, K. G. E., Docent.	Strandberg, O., Fil. Lic.
Melander, J., Docent, Läroverks- adjunkt.	Sundén, J. M., f. d. Professor.
Michaëlsson, K., Fil. Mag.	Thörnell, G., Docent.
Molund, P. O., Fil. Lic.	Torbiörnsson, T., Docent, Läroverks- adjunkt.
Moosberg, N., Fil. Mag.	Tunberg, S., Docent.
Nachmansson, E., Docent.	Tydén, F., Fil. Lic.
Nelson, A. H., Förste Bibliotekarie.	Wahlgren, E. G., Docent.
Neuman, E., Docent.	Wallenberg, J., Fil. Mag.
Nordfelt, A., Rektor.	Wellander, E., Docent.
Nordenstreng, R., Fil. Lic.	Westerblad, C. A., Läroverksadjunkt.
Noreen, A., Professor.	Westman, G. A., Fil. Lic.
Noreen, E., Docent.	Wiget, W., Universitetslektor.
Nyberg, H. S., Fil. Lic.	Wiklund, K. B., Professor.
Persson, P., Professor.	Zettersteen, K. V., Professor.
Petrini, E., Docent.	Öberg, O., Läroverksadjunkt.
Pettersson, Har., Fil. Kand.	Öhrman, A., Fil. Lic.
Pipping, R., Fil. Mag.	Östergren, O., Docent.
Psilander, Hj., Professor.	







*O. von Friesen foto, 1902.*





## Om Järsbergsstenens inskrift.

Järsbergs- (»Varnums-»)stenen lästes och tolkades av Bugge i Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik (1867) på följande sätt:

*Ubar Hite Harabanar [wi]t iah ek Erilar runor waritu.  
Over Hit ristede vi to : Ravn og jeg Jarl Runer.*

Med den modifikation, som framställts av NOREEN, Altisländische Grammatik<sup>3</sup>, s. 338: »Úfr ['rauh', oder 'uhu', hier als mannsname] dem Hitr (setzte den stein). Wir zwei, Hrafn und-ich Jarl, die runen ritzten», och som i allmänhet godtagits<sup>1</sup>, är denna läsning och tolkning den ännu gängse (se t. ex. MAGNUS OLSEN, Bergens museums aarbok 1911, n:r 11, s. 26 not 2, NOREEN, Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen<sup>3</sup> (1913), ss. 179, 214, v. FRIESEN, Runorna i Sverige (1915), s. 7).

BUGGES tolkning (vare sig med eller utan denna modifikation) ger emellertid anledning till betänkligheter. Att den antar en eljest ej belagd dualform är ju i och för sig föga att säga om. Den ordställning (*Harabanar wit jah ek Erilar*), som B. antar, är likväl konstlad och stödes knappast tillräckligt av de paralleller från fvn. håll som han s. 240 anför (*hittask þeir bróðr ok Magnús konungr* 'han och Magnus' o. d.). Betänkligare förefaller det att anta att *jah*, som eljest ej är belagt urnordiskt, på denna tvivelsutan (jfr nedan) relativt sena inskrift skulle vara bevarat, samt

<sup>1</sup> Den siste som yttrat sig om Järsbergsstenens inskrift, BRATE i Östergötlands runinskrifter s. 161 f. (1915), fasthåller däremot BUGGES tolkning *ubar* 'över' (»Då Järsberg-stenen, såsom Bugge, N. I. I, s. 39, påpekar, har stor likhet med Tune-stenen, bör jämförelse med dennas inskrift vara utgångspunkten vid tydningen av inskriften på Järsberg-stenen. På Tune-stenen styres den avlidnes namn av prep. liksom efter Bugges tydning på Järsberg-stenen, vilken tydning alltså bör fasthållas; att prep. är 'efter' på Tune, 'över' på Järsberg, är en oväsentlig skillnad, som kan bero på skiljaktiga sakförhållanden, jfr hurusom å Ög. 170 Ösby mot vanligheten prep. 'över' användes; i båda inskrifterna tala de, som ristat runorna, i första personen och uttrycka förmodligen därmed, att de åvågabragt minnesvården»).



att *j*-ljudet här skulle betecknas ej med *j*-runan utan med *i*. BUGGES påstående år 1867, att *waritu* »efter fast Udtryksmaade i Runeindskr.» endast kan vara pret., ej pres., tarvar numera revision, sedan vi fått säkra exempel på presens i liknande ställning (något som BUGGE själv medger i Norges Indskrifter med de äldre Runer 1: 334 f. och 362), nämligen åtminstone Overhornbækbrakteatens *aupa þit aih uilald tuiu uotwa*, St. Noleby-(»Fyrunga-») stenens *runo fahi raginakudo* (jfr M. OLSEN, Aarbøger 1907: 41) samt väl också Åsumbrakteatens *ik akar fahi* (< \**faihi*ju). I stället för en dual *waritu* kunna vi alltså läsa *waritu*, 1. pers. sg. pres. (jfr *tuiu* Overhornbæk och väl också *gibu* Sjællandsbrakteat). Vi behöva således icke med BUGGE för att få ett subjekt till *waritu* suppleras fram dualformen *wit*.

Huvudskälet till att avvisa BUGGES uppfattning av runföljden *tiah* är dock av runologisk art. Runorna se ut på följande sätt<sup>1</sup>:

↑|H

*H*- och *a*-runorna ha emellertid eljest alltid formen **H** och **h** utom *a* i *waritu*, som läses från höger till vänster. Följaktligen måste enligt min mening även runföljden ↑|H läsas så<sup>2</sup>. Vi få då den välbekanta bokstavsföljden *hait*.

Jag tror mig härmed ha visat att inskriften ej kan läsas på det hittills gängse sättet. Hur den i stället bör tolkas är en annan fråga och vad som här följer bör endast betraktas som gissningar och antydningar. Stenen är ju avslagen och att något av inskriften är förlorat syns på runan **h** i *ubar*, och ingenting hindrar egentligen att åtskilliga runor kunde vara borta. Under sådana förhållanden kan man knappt hoppas att någonsin få en fullt säker tolkning.

Med *ek ērilar* torde inskriften börja; jfr inskrifterna från Kraghul och Lindholm, som börja *ek erilar*, Veblungsnæs- och Bystenarna, som börja *ek irilar* (så enligt NOREENS föreläsningar, i det att **M** uppfattas som binderuna av **M** och <) eller enligt gängse läsning *eirilar*, samt flera andra inskrifter som börja med *ek*. Försättningen synes knappast vara att söka i *runor waritu*, vilket står med ungefär hälften så små runor högre upp; den

<sup>1</sup> Se vidare bifogade fotografi av inskriften, som benäget ställts till mitt förfogande av professor VON FRIESEN.

<sup>2</sup> Dessa runor äro för övrigt också något mindre än de i *ek ērilar* använda.

oordentliga anordningen av denna runföljd är också lättare att förstå om man antar att den tillkommit först sedan också den undre raden var fullskriven. Jag tar alltså ihop orden *ek erilar ubar hite*, vilka torde bilda en sats. *Erilar* finns belagt på flera andra inskrifter och står på säkert tolkade ställen som apposition till ett egennamn: *ek irilar* (eller *eirilar*, jfr ovan) *wiwila* Veb-lungsnæs, *ek irilar* (eller *eirilar*) *hrorar* By, och på de två andra inskrifter där ordet förekommer torde det lika väl kunna vara appellativ som proprium (*ek erilar asugisalas muha haite* Kragehul, *ek erilar sawilagar ha[i]teka* Lindholm; jfr t. ex. en inskrift som *ek gudiya ungandir* Nordhuglen, där inget proprium torde följa efter *ek*).

I *hite* har man sett dativ (jfr *wage* på Opedalsinskriften o. d.) av ett mansnamn *\*Hitar*. Ett dylikt är hittills obekant och en tilltalande etymologisk anknytning är svår att finna. V. GRIENBERGER sammanställer det Z.f.d.Ph. 39: 64 f. med fvn. *hiti*, fht. *hizze* etc. och jämför *Cal(i)dus* som romerskt cognomen. Något annat nordiskt ord, som man kunde tänka på att sammanställa det med (utom fvn. *hít* f. 'skinnsäck') är mig ej bekant. Namnet *\*Hitar* förefaller sålunda något misstänkt. — Som ovan nämnt finns det två urnordiska inskrifter till, som börja med *ek erilar*, Kragehul och Lindholm. På dessa följer efter en apposition till *erilar* ordet *haite(ka)* 'heter jag'. Detta förhållande måste verkligen sägas inbjuda till att i *hite* se en felsskrivning för *haite*. Antingen är då **H I T M** felristning för **H I T M**, eller också är runan **þ** överhoppad. På följande grunder är, som min far för mig påpekat, det senare alternativet sannolikast. Som särskilt MAGNUS OLSEN framhållit spela på runinskrifter av magisk karaktär (om Järsbergsinskriftens egenskap av sådan se vidare nedan) vissa tal (särskilt 10, 16, 24) en stor roll. Nu består runföljden *ek erilar ubar hite* av 15 tecken; genom insättandet av en runa få vi således ett av de nämnda talen<sup>1</sup>. Detta är i sin tur ägnat att styrka min uppfattning om samhörigheten av dessa fyra ord och att göra sannolikt att ingenting gått förlorat före *ubar*.

<sup>1</sup> På samma sätt hjälper oss talförhållandena på Lindholmamuletten att undanröja formen *hateka*, som hittills varit ett crux. Amuletten har två inskrifter, dels en serie av 24 magiska runor utan språklig betydelse, dels orden *ek erilar sawilagar hateka*, som bestå av 23 runor. Genom insättning av den väntade formen *haiteka* få vi även här 24 runor (framhållet av A. NOREEN på föreläsningar).



MAGNUS OLSEN har gjort sannolikt<sup>1</sup> att denna formel »jag Eri-lar . . . . heter jag» är av magisk natur. Det förefaller osannolikt att *erilar*, som på inskrifter så ofta förekommer skulle vara egen-namn (jfr ovan). På Järsbergsstenen kan däremot *ubar* vara mans-namn, men det torde också kunna vara adj. = fvn. *úfr* 'vond, sint' (Grimnismál). Innehållet blir då snarlikt Lindholm-amulettens *Ek erilar sa wilagar ha[i]teka* 'Jag kallas (heter) »erilar» den listige (e. d.): Järsberg *Ek erilar ubar h[a]ite* 'Jag kallas (heter) »erilar» den bistre'<sup>2</sup>. Ordet *erilar* är väsentligen identiskt med å ena sidan folknamnet *eruler*, å andra sidan väl också det senare *jarl*, benämning på en hög värdighet (hög klass). Att ordet på ifrågavarande nordiska inskrifter skulle stå som folknamn förefaller knappast sannolikt; vi skulle då få anta att *eruler* funnits på Fyen (Kragehul), i Skåne (Lindholm), i östra Värmland (Järsberg) och i Norge (Veblungsnæs i Romsdalen och By i Buskeruds amt). Om ordet däremot (liksom *jarl* sedermera) betecknat en hög »kast», skulle vi i inskrifterna kunna ha det i denna betydelse. Den som hade en världslig ledareställning hade tvivelsutan också en viktig religiös funktion. Man kan då jämföra inskriften från Nordhuglen, som utan allt tvivel med v. GRIENBERGER (Ark. f. nord. fil. 29: 367 ff.) bör läsas *ek gudija ungandir* . . . 'jag prästen (got. *gudja*) som ej drabbas av *gand*, trolldom . . .'. Det vore ju också tänkbart att *erulerna* varit kända som magiker och att *erul* på den grund kommit att betyda 'trollkarl' e. d. Men *eruler* är väl knappast ursprungligen ett folknamn<sup>3</sup>. — Med hänsyn till Järsbergsstenens supponerade magiska innebörd bör erinras om att stenen stått på (eller i?) en gravhög. Rörande de urnordiska gravinskrifternas karaktär icke av gravmonument i vår mening utan av magiska skyddsmedel mot demoner e. d. kan hänvisas till de i gravarna inlagda stenarna (t. ex. Stenstad, bestående av 10 runor, Elgesem, endast innehållande de magiska runorna *alu* och *Kylver*, bestående av hela runalfabetet jämte det otolkade *sulius*) och för övrigt hänvisas till MAGNUS OLSEN, Festschrift för Vilh. Thomsen s. 15 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Aarbøger 1907, s. 37 och Festschrift för Vilh. Thomsen 1912 s. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Jfr även Själlandsbrakteatens *hariuha haitika farauisa*.

<sup>3</sup> Jfr NORDENSTRENG, Vikingafärderna s. 3.

Jag läser sedan ihop *h̄arabanār runor waritu* 'Hrafn skriver (dessa) runor'<sup>1</sup>.

Härefter återstår endast *hait*. Det ser nästan ut som ett korrektur till det enligt min gissning felskrivna *hite* (vare sig av *Harabanar* eller någon annan). Snarast har det väl i så fall stått *haite*, fast sista runan är bortslagen. För att undvika att man skulle läsa ihop detta korrektur med *ek erilar*, har det skrivits från höger till vänster.

Ur runologisk synpunkt kan förtjäna läggas märke till de olika formerna för *ṛ*. Här föreligger den äldsta formen  $\Psi$  i *runor*, binderunan  $\mathfrak{A}$  i *h̄arabanār* och den stupade formen  $\mathfrak{A}$  i *erilar* och *ubar*. Detta något påfallande förhållande<sup>2</sup> kunde leda någon på den tanken att inskriften härrör från två olika personer. Härefter talar emellertid bestämt — som prof. VON FRIESEN för mig framhållit — runornas habitus på det hela taget. Att binderunan  $\mathfrak{A}$  förekommer tillsammans med  $\Psi$  är föga anmärkningsvärt, ty vill man överhuvudtaget göra en binderuna av *a* och *ṛ* så måste *ṛ* stupas. Denna typ  $\mathfrak{A}$  (i text som läses från höger till vänster  $\mathfrak{A}$ ) uppträder också redan på en tid då den enkla *ṛ*-runan aldrig stupas, på Fløksandsinskriften (enligt SCHEDELIG, Norges Indskrifter 3: 33, från 300-talet) och Kragehulinskriften. Som ensam typ däremot uppträder den stupade *ṛ*-runan (frånsett Järsbergsstenen) först på Fonnaasspännnet (enligt SCHEDELIG, a. a. s. 59, från tiden 500—550), och detta i en absolut otolkbar följd av runor, som kanske rentav ej har språklig karaktär, vidare på By-inskriften i runföljden *ḍrrmþé*, under det att runan i den tolkbara delen av inskriften har den gamla formen. I tolkbar text uppträder stupad *ṛ*-runa (fortfarande frånsett Järsbergsstenen) först i det allra yngsta skiktet av urnordiska inskrifter såsom Stentofte (-*wolafṛ*) och Vatn (*rho-altṛ*).

<sup>1</sup> Med hänsyn till förbindelsen av ett egennamn + ett verb i 1. pers. jfr Einang (också en gravinskrift) *ḍagar þar runo faihido*, om ingenting är borta före *ḍagar*, en möjlighet som dock icke lär kunna bestämt bestridas (jfr BUGGE, Norges Indskrifter 1: 86 f.).

<sup>2</sup> BUGGES yttrande (Tidskr. f. Phil. og Pæd. 7: 240): »dette kan ikke være paafaldende, da Indskriften ved Siden af den almindelige Form  $\mathfrak{A}$  én gang (for at spare Rum) har  $\mathfrak{A}$  (i *IAH*) og én Gang istedenfor  $\mathfrak{A}$  har  $\mathfrak{H}$ » gæller ju ej längre.



Järsbergsstenens ristare har kanske varit van att använda typen  $\mathfrak{A}$  i den vanliga ändelsen *-ar*, men efter andra runor typen  $\Psi$  (t. ex. *runor*). I meningen *ek erilar ubar h[a]ite* har han så upplöst denna förkortning på båda ställena, kanske för ått få ett visst antal runor (16, jfr ovan).

Som resultat av ovanstående för den urnordiska grammatiken torde kunna antecknas:

1. Några dualformer *wit* och *waritu* finnas icke belagda.
2. Ordet *jah* 'och' finns ej belagt.
3. Namnet *\*Hitar* torde ej existera.
4. *waritu* är 1. pers. sg. pres. ind.
5. *erilar* är antagligen appellativ.

April 1916.

## Smärre slaviska bidrag.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Svenska *streke* = slav. *\*strǫžen-*.

Svenska *streke* 'Stromstrich' (jfr *streaka* 'strömen') förutsätter ett fsv. *\*striki* m. *an-* st. Det förhåller sig till fht. *strihhan*, mht. *strichen* 'streichen, sich rasch bewegen' (jfr fht., mht. *strich* 'Streich. Weg. Arm eines Flusses, Richtung der Fäden eines Gewebes der Länge nach' etc.) på samma sätt som sv. *stråke* 'det varmed man stryker, Fiedelbogen', *stråk*<sup>2</sup> 'Stromstrich' till isl. *striúka* 'streichen, sich rasch bewegen'. NOREEN Svenska etymologier 70 (Skr. utg. af Kungl. Hum. Vetenskaps-samf. V 3), Vårt språk III 123, 188. Ytterligare om de anförda ordens form och betydelse jämte andra hithörande ord se PERSSON Beitr. 866 f.

Sv. *streke* (ieur. *\*strig-en-, -on-*), *stråke* (ieur. *\*strug-en-, -on-*) skulle motsvara urslav. *\*strǫžen-*, resp. *\*strǫžen-*, som sedan i de skilda slaviska språken på grund av det för dem egendomliga bortfallet av *o, ǫ* i öppen stavelse och den därav följande konsonant-hopningen (särskilt i de västslaviska språken) kan komma att förete rätt avvikande former, i vilka man vid första påseendet har svårt att igenkänna den ursprungliga formen.

Enklarest är utvecklingen i de sydslaviska språken. Där återfinnes ordet i slovenska *stržēn* (med stavelsebildande *r*) m., *strž* m. 'Baummark, Kern des Holzes, Eiterpfropf bei einem Blutgeschwür, Quendelstock bei den Kohlenbreunern, Stromstrich, Talweg'. Huruvida här föreligger urslav. *\*strǫžen-* eller *\*strǫžen-* synes ej av den slovenska formen, jfr *grmēti* (trestavigt) 'donnern' (urslav. *\*grǫmēti*, ry. *grēmētō*, polska *grzmicc*) och *drǫgati* 'zittern' (urslav. *\*drǫgati*, jfr ry. *drógnutō*, *drožútō*, p. *drǫgác*, *drǫgacé*, *držec* — enstaviga).

<sup>1</sup> Av nedanstående artiklar föredrogs den första i Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet vid dess sammanträde den 13 april 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Jfr *Strukun* som namn på den sjunde Dnjeprforsen hos Konst. Porf., se förf., Studier i nord. fil. II. 6.



Samma slov. form *stržēn* skulle för övrigt i och för sig kunna reflektera även urslav. *\*stǫrž-* eller *\*stǫrž-*, jfr *držáti* 'halten' (urslav. *\*držati*, ry. *deržátŭ*, p. *dzierżyć*) och *grlŏ* 'Kehle' (urslav. *\*gǫrdlo*, ry. *górlŏ*, p. *gardłŏ*).

I de västslaviska språken har av *\*strǫžēn-* (resp. *\*strǫžen-*) i första hand utvecklats *\*stržēn-* (med konsonantiskt *r*, alltså enstavigt), varur genom assimilation uppkommit *\*zdržēn-* (alltså med hela konsonantgruppen tonande i överensstämmelse med sista konsonanten, *ž*), jfr polska *źdźbłŏ* 'Haln' (urslav. *\*stǫbłŏ*, ry. *stebłŏ*), *grzbiet* 'Rücken' (urslav. *\*chrǫbŏtŭ*, ry. *chrebét*), *zgrzyt* (uttal *zgžyt*) < *\*zgržyt* 'Geknirsch' (urslav. *\*skrǫžŏtŭ*, ry. *skréžet*) eller med motsvarande assimilation av tonande till tonlösa ljud fornpolska *zekłtać* 'verschlingen' (urslav. *\*glǫtati*, ry. *głotátŭ*), polska *pchła* 'Floh' (av *\*płcha* < urslav. *\*blǫcha*, ry. *błochá*) o. dyl.<sup>1</sup> Av denna form *\*zdržēn-* har i flera av språken uppkommit *\*držēn-*, som sedan på olika håll utvecklats på olika sätt.

Den oassimilerade formen fins kvar i čech. *stržeň* f. 'Eiterstock', *stržeň -žně* m., *střen -u*<sup>2</sup> 'Mark (in Gewächsen, Knochen, Geschwüren)', *ostržeň* m. 'Kern (der Pflanzen), Eiterstock'. Därjämte *\*zdržēn-* > *\*držēn-* > *dřeň -ně* f. 'Mark (im Holze, in Bäumen), das Mittlere eines Dinges, Kern, Eiterstock, Leuchtspan', *dřenek -nku* 'Steinmark'. — Slovak. *stržeň*.

Högsorb. *žro*, *žrjo* (övergånget till neutrum och med metates av *rž* till *žr*, jfr *žrjeć*, *ržec* 'zittern' < *\*držati*; *žrany*, *ržany* adj. till *\*rǫžŭ* 'Roggen'), 'Kern des Holzes, Mark des Hollunders, Eiterstock bei Geschwüren', dial. *džeň* 'Mark im Holze (Flieder u. dgl.)'. Lågsorb. *džeň* (Chojnan *ržeň*, *rdžeň*) 'Mark des Holzes', jfr *džas*, *žas* (< *\*držati*). MUCKE Hist. u. vergl. Laut- u. Formenlehre 120, 161, 246, 259, 271, 287, 347.

Slovinz. *dräžějn* (gen. *dräžějna*), *dřejn* m. 'Mark im Holz'; den senare formen av *\*držēn-*, den förra av *\*dřžēn-* (med utveckling av vokalistiskt *r* ur *\*držēn-*). De båda formerna förhålla sig till varandra på samma sätt som *dräžęc* : *dřęc* 'zittern' (< *\*držati*). *dräžějn* måste enl. LORENTZ Gramm. 85 f. (jfr Rev. slav. VII 45) på grund av *-rǣ-* förutsätta urslav. *-rǫ-*, ty av *-rǫ-* skulle man

<sup>1</sup> Se ULASZYN Asymilacja spółgłosek pod względem dźwięczności (Mat. i prace V 261—282, spec. 267 ff.), där ytterligare exempel på dylika assimilationer anförs.

<sup>2</sup> Med *stř-* av *strž*, GEBAUER Hist. Mluvn. I 349.

vänta slovinz: -ř- (resp. -řä-), jfr *dräžec* (< \**držati*) i motsats till *gřmjec*<sup>1</sup> 'donnern' (< \**grmēti*), pres. *gřmji* (med biformen *gřmji* enl. RUDNICKI Mat. i prace VII 91). — Kašub, *dréžen* m. (RAMULT).

Polska *rdzeń -nia* 'Mark, Kern, Baummark, Herz' av \**rdzžen* (< \**zdržen-*) enl. ULASZYN Mat. i prace V 276 (jfr också v. DER OSTEN-SACKEN IF Anz. 33,253 f.).

I ryskan, som i allmänhet ej tillåter så starka konsonant-hopningar som polskan, reflekteras typen *tröt* (d. v. s. -*rb-* etc. mellan konsonanter) vanligen av *tret*, t. ex. *greměto*, (< \**grmēti*), *slezá* (< \**sləza*), *błochá* (< \**bləcha*), *drógnuto*, *drožúto* (< \**drəgnati*, \**držati*), *chrebět* (< \**chrəbeto*) *trevóga*, (< \**trəvoga*, polska *trwoga*) etc. Så motsvaras också ett urslav. \**stržen-* av fornry. *streženə* (vål = -*enə*) SREZNEVSKIJ Materialy III 565, *strežə* f. DUVERNOIS Materialy 202, ryska *stréženə* m., *strež -žá* m., *strežá* f. 'Stromstrich'. Därför (endast i det nuvarande språket) *stérženə -žnja* 'Mark, Harz (in Bäumen); Eiterstock; die stärkste Strömung, Stromstrich; Stange, Axe, Angel, Döbel, Kern'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kašub. dial. (kabatk.) *gřämjá'yc*, LORENTZ Slovinz. Gramm. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Vad formen *stérženə* beträffar, så kunde den naturligtvis i och för sig ha utgått från en urslavisk form \**stbržen* (jfr v. DER OSTEN-SACKEN l. c.) på samma sätt som *deržáto* (< \**držati*), *verbá* (< \**vbrba*) o. dyl. ord med den i ryskan normala reflexen av urslav. -*br-* (ieur. *r*) mellan konsonanter. Men att antaga ytterligare en grundform \**stbržen-* (ieur. (\**strg-*) vid sidan \**stržen* (ieur. \**strig-*) och eventuellt \**stržen-* (ieur. \**strug-*) synes ej vidare lockande. Det fins dessutom ingen form i något av de andra slaviska språken, som nödvändiggör ansättandet av ett urslav. \**stbržen-* (ehuru man å andra sidan måste medgiva möjligheten av att slov. *stržēn* och čech. *stržeň* kunna gå tillbaka till en sådan form). Nu kommer därtill, att ry. *stérženə* ej är belagt från det äldre språket (där ordet endast heter *strežen-*, d. v. s. ett urspr. \**stržen-*). Jag tvekar därför ej att med SOBOLEVSKIJ (Lekcii<sup>4</sup> 54 f.) i *stérženə* se ett av de få fall, då ett ursprungligt -*rb-* mellan konsonanter genom fullständigt bortfall af vokalen först blivit -*r-*, varur sedan (möjligen genom mellanstadiet -*r̥-*) utvecklats *or*, -*er-*, jfr å ena sidan *gortánə* (< \**grōtanə*, polska *krtan* etc.; annorlunda dock BERNEKER EW I 372), lillry. *stérmo* ŽELECH. 'Abschüssigkeit' (< \**strōm-* jfr lillry. *strémja* 'steiler Felsabhang', ry. *stremina* 'Steile', serb. *střm* 'steil') — å andra sidan *kstitə* (< *krstiti*, *krbstiti*) och *Pskov* vid sidan av *Pleskov* (båda av *Plbskov*). I förbigående sagt, har KARSTEN (Germ.-finn. Lehnwortstudien 133, 214) med orätt förklarat *Pskov* ur \**Pbskov* (= *fiskå*!), härvid lämnande utan beaktande såväl biformen *Pleskov* som det i den äldre litteraturen belagda *Plbskov*. — Av ovanstående följer, att jag ej kan dela den uppfattning av ry. *stérženə* etc., som senast uttalats av PETERSSON (Från filol. fören. i Lund. Språkl. uppsatser IV 131).



Lillryska *strýžeń -žńa*<sup>1</sup> 'die tiefste Stelle in einem Flusse, Fahrwasser, kleiner Fluss, Strom; Mark in einem Baume; Eiterstock bei einem Geschwür' (GRINČENKO Slov. ukr. movy IV 215), *stéržeń -žeńa* 'Mark, Herz des Holzes, Eiterstock' (ŽELECHOWSKI Wb II 918).

Hit hör också fornpreuss. *strigeno* 'Gehirn', se TRAUTMANN Alt-preuss. Sprachdenkm. 440.

Av de ovan anförda slaviska orden återgår ry. *stréženb* på ett urslav. *\*strbženb*, slovinz. *drážějŋ* däremot på *\*stržeb*. De flesta av de övriga formerna lämna oavgjort, vilkendera av dessa båda grundformer som i varje särskilt fall föreligger. Det är svårt att avgöra, om här från början förelegat två olika urslaviska ord, eventuellt *\*strbžen-* 'Stromstrich' (jfr sv. *streke*) och *\*stržen-* 'Mark' etc. (jfr sv. *stråke*) eller om det på något sätt är möjligt att återföra alla formerna på en gemensam grundform, snarast då *\*strbžen-* (slovinz. *drážějŋ* skulle då möjligen på någon punkt i utvecklingen ha fått sitt *r* i st. f. *ř* genom dissimilation?). I varje fall är den ieur. utgångspunkten i båda fallen gemensam eller eventuellt endast rotdeterminantiskt olika, jfr PERSSON l. c. — De delvis rätt avvikande betydelserna låta sig väl förmedlas, dock ej under ett betydelsecentrum 'Wirbel', som v. DER OSTEN-SACKEN l. c. 254 med tvekan föreslår, utan de ha snarare utgått från betydelsen 'stryka fram, stråkväg, sträng' el. dyl. Betydelsen hos preuss. *strigeno* 'Gehirn' skulle då vara sekundärt utvecklad ur betydelsen 'märgsträng, märg', jfr ry. *mozg* 'Gehirn (im Kopfe), Mark (in Knochen)', där den senare betydelsen är den ursprungliga, motsvarande isl. *mergr* 'märg'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I lillryskan är *y* den regelmässiga motsvarigheten till urslav. *i* och *y*, jfr *zymá* (< urslav. *zima*), *dym* (< urslav. *dymō*). Men då *y* (d. v. s. kyrilliska skriftens *Ѣ*) i uttalet kommer ett *e*-ljud ganska nära (jfr SMAL-STOCKYJ Gramm. der ruthen. Sprache 23, 68), så står sannolikt *strýžeń* för *\*stréžeń* (d. v. s. urspr. *\*strbženb*). Redan i det äldre språket förekommer efter *r* skrivning med *y* i dylika fall, se SOBOLEVSKIJ Lekcii po istorii russkago jazyka<sup>4</sup> 58 f.; så även dialektiskt i det nuvarande språket, se SMAL-STOCKYJ l. c. 43. Oklar synes mig däremot den av UMANEC i SPILKA (Slovar rosyj'sko-ukraïn'skyj IV 83) upptagna formen *strížeń* (jämte *strýžeń*). Möjligen är det någon dialektform, nämligen för så vitt man kan lita på skrivningens riktighet.

<sup>2</sup> I serbiskan finnas några ord med delvis motsvarande form eller betydelse, med vilka den ovan behandlade ordgruppen stundom satts i samband (jfr t. ex. MIKLOSICH EW 293 under *serdo*, d. v. s. *\*sbrdo*, och 322 under *sterg-*, d. v. s. *\*strbg-*), nämligen: *strž* f. (dial.) 'Holzteil unter dem Splint' (med inskott av *t* enl. DANIČIĆ Korijeni 220 och LESKIEN

## 2. Slav. \**tǫlstǫ* 'fett, dick.'

I sin avhandling *Zur slavischen und vergleichenden Wortforschung* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift 1915) har PETERSSON å s. 17 f. låtit förleda sig att i slav \**tǫlstǫ* (ry. *tólstyj*, p. *tłusty* etc.) se en bildning på -*st-*, uppkommen av »ein idg. -*s*-Stamm, \**tul-(e)s-*, mit -*to-* Suffix». Att vi här ha att göra med en bildning på -*to-* är utan tvivel alldeles riktigt, men i övrigt är resonnemanget helt och hållet förfelat. Då dylika förklaringar, särskilt om de utan kritik skulle komma att godtagas av i slaviska språk och slavistisk litteratur mindre verserade forskare, ha en viss benägenhet att länge figurera i den etymologiska litteraturen, torde det väl ej vara överflödigt påpeka, att \**tǫlstǫ* för länge sedan är ställt i riktigt sammanhang av FORTUNATOV.

Ordet har i de slaviska språken följande former och betydelser: ryska *tólstyj* (som nom. pr. *Tołstój*, jfr. lillry.) 'dick'; lillry. *tovstýj* 'fett, dick; grob (von der Stimme), tief (vom Schläfe), schneeig (vom Winter)'; plb. *tóusté* 'dick'; kaš. *tłesti* 'ds.', polska *tłusty* 'fett, dick, schlüpfrig, schmutzig', *tłuscić* 'mit Fett beschmie-

Serbokr. Gramm. 52, jfr *stršiti* 'sträuben' < \**sbršiti*, *stršljen* jämte *sršljen* 'Horniss' < \**sbrš-*), *srž* f. 'Mark (im Holz, im Hollunder)', *srš* f. 'Mark der Pflanzen'. *srč* f. 'ds, Holzteil unter dem Splint', *srč.* *srčika* 'Mark des Hollunders' (slov. *srčika* 'Kernholz, Mark', även 'Herzblatt'). Härtill komma ytterligare *srč* m. 'Eiche', *srčev* adj: 'eichen' *srčevina* 'Eichenholz' (jfr ry. *sérdceviná* 'Mark'), *srčànica* 'Langbaum, Langwagen', *strž* m. 'Art Eiche'.

Orden *srč*, *srč* med deras avledningar gå förmodligen tillbaka till \**sbrdbč-*, som ljudlagsenligt bör bli *srč-* (av \**srdč-*) i t. ex. adj. *srčev* (< \**sbrdbčev*) och i oblika kasus till *srč*, vilken senare form (för ljudlagsenligt \**srdáč*) antingen härrör från kas. obl. eller är en sekundär bildning till *srčev*. Angående utvecklingen av \**sbrdbč-* > *srč-* jfr serb. *srčiti* (Montenegro) < \**sbrdbčiti* 'ärgern' = *srditi* 'ds.' slov. *srčiti*, *osrčiti* 'ermutigen' (avledningar av \**sbrdbce* 'Herz'). Vad betydelsen beträffar jfr ry. *sérdce* 'Herz, Mitte, Mark eines Baumes'.

De ovan anförda orden med *ž* (*srž*, *strž*, *strž*) skulle kunna vara kontaminationsbildningar mellan *srč-* (< \**sbrdbč-*) och *strž* (\**strbž-*), förorsakade av den delvis överensstämmande betydelselikheten. Om några av de här anförda orden närmare i annat sammanhang.



ren'; lågsorb. *tlusty*, högsorb. *tołsty* 'dick, stark'; čech *tlustý*, Mähr. dial. *tlstý* (BARTOŠ Dialektologie Moravská I 6), slovak. *tlstý* 'dick, grob, fett'; slov. *tôlst* 'fett'; serb. *tüst* 'dick, fett'; bulg. *tlst* 'fett, wohlbeleibt'; fornbulg. *tlstъ* 'παχύς, pinguis'.

Den ursprungliga betydelsen torde ha varit 'insmord, uppsvälld' (jfr polska samt nedan anförda litauiska och lettiska ord), varur sedan utvecklats betydelsen 'fet, tjock'. Paralleller härtill, hos PERSSON Wurzelersw. 35, Beitr. 241 ff. (art. 72), 309, not 1, TAMM Etym. s. ordb. 137.

\**tolstъ* är en bildning på -to- (ursprungligen ett particip) av en slavisk bas *tolz-*<sup>1</sup>, som av FORTUNATOV<sup>2</sup> sammanställts med balt. \**tulž-* i lett. *tulzums* 'Geschwulst', *tulzis* 'Brandblase, Blase, Blatter', lit. *tułsti* (pres. *tułstù*, pret. *tułzaũ*) 'propityvatósja vlogoju razbuchatò'<sup>3</sup> (= bli genomdränkt av fuktighet, svälla upp), *tułžis*<sup>4</sup> 'galla', egentligen 'gallblåsa'. Jfr samma sammanställning (utom *tułžis*) hos PORZEZIŃSKI i Rev. slav. IV 9.

Enligt FORTUNATOV (och PORZEZIŃSKI) var ordets ursprungliga form slav. \**tolz-* och balt. \**tulž-*. I litauiskan finnes emellertid även \**tilž-* samt dessutom avljudsstadierna \**telž-* och \**talž-*, vilket synes tyda på att balt. \**tilž-* och slav. \**tolz-* äro de äldre formerna. JUŠKEVIČ (Litovskij slovar) anför följande former:<sup>5</sup>

*ištūštū -tiłzaũ -tiłsti* (s. 651) 'rozmięknąć (w wodzie), rozmoknąć, stać się wodnistym'; *Kur vandũ gul, tẽn žẽme ištūžusi*<sup>6</sup> 'uppmjukad (uppluckrad, genomblöt)'; *ištūžusi bũlbe vandený* 'uppmjukad (resp. genomdränkt)', *pamirkýta siłke ištūža par nãkti*, 'sillen, som lagts i vatten, har under natten blivit mör (fullständigt genomdränkt)'.

*ištūštū -tułzaũ -tułsti* (654) med samma betydelse som föreg.: *pijũka vėidas ištūžęs* 'uppsvällt'.

<sup>1</sup> Av de slaviska språken framgår ej, om utgångspunkten varit \**tolz-* eller \**tolz-*, enär -*ol-* och -*ol-* efter dental redan samslaviskt sammanfallit till -*ol-*, jfr förf. Krit. Bemerkungen 175, not. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lekcii po fonetikě staroslavjanskago jazyka, Moskva 1888, s. 147.

<sup>3</sup> KURSCHAT anger betydelsen 'weich oder morsch werden' (vom Obst, även i översförd bemärkelse vom Herzen, Gemüt).

<sup>4</sup> jfr också LESKIEN (Nomina 237), som med *tułžis* 'galla' sammanställer *patulžis* part. pret. (Szyrwid Dict.) 'wspuchły, extuberatus', *patulžusi (dũna)* 'teigig', lett. *tulzis* (se ovan).

<sup>5</sup> Ordboken har ej hunnit längre än t. o. m. bokstaven j.

<sup>6</sup> JUŠKEVIČ använder *l* resp. *ł*, då följande stavelse innehåller palatal resp. icke-palatal vokal, här alltså *ł*, vilket av typografiska skäl ej kan återgivas, då det är akcentuerat.

*i,tiłštù -tiłžaũ -tiłšti* (666) 'przemoknać': *i,merktas mēdis pēlkē i,tiłžo* 'genomdränkt' (vāl = 'uppmurknat').

*i,tułštù -tulžaũ -tułšti* (668) 'namoknać i napęcznieć' = 'bli genomblöt och (som en följd därav) svälla upp': *vėidas girtũkla i,tułžes* (jfr ovan) 'uppsvällt'.

*patułštù* etc förutsattes av *ákys patułžusios ášaromis*<sup>1</sup> (s. 7) 'ögonen fulla av tårar'.<sup>2</sup>

*ištélžiu -télžiau -télšti* (649) 1) 'wyrzucić (niespodzianie, ale tak żeby klapnęło)' = 'kasta ut (oförmodat, plötsligt, men så att det med en duns slår i marken)': *ištélže ji, iš rātu* (Žem.) 'kastade ut honom ur vagnen'; 2) 'wylać' (dial. *ištełšti*) = 'hälla ut'.

*i,telžiũ i,telžiau i,telšti* (666) 'namoczyć (genomdränka), wlać (hälla i)', dessutom hänvisningar till sammansättningar med *pri-*, *su-*.

*ištálžyti* (648) 1) 'wychłostać (auspeitschen); wypędzić (hinaustreiben); wypchnać (bijać ręką, kańczugiem) = herausstossen, indem man Einen mit der Hand od. mit der Peitsche schlägt': *ištálžys tàve iš karczemõs* 'skall kasta ut dig från krogen'; 2) 'zjeść, wyjeść (prędko, wiele) = äta upp (fort, mycket)'; *ùbagas ištálže didi, blūda, pūtros* 'åt upp ett stort fat gröt'.

LESKIEN (Ablaut 367) anför: *tálžyti, pritálžyti* (jfr Mitteilungen der litau. literar. Gesellschaft I 383) 'prügeln, durchprügeln', lett. *talzīt, talstīt* 'ds.': därjämte (efter GEITLER) *telžu telšti* ('soll 'beharnen' bedeuten', jfr *i,telšti* ovan) *sutalšti* 'durchprügeln'.

Till dessa baltiska ord med betydelsen 'prygla' har ZUPITZA<sup>3</sup> fört nht. dial. *dalgen* 'schlagen', vartill kan läggas de från tyskan lånade sv. *dalj* 'stryk, pisk', *dalja* 'slå, kringpiska'.<sup>4</sup> Samma betydelseutveckling fins i sv. *smörj* 'stryk', jfr för övrigt PERSSON Beitr. 468.

Till ovan anförda ord (lit. *tálžyti*, latt. *talzīt*, ty. *dalgen*) har BUGA Russk. fil. vēstn. 66,251 också ställt sanskr. *tarh* (pres.

<sup>1</sup> Angående akcentbeteckningen (som jag låtit kvarstå oförändrad) jfr FORTUNATOV i förordet till första häftet av JUŠKEVIČ's lexikon, ss. XVI ff.

<sup>2</sup> Det motsvarande enkla verbet *tulšti, tilšti* anför BUGA i sina Aistiški studijai I 172, dock med endast sist anförda citat (från JUŠKEVIČ, s. 7) som belägg.

<sup>3</sup> Germ. Gutt. 205. Jfr. också PRELLWITZ KZ 42,385, som dessutom för hit lit. *tàlažũti* 'schwätzen, plaudern', i det han hänvisar till en liknande betydelseövergång hos ty. *klatschen*.

<sup>4</sup> Se RIETZ Svenskt dialektlexikon 83.



*tr̥ṇédhi*, perf. *tatárha*, part. *tr̥ḍhá*) 'zerschmettern, zermalmen', vilket enligt hans mening går tillbaka på indoeur. *\*tel-gh-*, en sammanställning, mot vilken ur ljudlärans synpunkt intet kan anmärkas. Men det skulle bl. a. också förutsätta, att sanskr. *tarh* genomgått en liknande betydelseutveckling som litt. *tálžyti* etc., vilket jag ej vågar avgöra. Skulle emellertid sammanställningen visa sig vara riktig, så vore slav. *\*təlstə* ljud för ljud identiskt med sanskr. *tr̥ḍhá* < *\*tl̥gh-to-*.

### 3. Svenska *värre* = ir. *ferr* (:slav. *\*vorchə* etc.).

Den forniriska komparativen *ferr* 'bättre' anses i allmänhet höra till sanskr. *vārṣīyān* 'der höhere, obere, grössere' (superl. *vārṣiṣṭha*), slav. *\*vorchə* (ry. *verch*, fornbulg. *vrchə*), lit. *viršūs* 'spets, topp' m. fl. och utgår alltså från en ieur. rot *\*uers-*, *\*urs-* 'vara hög'.<sup>1</sup>

Nu ha som bekant de germanska språken en komparativ — isl. *verri* (superl. *verstr*), fht. *wirsiro* (superl. *wirsisto*), got. *wair-siza* etc. (adv. resp. *verr*, *wirs*, *wairs*) —, som också förutsätter ieur. *\*uers-*. Vanligen skiljer man dock på grund av betydelseolikheten denna germanska komparativ från den keltiska, i det man för den förra till den rot *\*uers-*, som föreligger i fsax., fht. *wer-ran* 'verwirren, verwickeln', så t. ex. UHLENBECK EW. d. got. Spr. 162, TORP (hos FICK<sup>4</sup> III 999 och FALK-TORP Norw.-Dän. etym. Wb II 1404), som emellertid å senast anförda ställe tillägger: »Auffällig ir, *ferr* 'besser' < *\*verso*, eigentlich 'höher' — —: in Anbetracht der Etymologie des Westgerm. *\*ubila-* 'übel' (siehe *yppig*) ist Identität mit dem germ. Worte nicht ausgeschlossen». TORP är här enligt min uppfattning inne på rätt väg, men jag skulle föredraga att

<sup>1</sup> STRACHAN IF II 370, STOKES (FICK<sup>4</sup> II 274), UHLENBECK EW d. aind Spr. 276. PEDERSEN's avvikande uppfattning (Vgl. Gramm. d. kelt. Spr. II 121) synes mig mindre tilltalande. Han medger visserlig en att »ir. *ferr* könnte lautlich auf *\*wer-so-* zurückgehen», men anser det på grund av kymr. *gwell* etc. sannolikare, att »das -rr von *ferr* aus -ll- (< -ln-) durch den Einfluss nicht verwandter Wörter entstanden ist (vielleicht unter dem Einfluss eines verlorenen Superlativs = c. *goreu*, wofür später ir. *dech* eingetreten ist)». Bättre synes mig då vara att med THURNEYSSEN (Handbuch des Altirischen 227) antaga, att kymr. *gwell* etc. (< *\*uell-*) blivit ombildad efter roten *\*uel-* 'wünschen, wählen', om det nu är nödvändigt, att ir. *ferr* och kymr. *gwell* skola återgå på ett och samma gemensamma ursprung.

h. o. h. överge sammanställningen mellan *värre* och *förvirra* och i stället utan vidare föra *värre* direkt till ir. *ferr*. Betydelseerna, som vid första påseendet synes vara varandra diametralt motsatta, låta sig dock förmedla, om man utgår från den allmännare betydelsen 'i högre grad' (jfr *\*vorchə, viršūs*), varur å ena sidan kunnat utvecklas betydelsen 'bättre' (ir. *ferr*), å andra sidan betydelsen 'värre, sämre'. Härför talar utom det ovan anförda *\*ubila-* 'übel', som ursprungligen skulle betytt 'das über die Schranken, Normen Gehende' (se KLUGE EW<sup>6</sup> 402) även svenska *värre, värst*.

I svenskan användes nämligen *värre* och *värst* i en del uttryck och vändningar i betydelsen 'mycket, i hög grad; duktigast; mest, bäst' el. dyl. (jfr RIETZ 832), t. ex. han skrek värre; vi hade roligt värre; det var värst; inte så värst bra; vem är värst?; »Mor Lena är värst!» d. v. s. 'duktigast' (BONDESON Skollärare John Chronsoughs memoarer I 175). Då denna betydelse hos *värre, värst* emellertid ej synes vara belagd i det äldre språket (åtminstone att döma av SCHLYTER och SÖDERWALL), så är det ju ej säkert, att den är en reflex av en eventuellt ursprunglig betydelse 'i högre grad'. Orden kunna ju också i senare tid ha fått en dylik betydelse, jfr sådana uttryck som *förskräckligt, förfärligt, rysligt* o. dyl., vilka i många fall användas endast i förstärkande mening ('mycket, i hög grad'). Att märka är likväl att en dylik användning ej förekommer hos de med *värre, värst* i vissa fall liktydiga *sämre, sämst*, vilket synes tyda på att *värre* kanske utgått från en mera färglös betydelse. Härmed må nu vara hur som helst. Så mycket torde åtminstone framgå av nämnda användningar av *värre, värst*, att gränsen mellan det i god eller dålig bemärkelse mera eller mäst framträdande ej är så stor, att den ej i språkutvecklingen kan överskridas, så att ett och samma ord kan komma att i vissa fall användas i båda betydelseerna i samma språk. Så mycket lättare bör ett ursprungligt *\*verso-* 'i hög (resp. högre) grad' på olika språkområden ha kunnat differentieras och specialiseras till de varandra motsatta betydelseerna *värre* och *bättre*.



#### 4. Till den fornslaviska översättningen av Luk. VIII 4.

Den älsta slaviska evangelieöversättningen av Luk. VIII 4 innehåller ett hittills (så vitt jag kunnat finna) ej observerat översättningsfel. Texten lyder på följande sätt<sup>1</sup>: *Razumějaštju že narodu mnogu. i grědaštīmz otz v'sěchz gradz kž nēmu. pritzčeja g[lagol]aše kž nīmz.* I det grekiska originalet heter det: *Συνιόντος δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν διὰ παραβολῆς.* \*

Den slaviske översättaren har tydligen h. o. h. missförstått *συνιόντος* (Nom. sg. *συνιών*, part. pres. till *σύνειμι* 'komme zusammen'), som han återger med *razumějaštju* (av *razuměti* 'förstå'), i det han uppfattat formen som part. till *συνίημι* 'förstår'. Egendomligt nog har JAGIĆ ej märkt detta översättningsfel. Åtminstone nämner han å de ovan citerade ställena därom ingenting. Ja, i glossaret till Cod. Mar. (s. 570), som uppräknar de fall där *razuměti* 'förstå' återger *συνίημι* 'intelligo', nämner han också nu ifrågavarande ställe, därvid alltså görande sig skyldig till samma fel som den fornslaviske översättaren<sup>2</sup>.

Då man knappast kan förutsätta, att en infödd grek på detta sätt skulle kunnat missförstå *συνιόντος* (och därmed också hela sammanhanget) — en oriktig uppfattning av betydelsen hos slav. *razuměti* är väl även för en grekisk översättare alldeles utesluten —, så måste man antaga, att översättaren av detta ställe (liksom väl också av åtskilliga andra ställen) varit slav till hörden.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Zogr., ed. JAGIĆ, s. 96. I Cod. Mar. (ed. JAGIĆ, s. 226) är början, som här närmast intresserar oss, lika. Fortsättningen, som i de båda Codices något varierar, är likväl i ingendera exakt identisk med originalet.

<sup>2</sup> Såväl Vulgata (*Cum autem turba plurima convenirent*) som också Wulfila (*gaqumanaim þan hiumam managaim*) återge riktigt originalets *συνιόντος*.

## Tvenne bidrag till nordisk språkhistoria.

### I.

#### Ett fall av omljud.

Ä. nsv. *morgon* — pl. *mörnar*, fno. *morgonn* — dat. *mørne*.  
 Fe. *morgen* — dat. *merne*, fe. *wolcan* — pl. *welcnu*.

TIÄLLMANN anmärker i sin *Grammatica Suecana* (1696), sid. 172, beträffande substantivet *morgon*, att det bildar sin plural på oregelbundet sätt. Den heter nämligen *mörnar*. Samma uppgift om ordets böjning återkommer hos flera andra grammatiska författare under äldre tid. Redan BUREUS anför (*De Ihre-ska fragmenten*, utg. av LINDROTH, SFSS. 1911) formerna *morgon mörnar* (sid. 79, 2 ggr.), *om mörna[rne]* (sid. 68). Hos WALLENUS (*Project af Svensk Grammatica*, 1682) finna vi: »*Morgon Mörgonar*, et usitatus contractum *Mörnar*» och hos den samtida AURIVILLIUS (*Grammaticæ svecanæ specimen*, omkr. 1684; sid. 44): »*Elidunt o*, et vel vocalem primariam nom. singularis retinent, ut *affton*, plur. *afftnar*, vel mutant, ut *morgon*, plur. *mörnar*, pro *mornar*, (ut quidem adhuc loquunt illud vero pro *morgnar*, eliso etiam *g*, atque integra syllaba *go*)». Denna vokalväxling inom paradigmets påpekas också av GIESE (*Then Tyske Språkmästaren*, 1730; sid. 49): *Morgon, Mörnar, Mörnarna* och av C. F. LJUNGBERG i hans grammatik *Svenska språkets redighet* (1756), sid. 46: *morgon*, pl. *mörnar*. Här påträffa vi också det avleda verbet under formen *mörnas* (sid. 165). SVEN HOF har i *Svenska språkets rätta skriftsätt* (1753) ordet *omörnad*. — I den äldre ordbokslitteraturen finner man former med *ö* hos LIND 1749: *mörna sig, han är nu icke wäl mörnad; [munter] quick, pigg, mörnad; [aufräumen] Er ist jetzt nicht wohl aufgeräumt, han är nu icke wäl mörnad eller uprymd*; hos L. MÖLLER 1755: *mörna sig, mörnad*; hos SAHLSTEDT



1773: *mörna sig* (*morna sig; morgon, mornar*); hos DÄHNERT 1774 och B. NYSTRÖM 1794: *mörna sig*<sup>1</sup>.

Det äldsta belägget ur äldre svensk litteratur för pluralen *mörnar*, som jag känner, förekommer i SPARMAN-PALMCRON Sundhetzens spegel (1642), sid. 383<sup>2</sup>. DAHLSTIERNA låter *mörnar* rimma med *örnar* och *biörnar* (Kunga-Skald 1697, Sv. Vitt.-Arb. 6, sid. 60). Andra exempel äro RÅLAMB Constantinopolitaniske Resan (1658, tryckt 1679), sid. 76 *alle Mörnar*, C. QUENSEL Almanach (1716), sid. 29, 30 *om mörnarne* och GIESE Then Tyske Språkmästaren (1730), sid. 354 *alla mörnar*. Verbet *mörna* anträffas hos STIERNHJELM Hercules, v. 83. SPEGEL rimmar *mörnat* — *förtörnat* (Guds Werk och Hwila 1685, sid. 168) men också *mornat* — *förordnat* (sid. 178); jfr. också *mornar sig* (sid. 57). Participet *mörnad* finnes vidare hos fru BRENNER Poetiske Dikter (1712), sid. 257, och det reflexiva *mörna sig* hos LARS HALLMAN Blacksta och Wassbro Soknar (1748, tryckt i Fataburen 1911, sid. 37)<sup>3</sup>.

I nutida svenska dialekter ha de omljudda formerna en vidsträckt spridning. HESSELMAN (De korta vokalerna i och y, sid. 207) anför dem ur en mängd samlingar från Uppland<sup>4</sup>. Pl. *mörnar* är vidare känd från Södermanland och Västmanland samt från ett flertal norrländska och finländska mål:

Södermanland. »Rätt allmänt spridda äro: med verklig ö-vokal pl. *mörna* 'morgnarna'» (T. ERICSSON, Grundlinjer, sid. 105).

Vansö: *mæron*, pl. *mænar*, *po mæna* 'om morgnarna' (T. NORDSTRÖM).

Kloster: *mæron*, pl. *mænar*, *i mæsa* (F. SÖDERBÄCK).

Västmanland. Linde: *om mæna* (uppgift av seminarieeleven H. HÄGNER 1916).

Dalarne. Leksand: *mærgo*, pl. *mærnur*, gammal dat.: *a mærnur* (A. NYGÅRD).

<sup>1</sup> Endast former med *o*: Svensk Ord-Bok 1757 (tr. hos Lars Salvius) *mornar*, *mornarne*; WIDEGREN 1788, J. G. P. MÖLLER 1790 och WESTE 1807. Likaså plur. *mornar* i grammatikorna av COLLNÉR 1812, BROOCMAN (3. uppl.) 1820, BOIVIE 1820 och ENBERG 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Förut påpekadt av LINDROTH i hans monografi över BUREUS, sid. 269.

<sup>3</sup> Flera av dessa belägg äro hämtade ur SAO:s materialsamlingar, som i fråga om ordet *morgon* godhetsfullt excerperats för min räkning av fil. lic. NATAN LINDQVIST.

<sup>4</sup> Jfr. också SCHAGERSTRÖM Vätö-målet, sid. 48. TISELIUS Fasternamålet, sid. 91 (jfr. sid. 70), GRIP Skuttungemålet, sid. 49 och BERGMAN Alunda (Sv. Landsm. XII: 6), sid. 4.

Älvdalen: *mòrgun*, dat. sg. best. *mènam*, pl. *mènar* (LEVANDER, Älvdalsmålet § 9).

Härjedalen. Lillhärad: *mòrgan*, *um mænän* 'om morgnarna', & *mèna* 'i morse; i morgon bittida' (S. ÅSANDER).

Jämtland. Mattmar: *màra*, m., pl. obest. *mæna*, best. *mænan*, dat. *mænom* (H. GEIJER).

Västra Jämtland (Åre, Undersåker): pl. obest. *mæna* (inmedlande av fil. lic. H. GEIJER).

Ångermanland. Resele: *mòra*, pl. *møna* (H. GEIJER).

Ramsele: *mòra*, pl. *møna* (H. GEIJER).

Multrå: pl. *møna* (BLOMBERG, Ångermanl. bidrag 1877, sid. 16).

Norra delen av landskapet: *mòran*, pl. *møna* (uppgift av kand. L. SJÖDIN).

Västerbotten: *möörn* 'börja dagas', *möörn säg* 'morgna sig', *omörna* 'ej rätt vaken' (RIETZ).

Umeå: *mòran*, pl. *møna* (uppgift av fil. lic. N. AHNLUND).

Bjurholm: *til morænşa* 'till morgonen', *at mænóm* 'i morgon' (KJELLSTRÖM).

Finland. Åland: *i mön* 'i morgon bittida', *mönas* 'dagas'.

Egentl. Finland: (*morgo*, pl. *mørnar*; *moris*, *i moris*) *mörn* 'morgna sig', *mörnö* 'morgnad', *omörnö*.

S. Vasa: *mön*, *mön* 'morgon'; *mön-şä* 'morgna sig'.

Nyland: (*mori*, *moro*, pl. *mørnar*; *moris*, *i moris*, *morida*, *morisido* m. fl.) *mön* 'morgon'; *i mön*, *mönis*, *morismön* 'i morgon bittida', *i morin mön*, *morin i mön* (VENDELL Ordbok).

ö-formernas utbredning går emellertid vida utöver det svenska språkområdet. Å ena sidan ha vi Fåröområdet med en böjning *márgun*, pl. *mørnar* (enl. NOREEN, Sv. Landsm. I, 320, 334), å den andra de norska dialekterna:

HALLAGER (1802): »*Maara*, *Maargo*, Morgenen. — Nogen Steder siges *Mæna* og *Møna*.»

AASEN Ordbog: »Flertal morgnar har visse besynderlige afvigelser: *mønnar* Tel., *mednar* (*medna*) Søndre Berg., *menna* Søndm., Trondh. Ligesaa i dativ: *mennom*, *medno* (Voss), *mennaa* (Søndm.). — I Valdres ogsaa en anden form *te mednes* 'til morgenen', eller 'til hver morgen'.» -- »*morgna* (*seg*). Brugt i en afvigende form: *mønne seg* Tel. — Nordre Berg. i formen *menna*.» — Jfr. även AASEN Norsk Grammatik (1899) § 165 anm.



Ross känner pl. av 'morgon' med  $\emptyset$  från Hallingdal,  $\text{æ}^i$  från Gudbrandsdal,  $e$  från Nordfjord, Sogn; *møna* (*mødna*) *seg* Telemarken, Hallingdal; *mønug* 'livlig om Morgen'en' Telemarken, Vestfold.

SCHJÖTT (Norsk ordbok 1914): *morgon*, pl. *morgnar*, nogen st. *mønnar*, *mednar*, *menna*. — *morgna seg*, nogen st. *mødne seg*, *menna seg*.

REITAN Aalens maalføre 1906 (sid. 48): *mårå*, pl. *māna*.

Det äldre svenska litteraturspråkets *mörnar* och *mörna sig* måste givetvis närmast sättas i samband med de nutida svenska dialekternas motsvarande former. Tvenne möjligheter erbjuda sig här för en språkhistorisk förklaring.  $\ddot{o}$  kan vara utvecklats ur äldre  $\ddot{y}$  och alltså förutsätta som fsv. grundformer *\*myrnar* och *\*myrna sik*. Så uppfattas saken av HESSELMAN, anf. arb. sid. 207 och av LINDROTH Bureus, sid. 232. Men intet hinder förefinnes, så vitt jag känner, för ett antagande, att vokalkvaliteten ( $\ddot{o}$ ) skulle vara redan fornsvensk: fsv. *\*mørnar* (jfr. Hesselman, a. a. sid. 25). Denna möjlighet har påpekats av NOREEN Vårt Språk III, 222<sup>1</sup>.

Givetvis böra under sådana förhållanden de uppsvenska (norrländska och finländska) formerna ej utan tvingande skäl skiljas från de västligare dialekternas *mennar*, *menna sig*.  $e(\ddot{a})$ -vokalen hör hemma på ett vidsträckt område, från (mellersta och västra) Jämtland (Härjedalen och Ångermanland  $\emptyset$ ) och Övre Dalarne (Älvdalen; Leksand har  $\emptyset$ ) i norr och öster över Trondhjemsdalen och norska Västlandet (Søndmøre, Nordfjord, Sogn, Voss), åtminstone ned till södra delarna av Bergens stift, i öster omslutande Valdres och Gudbrandsdalen, under det Hallingdalen och Telemarken uppvisa  $\emptyset$ .  $e$ -området sammanhänger uppenbarligen geografiskt på det närmaste med de folkmål öster därom, som ha  $\ddot{o}$ -vokal.

$e$  i dessa västskandinaviska dialekter torde emellertid icke kunna representera ett fornspråkligt  $\ddot{y}$ . Detta kvarstår nämligen oförändrat framför *nn*, uppkommet ur äldre *rn*. Exempel:

*fynn*, *fynne*, f. (best. f. *fynna*) 'fjorgammalt visset gräs' Jämtland (RIETZ). *fyn* f. 'fjolårsgräs' Undersåker (enligt egen uppteckning), Åre, Jtl. (enl. meddelande av fil. lic. H. GEIJER). *fynne*, *gammalfynne* Selbu, Trøndelagen. (*fönna*, *fönn* Västerbotten RIETZ, *föna* Lillherrdal ÅSANDER, *föna* Uppland m. fl., HESSELMAN a. a. sid. 201, *fönu* Österbotten, Nyland, HULTMAN De östsv. dial., sid. 150).

<sup>1</sup> Jfr också Kock Svensk ljudhistoria § 1207.

*hyddna*, n. 'hörn' Søndhordland (VIDSTEEN), *hydna*, n., f., Hardanger, Voss, Valdres, Hallingdalen m. fl., *hynna* Telemarken, *hynn* Nordmøre, Innherad (Trondhjem), Namdalen (AASEN, Ross), *økshyn* 'yxhörn, yxspets' Jämtland (enl. GEIJER) — *hydna*, f. 'et Dyr med Horn' Sogn, Hallingdal, *hynne* Gudbrandsdal (AASEN, Ross) — *hynne* 'stångas' V. Telemarken, *hydna* Hardanger, Dalene (AASEN, Ross) — *hynning* 'Tværbjelke, Tværræ i en Slæde' N. Bergens stift, Søndmøre, Nordlandet, *einhyning* 'djur med ett horn' Lister, *staurhyning* 'Spækhugger' Søndmøre (AASEN, Ross).

*tydne*, m. 'Tjørn, Tornebusk' Valdres, *tydner* Hallingdalen, *tyinner* Telemarken, Raabyggelag (AASEN, Ross). Ordet synes vara främmande för folkmålen i Jämtland, Härjedalen, Övre Dalarne (Ålvdalen *tørnbūæsk*, *-rætš* LEVANDER torde vara lån från riksspråket).

*dynn* 'dörr' Telemarken, Sætesdal, Mandal, *dydn* (Mandal, Hallingdal (*dørn* n. Hallingdal, Østerdalen) AASEN, Ross.

Om ett fsv. och fno. *y* sålunda synes kvarstå oförändrat, så är det å andra sidan för den fråga, vi här undersöka, vårt allt beaktande, att brytningsdiftongen i fvn. *tiørn*, *biørn* i just de dialekter, från vilka vi känna *mennar* (*mednar*), uppvisar *e*-vokal.

*bjenn* Dalarne (jämte *björn*) RIETZ, *bien* Malung (BAMBERS), *byæn* 'björn' *tolbyæn* 'ekorre' Ålvdalen (LEVANDER); *bjänn* Härjedalen (RIETZ: *bjøn* Lillherrdal, ÅSANDER), *bjenn* Jämtland (RIETZ), *bjæn* Mattmar (GEIJER), *bjan* Berg (S. SVENSSON), *bjärn*, *bjern*, *bjenn* Västerbotten, *bjern* Norrbotten (RIETZ). No. dial. ha (enl. AASEN och Ross) *bjönn* (*bjödn*).

*tjännä* Ö. Dalarne (RIETZ; V. Dalarne *tjönn*), *tšænpat* 'liten tjärn' Malung (BAMBERS); (*jsøn* Lillherrdal, ÅSANDER); *tjänn*, *tjenn* Jämtland (RIETZ), *jsæn* (*jsan*) Fors (WEBIÖRN), *blømsterjsæna* 'Blomstertjärn' Mörsil (GEIJER), *øborjsænan* 'Aborrtjärnarna' Mattmar (GEIJER); *tjänn*, *tjenn* Västerbotten, *tjinn* Norrbotten (RIETZ). — *tjenn* Søndmøre, *tjædn*, *tjædnblom* Valdres, *kjenn* Telemarken (AASEN, Ross; *tjønn* Søndmøre, Telemarken, Raabyggelag, *tjød* Søndre Bergens Stift, Hallingdal, Rogaland, V. Agder, Mandal.

På västnordiskt språkområde kunna vi emellertid vidare följa de palataliserade formernas historia. Ordböcker och grammatikor



upptaga jämte *morgenn*, *morgonn* (*myrgenn*) allmänt en form *mørgenn* (FRITZNER<sup>2</sup>; HÆGSTAD; NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup>). Då vi nu i det nutida levande talspråket funnit en bestämd fördelning inom paradigmet av formerna med *o* och formerna med *ø* (eller därur utvecklade *e*), torde det vara av intresse att tillsä, hur det i detta avseende förhåller sig med fornspråkets former. Hur gammal är växlingen *morgon*: pl. *mörnar*?

Beläggen, som samtliga tillhöra språkurkunder från västra Norge, äro följande:

Gulatingslagen, kap. 122 (NGL. I. 53) *at þritugs mörne*.

Jfr. kap. 23, NGL. I. 14 *at þritugsmorne*;

kap. 27, NGL. I. 17 och } *of morgon*,  
kap. 51, NGL. I. 27 }

kap. 157, NGL. I. 62 *of morgonenn*, *of morgon*.

Frostatingslagen III: 9 (NGL. I. 150) *vm morgonenn*,

V: 12 (I. 179) och XIII: 1 (I. 240) *om morguninn*,

VII: 9 (I. 200) *um morgunin*,

X: 17 (I. 221) *um morginin ár morgins*.

Eidsivatingslagen I: 8 (I. 377) *um morgenan* (4 ggr.),

I: 20 och I: 21 (I. 381) *um morgenen*,

I: 47 (I. 390) *um morgennen*,

II: 7 (I. 395) 3 ggr. och II: 36 (I. 404) *vm morgenen*.

Hirdskraa, kap. 5 (II. 395) *um morgunin*.

Bjarkörätten, kap. 24 (I. 308) *til miðs morguns*.

Nyere Bylov, VII: 12 och 13 (2 ggr.) (II. 257-9) *um morgonen(n)*.

Fno. homilieboken, sid. 38,12 *morne*.

Sverres Kristnerätt, kap. 81 (I. 432) *at þritugs mörne*.

Skraa for et Olafsgilde i Gulathingslagen (V. 8) *þat er gott um mörna at muna er um qveldum qveþr*.

Strengleikar (utg. av KEYSER och UNGER 1850), sid. 77,15 *um mörna*.

I dessa texter förekommer sålunda *ø* (jämte *o*) i de synkoperade formerna, under det de osynkoperade uteslutande ha att uppvisa *o*. Vi kunna på grund härav för en art av fornnorskt språk anse oss berättigade att uppställa ett paradigm

N. sg. *morgonn* (*morgenn*)

G. *morgons* (*morgens*)

D. *mörne*, *morne*

A. pl. *mörna*, *morna*.

Jag vågar därför för fornspråket anta en ursprunglig böjning N. sg. *morgonn*, *morgenn*, D. *mørne*, N. pl. *mørnar*. I isländskan har utjämning redan skett till förmån för den oomljudda vokalen; någon form med *ø* är där, så vitt jag känner, ej anträffad.

Cod. Reg. Háv. 22 och Reg. 25 *at morni*, Háv. 101 *nær morni*  
No-isl. Skj. I, 646, 647 *at morni*; I, 92 *á morni*

Cod. Fris. 57,<sup>25</sup> *at morni*

Morkinsk. 188,<sup>13</sup> *á morni*

Stiörn 472,<sup>4</sup> *í morni*

Flat. II, 82<sup>4</sup> *á einum morni*; II, 48<sup>33</sup> *snemma um morna*

Likaså alltid *morna* (*aþ*) och substantivet *mornun*, f.

I en fornnorsk text från slutet av 1200-talet, Thomas saga erkibyskups, har utjämningen gått i motsatt riktning: *ø* har trängt in även i N., G. och A. sg.

95.<sup>2</sup> *í mørgin*

71.<sup>20</sup>, 114.<sup>11</sup>, 220.<sup>23</sup> *bíða mørgins*

80.<sup>20</sup> *sem mørgenn kœmr* o. s. v.

Den egendomliga böjning av ordet 'morgen', som vi sålunda konstaterat på nordiskt språkområde, återfinna vi emellertid i ett annat av de germanska fornspråken, nämligen i *fornengelskan*. Även här ange lexika och grammatikor tvenne olika former av ordet: *morgen* och *mergen*. Men om vi närmare tillse, huru dessa former äro företrädda i de äldsta texterna, skola vi finna en bestämd fördelning inom paradigmet, fullt identisk med den i de nordiska språken. — Den nordhumbriska evangelieöversättningen i Rushworth-handskriften (ed. SKEAT) har *ær morgen* 3 ggr, *tō morgenne* 'cras' 1 g., men (alltid!) *on merne* 6 ggr. Den stora Lindesfarne-handskriften har lika konsekvent *e* i den synkoperade dativen, men annars alltid *o*: *morgen* (*ær morgen*, *in morgen*, *tō morgen*) 10 ggr.: *merne* (*tō merne*, *on merne*, *in merne*) 9 ggr. Anmärkningsvärda äro särskilt textställena Math. 6: 34 *in merne morgen* och Mark. 15: 1 *on merne t on morgen* 'mane'. Den mer-ciska delen av Rushworth-handskriften (Ru<sup>1</sup>) har *morgen* (*in morgen*, *on morgen*) 4 ggr: *on mærgne* 1 g., *an mergenne* 1 g., *tō mærgen t marne* 1 g.

I yngre fornengelska texter är denna växling upphävd. Vi träffa *morgen* och *mergen* vid sidan av varandra, ofta i en och samma handskrift. I och för sig är det ej svårt att förstå vad som skett. Efter en preposition (*tō*, *on*, *in*) kunde, som vi sett i



de äldsta texterna, följa antingen den gamla dativformen med synkoperad mellanstavelsevokal och omljud eller en form utan ändelse: *on merne* och *on morgen*. Dessa former kommo lätt att påverka varandra (jfr. Ru<sup>2</sup> *tō morgenne*, Ru<sup>1</sup> *an mergenne*), och så uppstodo »kompromissformer» *on morne* och *on mergen*. Den förra blir dock relativt sällsynt (Cod. Bodl. Junius 27 5 ggr., Vesp. Ps. 12 ggr.). Bruket är mycket vacklande. Somliga handskrifter ha uteslutande *morgen* (t. ex. Cod. Bodl. Junius 27 9 ggr, Cod. Univ. Cambr. Ff. I, 23 21 ggr), andra lika konsekvent *mergen* (t. ex. Aelfric, Cod. Arundel 60 Brit. Mus. 11 ggr.), de flesta ha blandning av båda.

Cod. Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. CXL (ed. SKEAT, The Gospel) *on mergen* 5 ggr: *on morgen* 2 ggr; *on ærne mergen* 2 ggr: *on ærne morgen* 1 g., *tō morgen* 4 ggr, Nom. *morgen* 3 ggr, *morgenlican* 1 g.

Cod. Univ. Cambr. li II, 11 (ed. SKEAT, a. a.) *mergen* 15 ggr: *morgen* 4 ggr.

Orosius *on mergen* 4 ggr: *on morgenne* 1 g.

[Cura past. Cod. C *to morgen* 1 g., Cod. H. *to morgenne* 1 g.]

Chron. sax., Cod. Parker *from ærmergenne* 1 g., *on mergen* 1 g.: *on morgenne* 1 g.

Beowulf Nom. Sg. *mergen* 2 ggr: *morgen* 2 ggr, *on mergenne* 2 ggr: *on morgne* 1 g., *on morgen* 1 g., Pl. Gen. *morna* 1 g., *morgen-* i ssättn. 7 ggr.

Cod. Lambeth 427 (ed. LINDELÖF, Der Lambeth-Psalter) *on mergen* 4 ggr: *on morgen* 6 ggr, *on morgenne* 1 g., *on ærmorgennum* 1 g., *morgen* 1 g., *on morgentidum* 1 g.

Cod. Reg. 2 B 5 Brit. Mus. (ed. ROEDER, Der altengl. Regius-Psalter) *on mergen* 6 ggr, *on mergenne* 1 g.: *on morgen* 2 ggr.

Dialogi Gregorii (HECHT) Cod. C *on mergen* 1 g.: *on morgenne* 2 ggr.

Innan vi gå vidare för att söka förklaringen till den egenomlighet i böjningen av ordet 'morgon', som vi funnit vara gemensam för de nordiska språken och fornengelskan, må några ord ägnas den svåra frågan om den ursprungliga stambildningen. — Vi ha då först att avskilja det fisl. *myrgenn*, vilket torde vara att jämställa med gotiskans *maurgins*, representerande ett urg.-*ina-*, som åtminstone kan återgå på ett ieur.-*eno-*. Vidare ha vi de västgermanska språkens former med a-omljud på rotstavelens vo-

kal och *a* i suffixet: fht. *fs. morgan*, fe. *morgen*. Större svårigheter bereda de nordiska formerna. I fsv. finnes ett *morghan*, dock ganska sällsynt, som möjligen med avseende på sin stamform kan antas vara identiskt med det fht. *morgan*<sup>1</sup>. Den vanligaste ändelsen i fsv. är emellertid *-un*; därjämte förekommer *-in*; *morghon* och *morghin*. Fornvästnordiskan har att uppvisa bägge de motsvarande formerna *morgonn* och *morgenn*, med en stark övervikt med avseende på frekvens för den senare. Båda ha emellertid påfallande nog *a*-omljud på rotstavelsevokalen.

Tillvaron redan urg. av ett självständigt paradigm med ett suffix *-uno-* (fvn. *morgonn*, fsv. *morghon*) vid sidan av *-eno-* > *-ina-* (got. *maurgins*, isl. *myrgenn*) och *-ono-* (fht. *morgan*) kan knappast styrkas av det i fht. en gång anträffade *morgun*. Handskriften är nämligen så sen, att i talspråket ett allmänt sammanfall av obetonade vokaler i *e* redan ägt rum. I skrift sökte man uppehålla den äldre tidens rikare variation, men kom då naturligen ofta att taga miste. Ett oriktigt insättande av *a* eller *u* eller *i* i dessa sena fht. handskrifter är ingalunda sällsynt. — Ett *u* i suffixet kunde i de nordiska språken ha haft ett starkt stöd i en motsvarande form av ordet 'afton' (fsv. *apton*) eller rentav tänkas vara överfört därifrån. Emellertid förhåller det sig efter all sannolikhet i stället så, att *-an-* i fvn. *aptann* fsv. *aptan* är det enda ursprungliga, och fsv. *apton* är bildat efter det med suffixvokalen *u* både vanligare och mera spridda (såväl fsv. som fvn.) *morghon*.

NOREEN har i IF. 14 (jfr. också Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 167 a. 1) påvisat hos bildningar med suffixet *-ill* eller *-all* en ursprunglig suffixväxling inom själva böjningen så beskaffad, att *-il-* eller *-al-* förekom i de former, där avledningsstavelsens vokal hade biton och sålunda sedermera icke synkoperades, under det *-ul-* uppträdde obetonat och följaktligen hemföll under synkope (*drasell*: dat. *drøsle*, pl *drøslar*, urn. *erilar*: lat. pl. *Erulos*, *þagall*: *-þøgle*, *aþall*: *qþlingr* o. s. v.). Sådana former som *þøgull*, *hugull* o. s. v. äro nybildningar.

På liknande sätt torde nu suffixvokalen *u* hos ordet 'morgon' böra förklaras.

N. sg. \**morganar*

D. \**morgunē*

N. pl. \**morgunōk* o. s. v.

<sup>1</sup> Snarare är det väl en ombildning efter *aftan*. Eller också kan ändelsens *a* stå i samband med den allmänna försvagning av obetonade vokaler, som inträder i mera sydligt belägna svenska mål under y. fsv. tid. — Jfr också A. B. LARSEN, Kristiania bymål, sid. 50.



En nybildning N. sg. *\*morgunax* > *morghon* är då lätt tänkbar, och vi förstå, varför rotstavelsen uppvisar a-omljudd vokal. —

Fvn. *morgenn* kan ej vara bildat med samma suffix, som föreligger i präteritiparticipen av de starka verben, vare sig man nu som prof. Kock (senast i Svensk Ljudhistoria 3, sid. 104) uppfattar detta som urn. *-anax* eller så som jag i Språkvetenskapl. sällskapets förhandlingar 1913—15, sid. 56 f., velat göra. Enligt min uppfattning föreligger nämligen just denna suffixbildning (*-eno-* > *-ina-* efter palatal konsonant) i det fvn. *myrgenn*, got. *maurgins*. Med prof. Kocks åsikt om utvecklingen borde man väl vänta — med palatalomljud som i fvn. *slegenn*, *gengenn* (Svensk ljudhistoria § 1128, 1130) — en böjning *mørgenn*: dat. *morne*. I stället visa nu de faktiskt förefintliga formerna tillbaka på ett paradigm med alldeles motsatta omljudsförhållanden. Detta skulle då förutsätta synnerligen komplicerade och osannolika analogiska ombildningar.

Fvn. *morgenn* låter visserligen till nöds förklara sig som en kontaminationsform av *myrgenn* och *morgonn*, *\*morgann* (NOREN, Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 167.5). Men hur har det då gått med det *\*morgann*, vid vilket vi ju alltjämt nödgas fasthålla? Man kan knappast undgå den förmodan, att det är detta, som fortlever i fvn. *morgenn* och fsv. *morghin*. — *e*-vokalen i de nordiska språken har emellertid näppeligen uppkommit på samma sätt som i fe. *morgen*, d. v. s. genom en försvagning av ursprungligt *a* i svagtonig mellanstavelse:

fe. N. sg. *\*morgan* (anal.) *morgen*  
↗

G. sg. *\*morganes* > *morgenes*

Jfr. förf. i Språkv. sällskapets i Upsala förhandl. 1913—15, sid. 81 f., BULBRING, Ae. Elem. § 433. Man vill gärna finna någon förklaring till att *-enn* förefinnes just i ordet *morgenn*, men ej i t. ex. *aptann*. Om utvecklingen är ljudlagsenlig, vilket väl särskilt på grund av den fullständiga avsaknaden i litteraturen av former med *-ann* är sannolikt, torde den verksamma faktorn ha varit rotstavelsens *g*, som i de synkoperande formerna av paradigmets blivit palatalt (jfr. nedan). Detta palatala *g* överfördes till andra kasus och verkade där förändring av *a* till *e*; denna palataliserade suffixvokal har emellertid icke varit av sådan beskaffenhet, att den kunnat utöva någon inverkan på rotvokalen.

Jag återvänder till paradigmet fno. *morgenn* (*morgonn*): *mørne*, fe. *morgenn*: *merne*. Vid omljudstiden har alltså mellanstavelsen i de synkoperande kasus innehållit ett *i*. Framför detta har i rotstavelsen stått ett genom *a*-omljud uppkommet *o*. Att anlägga en påverkan från paradigmet *myrgenn*, varigenom *-in-* skulle ha överförts till just dessa former, är utesluttet. Det återstår då endast att tänka på ljudlagsenlig förändring av mellanstavelsens ursprungliga vokal.

Fe. *wolcen*, n. 'a cloud' har i plural (jämf. *wolcnu*) en omljudform *welcnu*. Suffixet måste, som jag anf. arb. sid. 81 sökt visa, ha innehållit *a*-vokal (jfr. fs. fht. *wolcan*). Utvecklingen har alltså varit i nom. pl. *\*wólkanù* > *\*wólkinù* > *welcnu*.

Mellanstavelsevokalen har reducerats (till *ə*) för att sedermera fullständigt försvinna. Efter *k* och *g* har emellertid den reducerade vokalen före bortfallet passerat ett stadium *i*, då den kom att verka omljud liksom ett ursprungligt *i* i liknande ställning. Förklaringen till fno. *mørne* ligger alltså i följande utveckling:

*\*mórgunē*, *\*mórganē* > *\*morgānē* > *\*morginē* > *mørne*.

Likheten med omljudet hos präteritiparticip med stammen slutande på *g*, *k* (fvn. *slegenn*, *tekenn*, fe. *ægen*) är påfallande. Även denna företeelse var gemensam för de nordiska språken och fornengelskan.

Emellertid tror jag nu, att man kan komma ett steg längre. — WALDE har (Die germanischen Auslautsgesetze, sid. 93 f.) framställt den meningen, att ett svagtonigt *a* övergår, om föregående rotstavelse innehåller ett *i* eller en *i*-haltig diftong, till *i*. På detta sätt vill WALDE förstå uteblivandet av *a*-omljud i part. prät. av första klassens starka verb (fvn. *bitenn*). VON FRIESEN har muntligen (på föreläsningar) förklarat Kjølevig-stenens form för ack. sg. mask. av pronominet 'min' *minino* som utvecklats ur ett äldre *\*mīnanō*. Ändelsen var alltså densamma som i fvn. *blindan* och got. *blindana*. Utvecklingsförloppet torde ha varit

*\*mīnanō* > *mīninō* > *\*mīnnu* > *minn*.

Övergången *a* > *i* är gemensam åtminstone med fe., vilket framgår av omljudet i ack. *ænne* (< *\*aininō* < *\*ainanō*, got. *ainana*).

Som resultat av vår undersökning kunna vi alltså uppställa följande ljudregel för urn. och fe.: *a* övergår i svagtonig mellanstavelse till *i* (som redan förlitterärt synkoperas): 1. omedelbart efter palatal konsonant (*g*, *k*), 2. om föregående rotstavelse innehåller *i* eller *i*-diftong.



Detta förhållande är, som jag tror, ägnat att belysa jämväl frågan om de präteritala participen. Efter *g* och *k* övergår *e* i suffixit *-eno-*, som jag i Språkv. sällsk:s förhandl. 1913—15 anser mig ha uppvisat, till *i*. Samma förändring inträder, tror jag mig nu i anslutning till WALDE och VON FRIESEN våga påstå, efter ett *i* eller en *i*-difftong i föregående stavelse. Urn. *haitinar* stämmer då (liksom *slaginar*) med den tolkning jag givit problemet om präteritiparticipens stambildning.

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## II.

### Om labialisering i förlitterär tid av svagtonig palatal vokal framför *m* (-*im*, -*em* > -*um*).

Isl. *verpomk* = *verpr mik*, o. dyl.

Den bestämda formens dat. pl.: isl. *steinonom* — fsv. *stēnumin*.

Sjunde strofen av Vafþrúðnismál börjar på följande sätt:

Hvat er þat manna

er i mínom sal

verpomc orði á?<sup>1</sup>

»Vad är det för en person, som i min (egen) sal [kastar ord på mig, d. v. s.] tilltalar mig (på detta sätt)?»

*verpomk* sålunda = *verpr mik*

Liknande konstruktioner förekomma flerstädes i isländsk poesi. Jag anför ännu några exempel:

#### I. Starka verb:

Hallfrøðr, Lausavisa 20:

Veitkat hitt, hvat verða

verglóðar skal tróðu,

rinumk óst til Ilmar (hdskr: rennumz)

unnar dags, á munni.

*rinnomk* = *rinnr mér*.

Grímnismál 1:

brennomc felldr fyr.

*brennomk* = *brennr mér*.

<sup>1</sup> Eddasångerna äro anförda efter Bugges uppl., skaldevisorna efter F. Jónssons normaliserade text i Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning, B.



Fáfnismál 1:

— — — —  
 er þv a Fafni rá't  
 þinn inn frana męki,  
 stondome til hiarta hiorr.

*stōndomk = stendr mér.*

Gamli kanóki, Harmsól 47:

Lítu optliga ýta  
 óglíkan mik fíkjun  
 (aukumk sör i slíku (hðskr: aukumz)  
 sótt) ástvinum dróttins.

*aukomk = eykr mér.*

II. Svaga verb:

Harmsól 17:

Hverr er greppr, sás gerra,  
 grunnúðigr, þér unna  
 (slikr hōfum synðar auki  
 sótt) heimstöðu dróttinn.

*hōfom = hefr (hefer) mik.*

Steinarr:

Mens hafa mildrar Synjar  
 (mjúkstalls) logit allir  
 (sjá hōfumk veltistöð stiltan  
 straumtungls) at mér draumar.

Þórðr Kolbeinsson, Lausavísa 5:

Hvat skyldir þú halda  
 heimaríkr at slíku  
 enn (hōfumk orkn of skemðan)  
 ár á mínu sári?

Alvíssmál 9:

oll of rák fira  
 vorome, dvergr! at vitir.

*vōromk = varer mik.*

Hávamál 108:

— — — —  
 ef ek Gvinnladar ne nylac,  
 ennar goðo kono,  
 þeirrar er lagdome arm yfir.

*lōgþomk = lagþe mér.*

Egill, Lausavisa 26:

Svartbrúnum lét sjónum  
sannspár, hugins vára  
hugr tjóðum mjök mága,  
mognuðr Egil fagna.

*tióþom* = *tióþe mér*.

Egill, Höfuðlausn:

— -- — —

gótt þykkjumk þat, (hdskr: þykkiumz, þottunst)  
es ek þogn of gat.

*þykkjomk* (*þóttomk*) = *þykke* (*þótte*) *mér*.

Som bekant kunde i urnordisk tid dativ- och ackusativformerna av pronominet *ek*, fvn. *mér* och *mik*, enklitiskt fogas till en föregående verbform. Därvid hemföll de under lagarna för obetonade slutstavelers behandling, och under synkopen tiden bortkastades sålunda vokalen. Exempel:

Háv. 106: yfir oc vndir  
stoðomc iotna vegir.

*stóþomk* = *stóþo mik*.

Fiolsv. 47 þaðan rákumk vindar kalda vegu (hdskr. rákumz).

Sigvatr, Austrfararv. 4 hnekðumk heiðnir rekkar.

Snorra-Edda, Gylfag. kap. 22 leið erumk fjöll.<sup>1</sup>

Guþr. II, 12 ulfar þottumz ollo betri.

Om verbformen i urn. tid slutade på kort obetonad vokal, som alltså normalt skulle falla bort, bibehölls denna i den trestavelseförbindelse, som uppstod genom pronominalformens suffigering, under det pronominet vokalen synkoperades.

(*ek*) \**taku-mik* > *tþkomk*

\**satju-mik* > *setiomk*

\**helpu-mik* > *hiþpom*. Jfr. \**katilar* > *ketell*.

Att de suffigerade formerna (med undantag av medio-passivet) endast träda oss till mötes i den ålderdomliga poesien, men icke i den isländska prosan, beror säkerligen endast på skriftspråkets strävan till grammatikalisk normalisering och reglering. Poesien tillåter ej alltid ett sådant återställande till normala former, då det skulle medföra en rubbning av dess rytm och meter. Även vid uppteckning i skrift måste man då bibehålla de i uttalet använda



suffigerade formerna. Så har visserligen ej alltid skett i de gamla isländska handskrifterna, men en sådan avvikelse från talet kan ofta nog av metrisk skäl påvisas.

Det poetiska språket har sålunda här bevarat en levande talspråksföreteelse, som i vanliga fall blivit i skriftspråket på grund av dettas säregna natur och fordringar undanskymd. Fallet saknar för övrigt ingalunda sina motstycken på andra håll. Jag erinrar exempelvis om de ännu i dag i vårt språk fullt levande talspråksformerna *ja' såg'n*, *han to'na* — former som aldrig accepterats av skriftspråket, men där vi ha bevarade pronomina, som annars sedan många århundraden varit utdöda i vårt språk (ack. *han*, *hana*). Jfr CEDERSCHIÖLD, Om svenskan som skriftspråk, sid. 254 f. (2. uppl.)

Hur har man nu uppfattat en sådan språkform som *hann verpomk* = *hann verpr mik*?

Såvitt jag kunnat finna, har den grammatiska forskningen hittills icke lämnat någon lösning af frågan. NOREEN anmärker, sedan han (Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 455.3) behandlat suffigeringen till verbformer i 3. pl. (*rþkomk* 'sie trieben mich', *under stóþomk* 'sie standen unter mir' o. a.): »Wo diese suffixe (-m, -mk) an die 3. sg. treten sollten, hat das verbum die form der 3. pl.» HOLTHAUSEN (Aisl. Elem.-buch, 1895) uttrycker sig på liknande sätt: »Dabei stehen statt der 3. pers. sg. die pluralformen.»<sup>1</sup> Men detta är ju endast ett konstaterande af faktum och avser måhända ej att vara någonting mera. Någon verklig förklaring innebär det i varje fall icke. Det torde väl vara alldeles omöjligt att tänka sig, att formen för 3. pl. utan vidare skulle ha kommit i användning i den funktion, som tillkommit 3. sg. Någon tendens till syntaktisk förblandning av dessa båda former eller substitution den ena för den andra förekommer icke i fornvästnordiskan. Det måste sålunda sökas en alldeles särskild förklaring till den högst egendomliga konstruktionen *hann gþfomk* = *hann gaf mér*.

Därtill kommer, att NOREENS formulering även som praktisk regel har sina brister. Den passar gott för sådana uttryck som *hann gþfomk*, *hilmer buþomk lqþ*, *reife urþomk leif*, *hann hétomk fegro*, *hon lqþomk arm yfer*, d. v. s. präteritala former, däremot icke för präsens: *stqndomk til hiarta hiqrr*, *synda auke hqfom*

<sup>1</sup> Jfr också WIMMER, Fornnordisk formlära, sid. 157.

*sótt, qll of røk fira vromk at viter.* Åtminstone borde det ha lämnats någon förklaring till att pluralisändelsens *a* här uppträder som *u*, ett *u*, som till på köpet framkallar omljud på rotstavelens vokal.

HEUSLER uttrycker sig mera bestämt (Aisl. Elem. § 430): »Diese Bildung ist nur dichterisch; auf lautlichem Wege ist sie nicht erwachsen (*stendr mér* ergäbe kein *støndomk*!): sie beruht irgendwie auf dem in § 358 besprochenen zusammenfliessen der 1. Sing. reflex. mit der 1. Plur.» Vad H. här åsyftar, är den egendomliga formen för 1. sg. i prät. av det starka verbet: *ek bundomk* = *ek batt mik*, *ek lukomk*, *ek gófumk* o. s. v. Denna forms uppkomst är emellertid ej så svår att förstå. Den urnordiska enstaviga 1. sg. prät. *\*band*, *\*lauk*, *\*gað* gav med suffigerat pers. pron. *mik*, *mér* icke en form på *-mk*, *-m*, som kunde fogas in i det nu allt fastare sig utbildande mediopassiva paradigmet. Här måste då helt enkelt nybildning inträda efter associativa förbindelser inom det grammatiska systemet, och efter mönstret av präsens sådana som 1. pl. *bindomsk*: 1. sg. *bindomk*, *lúkomsk*: *lúkomk* och svaga präterita 1. pl. *söfnomsk*: 1. sg. *söfnomk*, *sögnomsk*: *sögnomk* skapades till 1. pl. *bundomsk* ett 1. sg. *bundomk*, till *lukomsk* *lukomk*, till *gófumsk* *gófumk* o. s. v. Dessa former förutsätta sålunda redan bestående mönster som utgångspunkt för nybildningen.

På samma sätt förhåller det sig nu, enligt min mening, med *gófumk* = (*hann*) *gaf mér* och dylika konstruktioner i präteritum av starka verb.

Egill, Sonatorrek 24:

Gófumk iþrótt  
ulfs of bági.

Egill, Høfuðl. 2:

Buðumk hilmir lød.

Egill, Lausavísa 27:

Urðumk leið en ljóta  
landbeiðaðar reiði.

Egill, Lausavísa 43:

mér brásk minnar systur  
mogr, hétumk þá fogru.

Kueld-Ulfr (Egils s., kap. 24)

létumk þung at þingi  
Þórs fangvina at ganga  
(skjótt munat hefnt, þótt hvettimk  
hugr) malm-Gnáar brugðit.



Hit måste också, på grund av böjningens i formellt avseende präteritala karaktär, föras präsens av verbet *vera*:

Egill, Sonatorrek 1:

Mjök erum tregt  
tungu at hróra.

Egill, Lausavísa 44:

blautr erum bergifótar  
borr, en hlust er þorrin.

Lokasenna 35:

sv eromc licn.

H. Hund. I, 25:

ván erom rómo.

Denna handskriftens text kan naturligtvis tänkas stå för  
våner erom rómo

(Så redan den arnamagnæanska eddaeditionen 1787—1824.)

3. pl. (= *ero mér*) föreligger i

Egill, Arinbj. 15:

Erum auðskøf  
ómunlokri  
mágar Þóris  
mærðar efni.

Dessa former äro uppenbarligen nybildningar, uppkomna på analogisk väg efter mönstret av redan bestående formgrupper. Det är därför enligt min mening absolut felaktigt att, så som HEUSLER gör, skjuta dessa former i förgrunden, då det gäller att finna en förklaring till konstruktionens uppkomst. Hur HEUSLER tänker sig, att den skulle på något sätt stå i samband med »das Zusammenfliessen der 1. Sing. reflex. mit der 1. Plur.», är mig fullkomligt ofattbart.

Bakom HEUSLERS resonnemang skymtar emellertid en missuppfattning av det isländska skaldespråkets natur och karaktär, som f. ö. tycks vara ej så ovanlig bland nordiska filologer. Man har alltför mycket fäst sig vid den konstlade stilen, den invecklade ordfogningen och den manierade versbyggnaden i skaldedikterna, och man har betraktat också de säregna språkformer, som förekomma, som litterära konstruktioner utan motsvarighet i det levande tal-språket. Uppfattningen torde, som allmän teori betraktad, vara grundfalsk. I själva verket stod nog poesien i detta fall i intim

förbindelse med talspråket och har bevarat en mängd talspråkligheter, som aldrig lyckades tränga igenom i den litterära prosastilen.

Den egendomliga konstruktion, som vi här behandla, bär alla tecken till att endast ha kunnat uppkomma och utvecklas i levande talspråk och under inflytande av för talspråket gällande ljudhistoriska och associativa lagar.

Var har vi då att söka mönstret för de sekundära formerna *gǫfomk* = *hann gaf mér*, *erom tregt* = *er mér tregt* o. s. v.? Enligt min mening i präsens av det starka verbet samt i präsens och präteritum av det svaga. I dessa former — eller åtminstone några av dem — måste konstruktionen vara ursprunglig, ljudlagsenligt utvecklad. Vi ledas sålunda, så vitt jag kan se, med nödvändighet till det antagandet, att

*verpomk* < \**verpið-mik*.

Liksom urn. (1. sg.) \**verpu-mik* utvecklade sig under synkopetiden till *verpomk*, så har i förbindelsen \**verpið-mik* ultimavokalen bortfallit. *ð* måste säkerligen försvinna framför *m* i svagtonig stavelse. Vi fingo sålunda ett \**verpimk* som närmaste grundform för *verpomk*. Utvecklingen \**verpimk* > *verpomk* måste vara ljudlagsenlig.

\**standið-mir* > \**standimr* > *stǫndom*.

På samma sätt

\**haðēð-mik* > \**haðemk* > \**haðumk* > *hǫfomk*.

\**þunkið-mir* > \**þukkimr* > *þykkim*.

\**lagiðē-mik* > \**lagðemk* > \**lagðumk* > *lǫgþomk*.

De på detta sätt uppkomna formerna vunno stöd i präsens av första klassens svaga verb: \**kallōð-mik* > *kǫllomk*, och dylika.

Vi ha med andra ord förts fram till en viktig slutsats för den isl. ljudläran, nämligen att *i*, *e* i svagtonig stavelse framför *m* i förlitterär tid övergår till *u*. En sådan labialisering under svagton och till följd av påverkan från en omedelbart följande labial nasal, är ur fonetisk synpunkt intet som helst orimligt, och företeelsen har motsvarigheter på många håll. Men hur stämmer detta antagande med vad vi för övrigt veta om ändelsevokalerna i de nordiska fornspråken?

1. Dativen i plural av substantiven ändas som bekant såväl fvn. som fsv. på *-um*. Denna ändelse är ursprunglig hos *u*-stammar, *ō*-stammar, *a*-stammar (NOREEN, Geschichte<sup>8</sup>; Aisl. Gr.<sup>9</sup> § 139). Däremot antages vanligen, att *-um* hos *i*-stammarna är en ny-



bildning (jfr got. *gastim*, fht. *gestim*); i-stammarna skulle ha antagit de övrigas ändelse. Detta måste ha skett redan urnordiskt, att döma av Stentofte-stenens *gestumr*, *borumr* (got. *gastim*, *baurim*). Denna mening framställs ännu av NOREEN i *Geschichte der nord. Sprachen*, 3. uppl. (1913), sid. 164, 168. Emellertid har jag hört prof. NOREEN muntligen under seminarieövningar uttala som en möjlighet, att *-um* i fvn. *gestom*, *stōþom* o. s. v. skulle kunna vara ljudlagsenligt utvecklat ur *-im*. För egen del är jag avgjort böjd för detta antagande. Det synes vara ordet *megen* i uttrycken *bōþom megen*, *qllom megen*, som avhållit prof. NOREEN från att själv bestämma sig för delsamma. Men intet hindrar, så vitt jag kan se, oss från att antaga, att dissimilationen här är så gammal, att *i*-vokalen räddats framför det följande *n*. Prof. NOREEN påpekar tillvaron av ett sällsynt *megin* (Hauksbók, 2 ggr.; se Hauksbok, Kbh. 1892—96, Indledning sid. XXX), ur vilket *megen* skulle ha utvecklat sig. Vanligare är emellertid *megom*, för vilket flera belägg finnas både hos FRITZNER<sup>2</sup> och HÆGSTAD<sup>1</sup>. Detta *megom* torde vara ljudlagsenligt utvecklat ur det äldre *\*megin*, då dissimilation ej inträdde. *megin* i Hauksbók är en kontaminationsform av *megin* och *megom*. Möjligen kan *-m* (i stället för *-n*) vara av rent grafisk natur och bero på att föregående ord ändats på *m* (båda beläggen hos samma skrivare: *tueim megin*).

2. Adjektivens ändelse i Dat. pl. *-um* (fvn. *blindom*) förklaras av NOREEN (*Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, sid. 187) vara av nominal natur och alltså ej motsvara den pronominala ändelsen i got. *blindaim*, fht. *blintēm*, o. s. v. Jfr också HEUSLER, *Aisl. Elementarbuch* § 271; BETHGE i DIETERS *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte*, sid. 646. Ett spår av den ursprungliga ändelsen finner NOREEN bevarat i prepositionen *i millem*, fno. även *mellem*. Vid sidan av denna mera sällsynta form<sup>2</sup> förekomma emellertid de vanligare *mille* och *millom*, och *millem* kan sålunda förklaras på alldeles samma sätt som *megem*. Nisl. har *milli* och *millum*, nno. dial. och landsmålet *millom* (AASEN, ROSS, SCHJØTT). I fsv. och fda. ha vi, jämte *mællum* (da. *mellem*), vanligare *mællin* med dissimi-

<sup>1</sup> Se även HÆGSTAD, *Vestnorske maalføre* I, sid. 115, 117 (*tueim megum* 3 ggr.); sid. 134 (Bergens bylov): *baðom regin* 2 ggr.

<sup>2</sup> Den användes alltid av Haukr Erlendsson; se Hauksbok, Kbh. 1892—96, Indl. sid. XLVI, THORKESSON, *Supplement til Islandske Ordbøger*, 4. Andra exempel hos FRITZNER<sup>2</sup>, CLEASBY-VIGFUSSON och HÆGSTAD, *Vestno. maalføre* 2: 1, sid. 89 (jfr 1, sid. 72, 92, 119).

lation (jfr ovan *megen*). Intet står i vägen för att uppfatta det västnordiska *millom* och det fsv. fda. *mællum* som regelbundet utvecklade ur ett urn. *\*midlēm* *\*medlēm*; på samma ursprung återgår den östnordiska huvudformen *mællin*, men den tidigt inträdande dissimilationen har räddat den palatala vokalen. — Det sällsynta isl. *gegnum* — så vitt jag vet, känt endast från det av Haukr Erlendsson skrivna partiet av Hauksbók (även här jämte *gegnum*)<sup>1</sup> — förklaras av Hauksboks utgivare, professor F. Jónsson, säkerligen med rätta, som beroende på inverkan från det just i denna text så konsekvent genomförda *millim*.

3. Dat. pl. av substantivet i bestämd böjning. För de olika formerna och deras förekomst lämnas en utförlig redogörelse hos NOREEN, ANF. 8,146 f. och Geschichte<sup>2</sup>, sid. 226; och jag kan därför nöja mig med att hänvisa dit. Den västnordiska normalformen är *-onom* (*steinonom*, *børnonom*, *kirkionom*); den anträffas även i fsv. men nästan uteslutande i västgötska texter (NOREEN ANF. 5,391). Ändelsen *-onom* återgår på *-umum*, äldre *-umumum*, och detta har uppstått genom assimilation av *mn* ur ett *-um-num*, som är omedelbart begripligt genom de av NOREEN (ANF. 8,140 f.) framställda lagarna för synkope i den suffigerade pronominalformen. — Större svårigheter bereder förklaringen av den vanliga fsv. ändelsen *-umin* (*stēnumin*, *landumin*, *færþumin*).<sup>3</sup> NOREEN anser sig i ANF. 8 icke kunna ge någon säker tolkning av det »gåtfulla» *i-et*. I Aschw. Gr. (sid. 146) säger han, att om ursprunget till ändelsen *-umin* ännu intet säkert blivit utrönt. Och ännu i Geschichte<sup>3</sup>: »Die gewöhnliche altschwedische Endung ist aber *-umin* (*-omen*, mittelschwedisch auch selten *-ommen*), z. B. *stēnumin*, *-omen* 'den Steinen', dessen Verhältnis zu der eben erwähnten nächstverwandten Bildung auf *\*um(m)un*, *-om(m)on* zweideutig ist.»

NOREEN vill sålunda icke ansluta sig till det försök till lösning av spørsmålet, som framställts av KOCK ANF. 13,179 f. Enligt KOCK är fsv. *bondumin* att förklara omedelbart ur *\*bonduminum* på följande sätt: Den postpositiva substantivartikeln har, efter den allmänt vedertagna åsikten (jfr senast DELBRÜCK, Der altisländische Artikel, Leipzig 1916), utvecklat sig ur sammanställningar av substantiv och efterställt, med artikel försett adjektiv, uttryck

<sup>1</sup> THORKELSSON Suppl. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Även i fno. förekommer stundom denna ändelse. A. B. LARSEN ANF. 13,253; HEGSTAD Vestnorske maalføre 2: 1, sid. 79.



sådana som *bónde enn góþe, maþr enn gamle*. »Man använde en gång sammanställningar som *bōndum inum gōþum*. Här hade man ändelsen *-um* tre gånger efter varandra, och i ingen annan böjningsform hade man vid sammanställning av substantiv, artikel och adjektiv en och samma ändelse tre gånger. — — — Man förkortade (för att undvika det tre gånger stående tautologiska *-um*) *bōndum-inum* i uttrycket *bōndum-inum-gōþum* genom att bortkasta det näst sista *um*, d. v. s. att man fick *bōndumin gōþum*.» En parallell till denna utveckling finner Kock i den fsv. genitiven *bōkinnar* (jämförd med isländskans *bókarinnar*): »Då man för övrigt hade blott en- eller tvåstaviga ändelser i bestämd form t. ex. av *bōk* (*bōkin, bōkinni, bōkina*, gen. pl. *bōkanna* o. s. v.), men *bōkarinnar* (*bōkar innar*) hade trestavig ändelse, så förkortades denna dels till följd härav, dels emedan man fann upprepandet av böjningsstavelsen *ar—ar* tautologiskt. Vid förkortningen valdes den utvägen, att det sista *-ar* (i *innar*) bibehölls, det näst sista *-ar-* (i *bōkar*) utstöttes: *bōkinnar*.»

Det torde emellertid kunna ifrågasättas, om likheten mellan dessa båda fall (dat. pl. *bōndumin* och gen. sg. *bōkinnar*) är så stor, som Kock synes förmoda. Utan tvivel ha, som Kock påpekar, olika faktorer samverkat, då nybildningen *bōkinnar* i fsv. lyckats uttränga den ursprungligare formen *\*bōkarinnar*. Men man bör då om möjligt söka förstå deras särskilda betydelse vid förloppet, och man saknar måhända ej fullständigt möjligheter för ett sådant bedömande. Att det är den första ändelsestavelsen, d. v. s. substantivets genitivändelse *-ar-*, som i den nya formen uteslutits, synes mig ej vara betydelselöst. Det visar, att den för ordets betydelse icke längre hade någon konstitutiv uppgift. Genitivbegreppet var knutet till böjningen i ordets slut och tillräckligt uttryckt genom ultimastavelsen *-ar*. Den inre böjningen blev därigenom överflödig. Detta stämmer överens med den strävan, som genomgående gör sig gällande i utvecklingen av den bestämda böjningen i fsv.: numerusböjning hos substantivet, men kasusböjning efter pronominalsuffixet. Under sådana förhållanden är det ganska naturligt, att »substantivets ändelse ej fick vara mer än tvåstavig»; nybildningar av typen *bōkinnar* uppstodo. Att upprepandet av böjningsstavelsen *-ar—ar* var tautologiskt, har med andra ord spelat mindre roll än det förhållandet, att det första *-ar-* faktiskt var oväsentligt för ordets betydelse. Om något »val av utvägar» vid förkortningen kunde det därför ej bli fråga; ny-

bildningen kunde icke ske efter någon annan linje än den, att kasusändelsen i ordets slut bibehölls.

I övriga former av paradigmet i sg. följde på rotstavelsen (*bōk-*) först en stavelse, som innehöll pronominalsuffixet (*-in-*) och därpå kasusändelse, där sådan fanns: *bōkin*, *bōkinni*, *bōkina*. En nybildning *bōkinnar* åvågabragte alltså en avsevärd förenkling av paradigmet: det blev överallt stammen *bōk-*, som böjdes till bestämd form och till kasus. Liksom t. ex. i dativen ändelsen *-inni* lades omedelbart till denna stam, så skapades för genitiven former av samma typ, där sålunda det betydelselösa *-ar-* framför den för språkkänslan viktiga ändelsen *-innar* saknades.

Nybildningen förutsätter emellertid ännu en sak: den kan ha uppstått först sedan substantiv och artikel fullt sammansmält. Det var ej längre substantiv och bestämningsord, som böjdes var för sig, utan det till bestämd form utbildade substantivet, som böjdes. Substantivets egna kasusändelser kvarstodo från denna tid i fogen mellan stammen och bestämningsuffixet som relativt betydelselösa fonem — men endast så länge som de gamla minnesformerna förmådde hålla sig uppe i kampen mot nybildningarna, som bättre stämde överens med den betydelseförskjutning, som faktiskt försiggått.

Uppkomsten av nybildningen *bōkinnar* har alltså i själva verket inga andra väsentliga förutsättningar än dem, som senare i fsv. föranleda utbytet av genitiven *karlsins*, *konungsins* o. s. v. mot *karlins*, *konungins*. Men varför sker då ej detta samtidigt? Den äldsta fsv. har ännu regelbundet *karlsins*, *konungsins*, men uteslutande *bōkinnar* (NOREN Aschw. Gr. sid. 407; Geschichte<sup>3</sup>, sid. 225). Denna invändning har också framställts av KOCK mot NOREN, som i Ark. 8,151 (not 2) sökt hävda, att uppkomsten av *bōkinnar* beror icke »på någon språkkänslans avoghet mot trestavig ändelse, utan mot inre böjning». »Om», anmärker Kock, »motvilja mot inre böjning varit egentligen avgörande, hade man bort få *karlins* samtidigt med att man fick *bōkinnar*, ty även i gen. *karlsins* hade man inre böjning.»

Efter vad som ovan utvecklats, beror icke uppkomsten av vare sig *karlins* eller *bōkinnar* på någon slags »motvilja» mot inre böjning. Men förutsättningar för nybildning av sådana former voro givna i och med det att denna inre böjning blivit oväsentlig för ordets betydelse och kasusbegreppet blivit fäst vid ändelsen i slutet. Vad är då anledningen till att *bōkinnar* uppträder så mycket



tidigare än *karlins* och synes i talspråket ha blivit fullständigt genomfört redan i förlitterär tid? Utan tvivel har härvid det förhållande inverkat, som Kock så starkt framhäver: ändelsen var trestavig; den numera betydelselösa kasusböjningen i ordets mitt upptog en särskild stavelse. Nybildningar sådana som *bōkinnar* hade därför lättare att tränga undan de äldre formerna; de åstadkommo en avsevärd lättnad i uttalet. Den gamla formen *karlsins* hade då lättare att hålla sig uppe i konkurrensen med nybildningarna. Samma förhållande medverkar, är jag benägen att tro, vid utbytet av *-ar-* mot *-s-* i *stazins*, *sonsins*, *fāsins* o. s. v.; även detta försiggår i förlitterär tid. Man erinrar sig också böjningen av pronominet *enge* i isl.: redan i det språk, som representeras av de äldsta handskrifterna och skaldevisorna, ha i de flesta former kasusändelser tillfogats i ordets slut, och den inre böjningen har upphävts. Böjningsstammen kan vara *einēg-* eller vanligen *eng-*. Ack. sg. f. *\*eina-gi* är aldrig belagd (*enga*, *eincga*), ej heller gen. *\*einnar-gi* (*engrar*, *einengrar*) eller dat. *\*einni-gi* (*engre*, *einengre*); dat. pl. *\*einum-gi* har redan förlitterärt ersatts av *engom*, *einengom*; av dat. sg. m. *einon-ge* och n. *eino-ge* finnas endast få rester (*engom*, *engo*). Däremot håller sig *einskes*, *enskes* (med bevarat inre *s*) kvar som huvudformen under hela den fisl. tiden (THORKELSSON, *Athugasemdir*, Reykjavik 1874, sid. 22 f., JÓNSSON, *Skjaldesprog*, sid. 83 f., LARSSON, *Ordförrådet*). I fsv. är stammen *æng-* genomförd i böjningen; men det inre *-s-* bibehåller sig i genitiven *ængsins*.

Om vi nu jämföra utvecklingen av det fsv. *bōkinnar* (i st. f. *\*bōkarinnar*) med den förklaring Kock givit av ändelsen i *bōndumin*, framträda stora olikheter. Det är i hög grad påfallande, att det icke är substantivets ändelse, som fallit bort, utan pronominet. Den inre böjningen är bibehållen, kasusändelsen i ordets slut har fått vika.<sup>1</sup> Detta synes åtminstone förutsätta, att »förkortningen» av *\*bōndum inum* till *bōndumin* ägt rum, innan ännu substantiv

<sup>1</sup> De många analogier från vårt yngre språk till bortkastande av en upprepade böjningsändelse, som Kock anför sid. 184–185. peka alla i samma riktning: ändelsen förloras i frasens mitt, men kvarstår i dess slut. »Man kände frasen som en enhet och fann det obehövt att upprepa böjningsändelsen *s*: den genitiva betydelsen uttrycktes tillräckligt genom ett i frasens slut stående *s*.» Fsv. *ens goþs konungs* — nsv. *en god konungs*, *mins fadhirs* — *min faders*, *fadhirs mins* — *far mins* o. s. v. De stämma alltså förträffligen överens med fallet *bōkinnar*, men näppeligen med den av Kock föreslagna förklaringen av *bōndumin*.

och pronomen sammansmält till en enhet. Kock anser också, om än av andra skäl, att »utvecklingen *bōndum inum gōþum* > *bōndumin gōþum* inträtt tidigare än utvecklingen *bōkarinnar* > *bōkinnar*.» Men betingelserna för uppkomsten av den senare formen, sådana de framställts i det föregående, förelågo då ej alls i fallet *bōndum inum gōþum*. De båda fallen äro ej jämförbara, och *bōkinnar* erbjuder ingen analogi till *bōndumin*. Kock finner det emellertid »mycket naturligt, att forkortningen *bōndum inum gōþum* > *bōndumin gōþum* inträdde tidigast, ty *bōkar innar* (*gōþu*) hade blott två lika ändelsestavelser (*ar*), under det att *bōndum inum gōþum* hade tre (*um*).» — I båda fallen är det, anmärker Kock, den näst sista av de lika ändelserna i ordföljden, som försvunnit. Med detta påpekande torde väl knappast någonting förklaras. Och känner man sig ej övertygad om att det tautologiska upprepan- det av *ar* spelat en så avgörande roll för uppkomsten av *bōkin- nar*, blir man knappast mera böjd att antaga den föreslagna för- klaringen av *bōndumin*.

Vid sidan av *-umin* uppträder i fsv. en ändelse *-umun*, *-omon*, dock först senare och ganska sparsamt. Detta *-umun* har enligt NOREEN (Aschw. Gr. sid. 406, Geschichte<sup>3</sup> sid. 226) ge- nom dissimilation uppkommit ur *-umum*. »Metodiskt riktigast är», säger NOREEN (ANF. 8,151 f.), »att jämföra *-umin* med den ävenle- des specifikt fsv. ändelsen *-umun*». Emellertid blir det knappast tilltalande, just ur metodisk synpunkt, att nödgas förklara den äldre och normala ändelsen *-umin* ur den först i sen fsv. tid och helt sparsamt uppträdande ändelsen *-umun* (*-omon*).

Men hur skall man då förstå växlingen *i: u* i ultimastavel- sen? NOREEN framställer tvänne förslag, av vilka han ger före- tråde åt det följande: *-umin* är resultatet av en analogisk om- bildning av *-umun*. Efter mönstret av best. f. *skip-in* till nom. ack. pl. *skip* bildade man till dat. *skipum* en bestämd form *skipum-in*. Från neutrer har ändelsen *-umin* sedan spritt sig till maskuliner och femininer. — Med rätta ställer sig Kock mycket skeptisk mot denna förklaring. Han anser det »icke vara möjligt att antaga analogisk ombildning i en så ofantlig utsträckning, i all synnerhet då i detta fall den fåtaligare ordgruppen (neutrer) skulle hava ombildat den vida mångtaligare (maskuliner och femi- niner).»

NOREEN har emellertid också tänkt sig en annan möjlighet. Om ändelsen *-umun* förutsätter ett äldre *-umnum*, så kan man



tänka sig, att *-umin* skulle utgå »från ett *-umnim*, vilket kunde vara bildat med samma pronominala dativändelse som fsv. *mællin*, isl. *millem*, *þeim*, *tueim*, got. *jainaim*.»

Mot denna hypotes, som NOREEN själv framställer med största reservation, har KOCK tvänne invändningar att göra:

1. Denna ändelse (*-aim > -ēm > -im*) är, som NOREEN själv nämner, så ytterligen sällsynt i de nordiska språken. Pronominet *enn* har i isl. faktiskt dat. pl. *enum*, icke *\*enim*.

2. Det är oberättigat att förutsätta ett fullkomligt olika upphov för dat. pl. *bóndonom* i isl. (och fsv.) och *böndumin* i fsv.

KOCKS betänkligheter mot NOREENS förslag äro synnerligen beaktansvärda, men de förfalla fullständigt, så snart man kommit under fund med den urnordiska labialiseringen av svagtonig palatal vokal framför *m*. Det är, enligt vad som ovan utvecklats (sid. 36 f.), ej blott ett sådant isolerat fall som fsv. *mællin*, som representerar en ljudlagsenlig utveckling av det ursprungliga suffixet *-aim > -ēm > -im*, utan hela massan av adjektiv och pronomina med den normala ändelsen *-om*. Dat. pl. *enom* av isl. pronominet *enn* återgår alltså fullt regelrätt på ett äldre *\*enim*.

Man torde vara fullt ense med KOCK om önskvärdheten av en förklaring, som utgår från ett lika upphov för den västnordiska formen *-onom* och den östnordiska *-umin*. Att en sådan förklaring nu är möjlig att framställa, torde ligga i öppen dag.

Isl. *-unum* och fsv. *-umin* återgå på samma grundform. Men denna kan icke ha varit det *-unum*, *-ummum* (äldre *-umnum*), som NOREEN antager som den allmänna dativändelsen i förlitterär tid. Den har i stället varit *-umim*, *-ummim*, äldre *-umnim < -umenim*. Detta *-umnim* innehåller den ursprungliga, pronomina dat. pl.-ändelsen.

I likhet med LIDÉN (Språkvet. Sällskapets Förhandlingar 1891—94, sid. 78 noten) och NOREEN (Geschichte<sup>3</sup> sid. 226) antager jag, att *mn* assimilerats till *mm*: *-umnim > -ummim*. Därefter inträdde dissimilation, men på olika sätt i isl. och i fsv. Det olikartade resultatet av dissimilationen ger sedermera anledning till en olika utveckling av ultimavokalen.

I fvn. förändrades det första *m* i ändelsen till *n*: *\*böndumim > \*böndunim*. KOCK har häremot invänt, att »det annars är det andra (icke det första) *m*, som i isl. dissimileras: *megen*.» Former sådana som *megen*, fsv. *mællin* äro emellertid uppenbarligen ej jämförbara, då det första *m* här stod i starktonig stavelse,

till på köpet i uddljud. Det var väl helt naturligt, att dissimilationstendensen då skulle komma att drabba det andra, i svagton stående *m* (jfr PAUL, Prinzipien<sup>4</sup> § 45). Formen *\*bōndunim* > ljudlagsenligt *bōndonom*.

I fön. har i regeln det andra, slutljudande *m* i ändelsen förändrats till *n*: *\*bōndumim* gav då direkt den normala fsv. dativformen *bōndumin*. Den ursprungliga ändelsevokalen räddades fram för *n*.

Det ytterst sällsynta fsv. *-omom* (KOCK ANF. 13,180; NOREEN Aschw. Gr. sid. 406) kan representera en utveckling utan dissimilation: *-umim* > *-umum*. *-omon*, ävenledes belagt endast i några få fall, förklaras av NOREEN ha uppstått genom dissimilation ur detta *-umum*.

4. 1. pl. präs. av 4 konjugationens svaga verb.

isl. *høfom* < *\*habēm* (fht. *habēmēs*);

isl. *vøkom*, fno. fsv. *vakum* < *\*vakēm*.

Rök *sakum* < *\*sagēm*.

5. 1. sg. präs. i mediopassivum.

isl. *þolomk* < *\*þole-mik*.

6. Om den i poesien någon gång förekommande formen för 1. sg. präs. *þíonom* motsvarar det fht. *dionôm* (WADSTEIN ANF. 8,86; NOREEN Geschichte<sup>5</sup>, sid. 209), så kan även präsensformen för 1. sg. av den andra atematiska präsensstypen (*ē*-verben) i fht. *habēm* ha ljudlagsenlig motsvarighet i det isl. *høfom* (THORKESSON ANF. 8,45).

7. Ändelsen *-em* i 1. pl. konj. (*skiótem*, *fallem*, *safnem*, *stýrem*, *vakem*; *skytem* o. s. v.) beror på anslutning till övriga former av konjunktiven, där *e* var genomgående. Emellertid kunna, påpekar NOREEN (Aisl. Gr. § 526,2), indikativens ändelser brukas även i konj. pl. I präsens konj. är detta, påfallande nog, fallet så gott som uteslutande med 1. pl. (*-um* i stället för *-em*). Sådana former möta ej sällan i tidiga fornnorska texter: Homilieboken (WADSTEIN, Fno. homiliebokens ljudlära, sid. 104), Barlaams saga och Didriks saga av Bern (THORKESSON, Breytingar, sid. 9 f.); ej blott till verb av första svaga konjugationen (*vit freistum*), utan även (och i flera fall) till starka verb (*biðium*, *seom*, *riðom*) eller till svaga verb av 2—4 klasserna (*selium*, *skiliumzt*, *sýnum*, *nefnum*, *gerom*, *møðum*, *likiumc*; *dugom*). Det torde ej vara oriktigt att i dessa fall se rester av den äldre, ljudlagsenliga formen på *-um*. I fsv. har denna regelbundet blivit bevarad: *fallum*, *skiūtum*.



En av ett följande *m* verkad labialisering av en svagtonig vokal är ingalunda någon i den nordiska språkhistorien sällsynt företeelse. På östnordiskt språkområde möta vi den åtminstone i tvänne historiskt skilda fall.

Exempel på den äldre, redan förlitterära övergången äro en del obetonade partiklar i fsv.: isl. *sem* — fsv. *sum*, isl. *nema* — fsv. *numa*, *num*, fda. *æm* — fsv. *um*. Möjligen hör också hit dat. pl. fsv. *þom* — *þem* (fvn. *þeim*). KOCK Bidrag till svensk etymologi, sid. 16 f.; Svensk Ljudlära I, sid. 128 (§ 160); v. FRIESEN Vår äldsta handskrift, sid. 42 f.

Den yngre, härmed besläktade övergången framträder framför allt i ortnamn, sammansatta med *-hem*. Ännu på 1400-talet skrives *Hællem*, *Fuglem* o. s. v. Omkr. mitten av 1400-talet uppträda skrivningar med *-um*: *Langum* (1435), *Byurum* (1439) o. s. v. Ögl.: *Gærtrem* Hjärtrum. Största likheten med övergången i urn. *\*verpimk > verpomk* erbjuda de värmländska ortnamnen, emedan vi där kunna konstatera, att *-um* närmast utvecklats ur ett *-im*.

*Visnhem > Visnem* (1403) > *Visnim* (1443) > *Visnum*.

NOREN Aschw. Gr. § 150 anm.; Spridda studier 3, sid. 62, 111.

## Rå 'vätte' och 'Pāos' hos Dio Cassius.

### 1.

Sedan gammalt har ordet *rå* 'vätte' (vanligen ingående i sammansättningar som *skogsrå* o. d.) i etymologiskt avseende förts till verbet *råda*.<sup>1</sup> Åsikten har först vetenskapligt motiverats av M. F. LUNDGREN (Språkliga intyg om hednisk gudatro 1878, s. 23 f.) och har sedan upptagits av t. ex. KOCK (Zeitschr. f. d. altert. 40: 205) och NOREEN (Vårt språk 3: 139). Som stöd för denna uppfattning har dels anförts det fvn. *rþð ǫll ok regin* i Håkonarmål, dels befintligheten av formen *råd* i svenska dialekter (t. ex. dalmål och östsv. dial.) och av likbetydande ord som äro bildade av verbet *råda* (*rådande*, *rådare*). KOCK har även å a. st. i gudinnenamnet *Rón* velat se en bildning till *råda*. — Då *rå* i sv. dial. ofta är

<sup>1</sup> Så skriver URBAN HIÄRNE, Uthförlig Berättelse Om . . . Suurbrunnar widh Medewij, 1680, s. 150 f.: »Sådana Divos hafwa the Swenske kallat *Rådå* eller *Råde*, och Finnarna *Haldia* (hwilket och så betyder en Regent eller Rådare) them hafwa the hafft aff åthskillige slagh, Nembl. *Skogzrådå* eller Necken[!], *Tompterådå*, *Grufwerådå*, etc. Meent och at hwar och en Skog, hwart Bærg, hwar Ström, etc. hade sin egen *Rådå*» (stället utförligare citerat hos NORELIUS, Ark. f. nord. fil. 2: 271 f.). VERELIUS skriver i Index lingvæ veteris scytho-scandicæ, 1691, s. 199 f.: »*Rad*, Potestas, victoria, Macht, seger. Epitom. Ol. S. cap. 13. *Han hafdi þeirra rad sem han villdi*. In devictos pro lubitu discernere potuit. Hinc *Skogsråd*, *Bergsråd*, *Siörad*, Dæmones vel genii, qui sylvis, montibus, aquis præesse creduntur. *Skogzrå*, *Bergzrå*, *Siörå*, &c.» ERLAND HOFSTEN yttrar i sitt vid hans död 1717 ofullbordade och först 1917 av E. NYGREN utgivna arbete Beskrifning öfwer Wermeland, s. 113 f.: »Hafwa the i gamla tiderne hållit här i Norden wackra trälundar helige, enkanerligen af Ask, Asp, Ek, En, Lönn och dylika flera, uti hwilka the förmente någon heligdom wara förborgat, hwilka the kallade *Råer*, som til exempel *SkogzRåer*, *Siö-Råer*, *Bergz-Råer*, af ordet *råda* eller *regera*, ty the trodde them på ett förborgat wis hafwa ther sitt tilhåld, men uppenbarade sig, när folcket intet rätt achtade theras Gudztienst.» Hos IHRE, Glossarium Svio-Gothicum s. 398 sammanställes *rå* alternativt med *råda* (det andra alternativet är sammanhang med fvn. *ragr*).



fem. har man tänkt sig en övergång från neutr. pl. (fvn. *ród*) till fem. sg. analog med *lag* o. d.

Emellertid torde etymologien icke kunna upprätthållas. Man påträffar nämligen i bohuslänska och dalsländska dialekter former med *o*<sup>1</sup> som icke kunna förenas med denna härledning:

Bohuslän:

*skóusrø* f. skogsrå LINDBERG, Skeemålets ljudlära;

*förøa* f. sjörå, *skòwroa* f. skogsrå NILÉN, Ordbok öfver allmogemålet i Sörbygden;

*skòwærø* f. skogsrå Foss (Tunge härad)<sup>2</sup>;

*skówro* skogsrå, *féro* el. *féro* sjörå Svarteborg (Tunge härad)<sup>3</sup>;

Dalsland:

*skogro* f. BONDESON, Historiegubbar på Dal s. 304 (Ör, Nordals härad);

*sjöroa* f. best. f. HENRIKSSON, Plägseder och skrock (Nordal<sup>4</sup>);

*skogsroa* f. LANGER, Dalsländska folksägnen s. 8 (»Håbol»<sup>5</sup>),  
*skogeroa* f. s. 11 (»Högsäter»);

*sjöroa* f. best. f. LANGER a. a. s. 11, 13 (»Färgelanda, Ånimskog»),  
*sjöro'a* f. best. f. s. 16 (»Håbol»);

*skogeroa* f. best. f. DYBECK, Runa h. 4, 1843, s. 40 (Råggård, Valbo), *skogeroa* s. 28, 29 (utan ursprungsuppgift), *sjögeroa* f. best. f. s. 29;

*rø* Håbol<sup>6</sup>, Vedbo<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Den av Rietz Lex. s. 594 från Tjust anförda formen *skogsro* n. representerar säkert *-rå* (jfr F. L. GRUNDTVIG, Sv. Minder fra Tjust, ss. 8, 38).

<sup>2</sup> Hört och antecknat en gång av min sagesman, fil. stud. D. ARILL. Eljest har 'skogs-, sjörå' »i fossmålet riksspr. former, men detta torde bero på senare inverkan.»

<sup>3</sup> Meddelande av D. ARILL.

<sup>4</sup> Rörande den närmare lokaliseringen av språket hos HENRIKSSON se E. NOREEN, Ärtemarksmålets ljudlära s. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Språket hos L. torde väsentligen vara valbomål; se vidare E. NOREEN, a. st.

<sup>6</sup> Meddelande av fru E. JONZON.

<sup>7</sup> Jfr *skògræa* f. bestämd form Ärtemark, Vedbo (E. NOREEN, a. a. s. 64), *sjöråa* f. b. f. Frändefors, Sundal (DYBECK, a. a. s. 41), (en) *Råa* DAHLSTIERNA, Kunga Skald [1698] str. 210 (jfr även BORGSTRÖM, Resa i Vermland, utg. av NYGREN, s. 109, HAMMARIN, Beskrifn. öfver Färglanda pastorat, utg. av GUNNÄS, s. 47 f.).

I norska dialekter, där ordet för övrigt tycks vara sällsynt och säkert styrkt blott från östliga trakter, synes endast formen *rå* förekomma:

*raa* f. 'slags vætte', Trondhjem stift enligt TORP, Nynorsk et. ordb.<sup>1</sup>;

*skogsraa* f. 'en Skov-Vætte eller Nymfe, der oftest optræder velvilligt mod den skovfarende, viser Vei, giver Raad osv.', S. Østerd. (Elvrom) Ross Ordb., Tillæg 1902 (SCHJØTT, Norsk ordbok);

*fiskeraa'a* f. best. f. 'en Vætte der raader for Fiskeriet. Skal efter nogle være den samme som »Kraken», en meget stor Octopus' N. Trondh. Helgel. Ross Ordb. »Fiskeraa-a... kjendes saavel i Nordland og det trondhjemske som i Solør og Østerdalen; men paa det første sted sættes hun i forbindelse med havfiskerierne, mens hun i indlandet sydpaa har ganske samme karakter som sjöråa i Sverige» HELLAND, Norges land og folk, Hedemarkens amt I: 666<sup>2</sup>.

Däremot torde formen *ro* finnas styrkt från nyisländskan. Hos S. GRUNDTVIG och JÓN SIGURÐSSON, Íslenzk fornkvæði 1: 59 ff. finnes en visa »Stafróar kvæði» (hss.: »Stafrós kvæði», »Kvæði af frúnni Stafró»). Om *stafró* anmärkes här: »Ordet *stafró* er ubekjendt; men... dets sidste del synes at måtte være lig svensk *rå*... elve-

<sup>1</sup> Av TORP abstraherat ur nedannämnda *fiskeraa'a*? — Om no. dial. *raageit* 'humregauk (Scolopax gallinago)', hos JENSEN Glosebog 'et slags busemand (utklædd menneske)', hör till *rå* 'vätte', som TORP med någon tvekan antar, synes mycket ovisst.

<sup>2</sup> Det synes rätt ovisst om det av FRITZNER, Ordbog<sup>2</sup> s. v. »half-ræingi» och efter honom TORP, Nyn. et. ordb. s. v. *Raa* f. 5 med (skogs)*rå* sammanställda »*raamand*» hos STRØM, Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør, Sorøe 1762—66, hör hit. Stället hos STRØM lyder (2: 307): »det [ett visst troll i Søndmør] skal have været en saa kaldet Diurre eller Hun-Trold, som blev begieret til Ægte af en i Raaemands-Giølllet (et andet Sted her i Kaldet, som siden skal beskrives) boende Juttel eller Han-Trold, og at hun skal have seilet didhen for at bese ham, men ved Ankomsten befundet ham saa liden og raae (o: udygtig) at hun af Foragt og Fortrydelse spyttede paa ham, og derved forvandlede ham til Steen saaledes, som han endnu i en Mands Skikkelse er at see paa Fieldet under Navn af Raaemanden.» — Da. dial. *Ræ* (»Naar Engen efter Solens Nedgang damper, hedder det, som bekiendt, »at Mosekonen koger Grød». I Sønder-Jylland sige de: »Æ Ræ koger Naddre», J. M. THIELE, Danmarks Folkesagn 3: 19, 1860), som av FRITZNER och TORP likaledes anføres i detta sammanhang, kan jag icke bedöma.



kvinde.» Visans innehåll är i korthet följande. Kári rider ut i skogen; där möter han »hin sterka Stafró», som får honom in i berget som sin älskare. Här glömmar han alla sina runor. K. ber om lov att rida bort och beger sig till sin broder, som åter lär honom hans runor. Han återvänder till Stafró och förvandlar henne till sten med hjälp av sin runkunskap. — Visans innehåll går sålunda utmärkt ihop med den av utgivarna gjorda sammanställningen med sv. *rå*, vilken upprepas av FRITZNER, Ordbog<sup>2</sup> s. v. *halfræingi* (bör vara *halfræingr*, se nedan), Ross Ordb. Tillæg 1902 s. v. *Skogsraa*, TORP, Nyn. et. ordb. s. v. *raa* f. 5. Den omständigheten att *rå* 'vätte' för övrigt huvudsakligen är känt från östnordiskt område gör dock saken i någon mån tvivelaktig (jfr nedan om *rå*[märke]).

Här må infogas några ord om det fvn. »*halfræingi*» 'mann som er so liten at han er aa rekna for halvt tusse' HÆGSTAD-TORP, som — och väl med rätta — av FRITZNER Ordb.<sup>2</sup>, Ross Ordb. Tillæg 1902 och TORP Nyn. et. ordb. (där ordet oriktigt uppges vara ett tillnamn) anses som en avledning av *rå* 'vätte'. Ordet förekommer veterligen endast på ett ställe i litteraturen, nämligen Biskupa sögur 1: 517<sup>1</sup>: »Maðr er nefndr Auðunn, ok var kallaðr hande, hann var lítill maðr ok nær hálfræingi.» Tydligen står ordet här i dativ<sup>2</sup> (nom. \**halfræingr*). CLEASBY-VIGFUSSON Dict. skriver också *hálfræingr* m. 'a half scamp'. — Om det som tillnamn på en viss Gunnarr förekommande mno. *rásveinn* D.N. 2: 169, 172, 3: 182 hör hit (FRITZNER, ROSS, TORP a. st.) må lämnas därhän.

De ovan anförda västsvenska formerna med *o* kunna icke förnas med de östliga formerna med *-d*. Endera måste bero på senare ombildning. Då nu en ombildning av ett ursprungligt *rå(d)* till *ro* svårligen kan antas under det att östligt *råd* för *rå* ingalunda är oförklarligt, torde det vara riktigt att vid förklaringen av ordet lägga den största vikt vid formen *ro*, i detta fall att betrakta som »lectio difficillior». Jag nödgas alltså dra den slutsatsen att den gängse sammanställningen av *rå* med *råda* och fvn. *rōð* måste uppges och att de östskandinaviska formerna med *-d* äro av sekundär art.<sup>3</sup> Jag har också sedermera funnit att TORP i Nyn. et. ordb.

<sup>1</sup> Det får nog därför betraktas som osäkert styrkt (jfr även Bisk. sög. 1, s. LIV).

<sup>2</sup> Se FRITZNER Ordb. s. v. *nær*, NYGAARD, Norrøn syntax § 103 c.

<sup>3</sup> Härför tala ju också fvn. *halfræingr* och nisl. *stafró* (jfr ovan). — Den möjligheten att i *rå* två ord av olika ursprung sammanfallit kan naturligtvis icke direkt bestridas.

(s. v. *raa* f. 6) kommit till samma mening rörande sv. *råd*. Han skriver nämligen: »sv. di. *rå* (og ved hendragning til *raada*) *råd*». — Det vore ju i och för sig rimligt om formen *råd* berodde på anslutning till *råda* och därtill bildade ord med samma eller liknande betydelse som *rå*. Men en annan uppfattning torde dock vara att föredraga, nämligen att *råd* är att jämföra med sådana former som *stråd* för *strå* (så t. ex. i östsv. dial.<sup>1</sup>, se VENDELL Ordb., Lillhärda<sup>2</sup> enligt meddelande av fil. mag. S. ÅSANDER, fåröm. *strād* (NOREEN, Fåröm. ljudl. s. 23), no. dial. (Søndmør, se AASEN Ordb., KOPPERSTAD, Maal og minne 1916: 156), *rād* n. 'råmärke' Lillhärda (ÅSANDER) — liksom *skóksrād* n. —, sv. *träd*(?) o. d. Formen *råd* uppträder uteslutande där ordet är neutrum<sup>3</sup> — med ett undantag, det av RIETZ Ordb. från Gottland uppgivna *råd* m.; antagligen är detta oriktigt: P. A. SÄVE har *råd* n. i Havets och fiskarens sagor s. 18 f. — något som ju i hög grad talar för den (för *träd* m. m.) sedan gammalt framställda åsikten att *-d* är den »fastgrodda» bestämda artikeln.<sup>4</sup> För *rå* 'vätte' vilket nästan alltid användes i bestämd form passar detta mycket bra.

Något positivt förslag till etymologi gör icke TORP. Ordets grundform förklaras vara »dunkel». Jag skall därför här framställa ett försök till förklaring av ordet.

Vokalväxlingen *ro* : *rå* är säkerligen av samma art som i fvn. *ó* : *ō* f. 'å'; fno. *tó*, no. dial. *to*, skeem *tō* : fvn. *tō* osv. f. 'tå'; no. dial. *ho(v)* : fvn. *hō*, no. dial. *haa(v)*, sv. dial. *hå(v)* f. 'efterskörd

<sup>1</sup> T. ex. från Åland och Nyland där *d* i slutljud konsekvent kvarstår (se VENDELL, Ordb. pass., KARSTEN, Kökarsm. § 17, HULTMAN, Östsv. dial. § 4. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Där likaledes *-d* kvarstår (JESSEN, [Norsk] Hist. tidsskr. 3: 11, ÅSANDER).

<sup>3</sup> Några strödda notiser om genusförhållandena hos *rå* förtjäna kanske att anföras här. Ordet är fem. åtminstone i Norge, Bohuslän, Dalsland (se ovan s. 46 f.), Värmland (se NOREEN, Ordb. öfv. fryksdalsm., KALLSTENIUS, Nord. tidskr. 1909: 276 f., SAMUELSSON, Fataburen 1912: 26 f., Närke (Sv. landsm. 8: 3, s. 99 ff.), Aspeland, Småland (WEIS, Sv. landsm. 1906: 107), Bjursås, Dalarna (MAGNEVILL, Bjursåsm. ordförr. s. v. *bärgrå*, *förå*); den-genus i södra Halland (WIGFORSS, Södra Hallands folkm. s. 259); neutralt genus uppges från Västergötland (Vartofta-Åsaka) av E. STORCKENFELDT, Sv. landsm. 1907: 8 f. (dock ej pålitlig källa), vidare från Tjust (RIETZ Ordb. s. 594, GRUNDTVIG a. a. s. 38), Östergötland, Uppland, dalmål, östsv. dial. etc.

<sup>4</sup> Jfr härom senast D. A. SEIP i Maal og minne 1917: 149 ff.



av gräs'<sup>1</sup>; no. dial. *slo* : fvn. *sló* osv. f. '(tvär)slå' o. d. Se vidare NOREEN, Aisl. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 74, 2. Samma växling träffas också i no. dial. *ro* : fvn. *ró* osv. f. 'rank og smækker Træstamme, tyk Stang; rå på segel m. m.' Samma ord — stam *\*rahō-* — är utan allt tvivel *rå* 'råstång, rågång', fsv. *rā* osv. såsom W. CEDERSCHÖLD, Studier över genusväxlingen s. 35 och — med någon tvekan — TORP, Nyn. et. ordb. s. v. *raa* f. 3 antagit<sup>3</sup>. Med detta ord *rå*, *ro* 'stång' antar jag att *rå*, *ro* 'vätte' är etymologiskt identiskt.

Det har som bekant särskilt av MERINGER uppvisats, att en rad ord för 'gud' i de baltisk-slaviska språken utvecklats ur betydelsen 'stock, stav, påle' över en betydelse 'göttlich verehrter stab, fetisch, bild eines gottes'. Bland dessa märkes lit. *stābas*, som är germanskt lånord (jfr fvn. *stafr* 'gudastav', fgotn. *stafgarþr*). Från germanskt område hör väl hit fvn. *óss*, *áss*, got. pl. *anses* osv. 'gud', om det med MERINGER, HELM, M. OLSEN m. fl. får betraktas som väsentligen identiskt med fvn. *áss*, got. *ans* osv. 'bjälke'. Se om dessa och hithörande frågor HELM, Altgermanische religionsgeschichte 1: 225 ff., M. OLSEN, Hedenske kultminder s. 250 ff., KARSTEN, Germanisch-finnische lehnwortstudien s. 10 ff. och på dessa ställen anförd litteratur. — Från nordiskt område torde vidare enligt ett av fil. lic. HUGO JUNGNER i föredrag å nordiska seminariet härstädes för ett par år sedan framställt förslag vara att anføra fvn. *Prór*, som han sammanställer med lat. *truncus* osv.<sup>3</sup>.

På nu antydda sätt kunde man tänka sig att betydelseövergången *rå* 'stång' > *rå* 'en slags gudomlighet' (jfr fsv. *tompta gudh* tomtrå, bolvätte') kunde ha försiggått.

Det är emellertid kanske mer än en tillfällighet att *rå* i betydelsen 'gränsstång', vilket säkerligen är samma ord som *rå* 'råstång etc.' (se ovan) liksom *rå* 'vätte' (jfr ovan) huvudsakligen är känt från östnordiskt håll. I de norska dialekterna är *raa* f. 'Grændseskjel, Skillepunkt imellem to Jordstykker eller Tei-

<sup>1</sup> Se vidare LIDÉN, Uppsalastudier s. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Annorlunda FICK-TORP, Wortschatz s. 343, där no. dial. *raa* mindre exakt översättes 'Markscheide' och härledes ur *\*raihō-* under jämförelse med ags. *ráw*, *réw*, eng. *row* 'Reihe' m. m.

<sup>3</sup> I detta sammanhang kan erinras om KARSTENS a. st. gjorda antagande att fi. *Runkoteivas* (m. fl. former) 'geist des roggen' som förled innehåller fi. *runko* (< germ. *\*prunhō-*, se Finn.-ugr.forsch. 13: 442) '(baum)stamm'. Emellertid uppträder enligt benäget meddelande av prof. K. B. WIKLUND namnet i så växlande former, att någon som helst bestämd slutsats om dess etymon omöjliggöres. Den mest gängse uppfattningen överensstämmer ej med KARSTENS (litteratur Finn.-ugr.forsch. 13: 442).

ger' (*Langraa* f. 'Grændseskjel paa Langsiden af et Jordstykke') AASEN Ordb. endast antecknat från Østerdalen, något som kommit TORP, Nyn. et. ordb. s. v. *raa* f. 3 att förmoda att ordet är lånat från svenskan. I fvn. är ordet känt blott från fno:

*rámerki* n. 'grændseskjel' en gång i ett aktstycke från slutet av 1200-talet, där det är fråga om »landamæri ok rámerki millim Noregs rikis ok Svía konongs» (se Norges gamle love, glossar);

*markrá* f. 'optrukken (maaske især opgrøftet?) men ikke opgjærdet mærkelinie som grændse imellem naboeiendomme', belagt i Frostatingslagen och Magnus Håkonssons Landslag och Stadslag (se NGL, glossar);

*takmarkrá* f. 'optrukken, opmærket grændselinie; for bymarken', styrkt en gång i Magnus Håkonssons stadslag (se NGL, glossar)<sup>1</sup>.

Betydelserna *rá* 'rāmärke' och *rá* 'gudomlighet' följas sålunda geografiskt i det närmaste åt. Skulle man häri ha en fingervisning att betydelsen 'gudomlighet' icke utvecklats direkt ur den allmännare betydelsen 'stång' utan ur den speciellare betydelsen 'gränsstång'? Att dessa åtnjutit religiös vördnad är så gott som säkert. Man kan här erinra om romarnas »terminalia». Det kan enligt WISSOWA ej betvivlas att gränsstenen eller -pålen äldst åtnjöt fetischistisk gudstjänst, så att vid terminaliafesten (d. 23 febr.) gränsmärket självt mottog offer. Ovidius skildrar hur stenen bekransades och bestänktes med offerdjurets blod<sup>2</sup>. Dionysius från Halikarnassos berättar att man hembar gränsstenarna offer och ansåg dessa för gudar<sup>3</sup>. Hos grekerna torde likaledes gränsstenar och -pålar ha dyrkats och gällde i varje fall som heliga<sup>4</sup>. Även

<sup>1</sup> Hos HÆGSTAD-TORP, Gamaln. Ordb. upptas ett ord »*rá* n. eig. grensa (jfr *rámerki*); jord, land (poet.)» liksom EGILSSON-JÓNSSON, Lex. poet. upptar »*rá* n. jord, land». Ordet förekommer endast två gånger i Merlínússþá (bevarad i Hauksbók) i uttrycken *seil rás* och *rás fagr síli*, bägge kenningar för 'orm'. HÆGSTAD-TORPS identifiering av detta ord, som i varje fall har gen. på -s, med femininet *rá* torde böra avböjas (om *rá* som m. och n. i fsv. se W. CEDERSCHIÖLD a. a. s. 35 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> WISSOWA, Religion und Kultus der Römer<sup>2</sup>, s. 136 ff. »Die Verehrung der Grenzsteine und Grenzpfähle ist im Volke lebendig geblieben bis zum Ausgange Altertums». — Jfr även SAMTER, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 16 (1913): 137.

<sup>3</sup> SAMTER, a. a. s. 140.

<sup>4</sup> M. W. DE VISSER, Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen, Leiden 1903, s. 7, 9.



hos germanerna voro gränsmärken av sakral natur och åverkan å dylika bestraffades enligt sakral straffrätt<sup>1</sup>.

När romarna nedsatte gränsstenar skedde detta under vissa offerceremonier. Härvid gjordes enligt Sículus Flaccus en grop under stenen, i vilken offret lades<sup>2</sup>. Dessa ceremonier ha av H. SJÖVALL sammanställts med av de av honom behandlade s. k. byggnadsoffren<sup>3</sup>. Byggnadsoffret, som är spritt över snart sagt hela världen<sup>4</sup>, anses till stor del ha sin grund i avsikten att skapa en skyddsande åt den nya byggnaden (e. d.). När man sålunda i Grekland i våra dagar vid grundandet av ett hus slaktar ett får, en tupp e. d. som sedan nedgräves under detsamma, är avsikten den att förskaffa huset en *στοιχειό*, ett »stöd» eller »stödjande

<sup>1</sup> Se J. GRIMM, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer s. 546 f., Kleinere Schriften (1865) 2: 59 ff., MANNHARDT, Wald- und Feldkulte 1: 27, 39, MAC CULLOCH i Hastings, Encyclopædia of Religions 7: 793, sp. 1 och där cit. litt., AMIRA Grundriss d. germ. Rechts<sup>3</sup>, s. 124, v. SCHWERIN i Hoops Reallex. s. v. *Grenze*. Jfr WESTERMARCK, Origin and development of moral ideas 2: 60 f., 67 ff. — Enligt folktron straffas den, som flyttar råmärken genom att efter döden ständigt som »skälvrängare», »märkesgast», »ängamålare» etc. vara tvungen att uppehålla sig på platsen för brottet (se t. ex. HYLÉN-CAVALLIUS, Wärend o. Wird. 1: 469, 2: XLIX, Sv. landsm. 2: 5, s. 22 f., 8: 3, s. 225, B 2: 46, LINDER, S. Möre s. 134; vidlyftiga litteraturhänvisningar hos FEILBERG Ordb. s. v. *skjel* och *landmåler*. — I det gamla norska »Draumekvæði» läses (str. 48):

Kem eg meg at manni dei  
ha' hendanne full af bloð,  
herre guð synduge sálinne!  
han flutte deild i skog.

(Landstad, Folkev. s. 81).

<sup>2</sup> »Cum (antiqui) terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram rectos conlocabant, proxime ea loca, in quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguenta velaminibusque et coronis eos coronabant. in fossis autem, in quibus eos posituri erant, sacrificio facto hostiaque immolata atque incensa facibus ardentibus in fossa cooperti sanguinem instillabant eoque tura et fruges iactabant. favos quoque et vinum aliaque. quibus consuetudo est Terminis sacrum fieri, in fossis adiciebant. Consumptisque igne omnibus dapibus super calentes reliquias lapides collocabant» (cit. efter SAMTER a. a. s. 138).

<sup>3</sup> »Om byggnadsoffer och besläktade bruk hos greker och romare», Från filologiska fören. i Lund 4: 151 ff. — För hänvisning till byggnadsoffren och spec. SJÖVALLS uppsats har jag att tacka bibliotekarien O. LUNDBERG.

<sup>4</sup> Även Skandinavien, se SARTORI, Ueber das Bauopfer, Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie 30: 1—54 pass., SJÖVALL, a. a. s. 166.

ande», vartill det offrade djuret förvandlas<sup>1</sup>. SJÖVALL antar nu att samma föreställning ligger till grund för ceremonierna vid gränsstenens nedsättande. »Det offrade djuret öfvergår till en *στοιχείό*, som tager sin bostad i gränsstenen och vakar öfver dess helgd».<sup>2</sup> Han erinrar härvid även om fall då lik begravts vid gränsen för att skydda mot fientliga anfall<sup>3</sup>.

Om man vågade anta att liknande riter som hos de klassiska folken på nordisk botten varit knutna vid råmärkena<sup>4</sup>, så kunde ordet *rå*'s betydelseutveckling ha varit ungefär följande: 'stång' > 'stång använd som råmärke', 'råmärke' > '\*råmärkets skyddande ande' > överhuvudtaget 'ande som är fast knuten vid en bestämd lokalitet' (t. ex. *skogsrå*, *sjörå*, *tomträ*)<sup>5</sup>. Till den sista delen av

<sup>1</sup> SJÖVALL, s. 153.

<sup>2</sup> SJÖVALL, s. 165.

<sup>3</sup> SJÖVALL, a. st., jfr SARTORI a. a. s. 33.

<sup>4</sup> I Upplandslagen (Wipærbo B. 18 pr, SCHLYTERS uppl. s. 243) läses: »J. akræ skiptum ok teghæ skiptum. þær ma twa stenæ ra kallæ[.] stakæ ok sten. ok ben mæþ. ma ok ra kallæ. stakæ ok sten. ma ra kallæ. ben ok sten ma ra kallæ» (liknande ställen VmL, Bygninga B. 18 pr, MELL B. B. 22 pr). *Sten ok ben* översättes av SCHLYTER Ordb. 'en i jorden nedsatt sten med därunder lagda ben'. Jfr sv. dial. *råben* 'större kreaturs ben, som nedslås i marken till att utvisa gränsen mellan bygrannars lotter i åker och skogsmark' Dalarna (Särna) RIETZ Ordb. Man kan nu göra den frågan om icke dessa ben ha sin upprinnelse i något sakralt bruk liknande de ovan berörda klassiska riterna. Jämför även hurusom vid vissa offer hos lapparna det slaktade djurets ben nedgrävdes i jorden och mitt bland benen ett träbeläte nedstacks (OL. GRAANS Relation, Sv. landsm. 17: 2, s. 65; jfr M. OLSEN, Hedenske kultminder s. 252 f.). Emellertid vet man att på andra håll vid gränsmärken diverse föremål nedgrävdes för att bestyrka placeringens riktighet. Rörande förhållandena i Indien heter det t. ex.: »In the ground were buried objects which would not decay — potsherds, charcoal, bones, stones, bricks, enclosed in vessels» (MAC CULLOCH i Hastings Encyclopædia 7: 792), och liknande uppges från Tyskland (J. GRIMM, Kleinere Schriften 2: 45); i Danmark lades under råstenen kol och flinta (FEILBERG, Ordb. s. v. *skjelsten*). Råbenet kan alltså alltför väl vara av rent praktisk art. I alla händelser blir det alltid anmärkningsvärt att just ben valts till »diakritiska tecken».

<sup>5</sup> Denna uppfattning är som jag senare funnit alternativt framkastad redan av RYDQVIST, Svenska språkets lagar 2: 326, not 1 (1857). Han yttrar där om *rå* att »detta ord som i Svenskan står ensamt, är ej lätt att tyda». Efter att ha nämnt IHRES och GRIMMS förklaringar (den senare, Deutsche Myth. 1: 464 f., tänker sig att *rå* skulle ha »sitt upphof från sjöfrun *rán*, under förutsättning att detta ursprungligen haft en allmänare betydelse, och med särskildt afseende på de Nordiska språkens böjelse



denna supponerade betydelseutveckling kan man peka på en direkt parallell i det nygrek. *στοιχείό*, ursprungligen 'genom byggnads-offer skapat andeväsen i ett hus', numera överhuvudtaget 'Geist, Gespenst'. »Von denjenigen Wesen aus», yttrar LAGERCRANTZ, *Elementum*<sup>1</sup>, s. 82, »die in Baulichkeiten eingeschlossen leben, wurde es auf die Geister übertragen, welche die naive Volksphantasie in den Quellen, Teichen, Flüssen, Bäumen, auf den Bergen und im Meere hausen lässt. Die Übertragung hat ihren Grund darin, dass diese Geister in ihrer Wirksamkeit an einen bestimmten Ort gebunden sind».

Sedan ovanstående var nedskrivet fick jag av doc. E. LINDERHOLM ett påpekande att läroverksadjunkten JOHAN NORDLANDER sutte inne med fakta rörande råmärken som i detta sammanhang vore av stort intresse. Hr Nordlander har med storartat tillmötesgående låtit mig ta kännedom om och ställt till mitt förfogande det parti av hans ännu otryckta avhandling »Om råmärken och därmed sammanhängande ortnamn», som kunde vara av värde för min framställning. Förf. meddelar här en del exempel på råmärkens fridlysthet i vårt land. Grunden härtill ser N. närmast i germanernas respekt för äganderätten. »Men även religionen gjorde sitt till». Härfter erinras om 5 Mos. 27: 17<sup>2</sup> och om romarnas *terminus*. Förf. anför sedan en rad omständigheter som gör det »ganska visst . . . att råmärkena hos oss ofta tänkts som personer». Råstaven omtalas i syneprotokoll<sup>3</sup> ofta »på ett sätt som kunde komma en att tro att det vore fråga om en levande människa».

att apokopera *n*») heter det: »Emellertid är denna gissning [= GRIMMS] kanske mindre vågad än ett par, som fallit mig in; den ena, att *rå* i *tomtrå* möjligen vore lagarnes *ra* i *tompta ra*, *tomta ra* (råmärke . . .), och att vid gränsmärket kunnat, liksom vid Romarnes *terminus*, fästas föreställningen om någon ting öfversinligt, slutligen öfverflyttadt på skogar, sjöar och berg; den andra, att *rå* stode i radikal förbindelse med Isl. *hræ* i *hræliós*, *hræfarliós*, *hræfareldr* (lyktgubbe), af ett fem. *hræ*, genit. *hræfar* (neutr. *hræ* betyder lik, död kropp)». — I sin nedan omnämnda otryckta avhandling skriver JOH. NORDLANDER: »På vår landsbygd talar man ganska ofta därom, att det är *rå* eller *rådande* för den och den sjön, då man helst bör låta bli att med fiske störa detta. Huruvida nu detta är en motsvarighet till romarnes *Terminus* vilja vi låta vara osagt».

<sup>1</sup> Skr. utg. af K. Hum. vet.-samf. XI, 1.

<sup>2</sup> N:s källa är, där ej annat angives, Lagmansrättens domböcker i Riksarkivet.

<sup>3</sup> »Förbannad vare den som flyttar sin nästas råmärke. Och allt folket skall säga: Amen».

Lämnar den erforderliga upplysningar kallas den ett *talgillt* rör, o. s. v. Råstenen synes ofta ha kallats »*gubben*» (ett par exempel från 1600-talet anföras, där berg med ett råmärke kallats *Gubbeberget* e. d.). Ett råmärke i en mosse i Lyhundra härad hette *Måsegubben*, ett i Vagnhärad kallas 1666 *Blåmannen*, ett tredje i Ångermanland hette *Tree brödher*<sup>1</sup>. Slutligen lämnas följande märkliga upplysning om ett råmärke, *Håhle röse* kallat, som omtalas år 1662 från Ervalla socken, Fellingsbro härad, Örebro län: »Däruti voro liksom huggna tvenne aflånga hål såsom ögon och ett där nedanföre i liknelse till mund». Röset bestod av en fyrkantig, stor sten. Från Hälsingland (Forsa socken) omtalas 1692 *Ansichte stenen*, vilket namn kanske bör förstås i enlighet med »*Håhle röse*»<sup>2</sup>.

Genom dessa upplysningar kan det väl anses vara mycket sannolikt att råmärkena i Sverge varit en slags »gudestötter».

## 2.

Den vandaliska stamsagans brödrapar (*Ἀστυγγοί*, *Haddingar*, vilka man ytterligare sammanställt med Tacitus' *Alcis*) heter hos Dio Cassius (början av 200-talet) *Ῥᾶος* och *Ῥάπιος*. Det senare identifieras allmänt med fvn. *raptr* m., no. dial. *raft* 'tunn stock, bjälke, sparre'<sup>3</sup>. Det förra plägar uppfattas som östgerm. *Raus*

<sup>1</sup> År 1620 omnämnes råmärket *Stenkarlen* mellan S. Säms och Marbäcks socknar i Kinds härad, Västergötland (enligt DJURKLOU, *Lifvet i Kinds härad* s. 19 f.). — Man kan härmed även jämföra följande notis från Norge (ur J. T. STORAKERS samlingar, ms. 580 fol. i Kristiania universitetsbibliotek, kap. 4): »Ganske betegnende er ogsaa [förut har varit fråga om stenar dyrkade som gudabilder] en Talemaade, som man knytte[!] til de saakaldte *Endestaae* 3: de store ved hvert Hjørne af en hel Gaard staaende Grændse- eller Byttestene. Ved hver Side af den egentlige *Endestaa*, tildels ogsaa ved almindelige Grændsestene, staa to andre Stene, en paa hver Side, hvilke gaa under Navnet *Vidner* (Mand[al])».

<sup>2</sup> 1690 i Södermanland satte Sven i Grunshammar en vidjehank om *Carl kiälle stafwen*; »och när den går bort», sade han, »kan jag sätta dit en annan igen». Kan detta ha något sammanhang med romerska seden att bekransa råmärket??

<sup>3</sup> Se t. ex. SCHÖNFELD, *Wörterb. d. agerm. pers.- u. völkernamen* s. v., HELM a. a. s. 326, M. OLSEN a. a. 250, 255. — FICK-TORP, *Wortschatz* 338 anser *raptr* återgå på germ. *\*raptra-* (jfr ags. *ræfter* 'Stock, Spar-



'rör, arundo'<sup>1</sup>. HELM a. a. s. 326 konstaterar dessa benämningars underlighet som människonamn och tillägger: »Weniger auffällig sind sie für Götter, wenn man sich an die oben<sup>2</sup>... besprochene Herkunft der Bezeichnung Ansen und verschiedener slav. Namen für Götze erinnert und die Entwicklung des germanischen Götterbildes im Auge behält. Es könnte sich hier wohl um die Benennung zweier primitiver Idole handeln, die von den nach Süden vordringenden Vandalen mit sich geführt wurden: Bilder der alten nationalen Götter, die gleichsam als Führer in die neue Heimat betrachtet wurden». MAGNUS OLSEN a. a. s. 254 f. anknyter till denna uppfattning, dock med åtskilliga modifikationer. Han sammanställer '*Pāos* och '*Páptos* med. fvn. *stafr ok stalli*. \**Rafts* uppfattas som 'horisontal bjälke i stalli' och \**Raus* som 'väsentlig enstydigt' med *stafr*. Detta synes honom möjligt om man tänker sig ordet använt i betydelsen »'kjäp, tynd stok', d. v. s. omtrent enstydigt med de oldn. sammensætninger *reyrsproti*, *reyrteinn*, *reyrvondr*, *rørstængel*, *rørkjæp*; jfr norsk dial. *røyr*, f. (n.) »Rør, Rørvæxt», »Stilk, Stængel (af visse udenlandske Væxter); Spanskrør, Spadserstok», »Rør, Pibe, huul Cylinder» AASEN. Då ordet överallt betyder just 'arundo' synes detta antagande särdeles djärvt och stödes ju ingalunda av de från AASEN anförda betydelsena av nno. *røyr*<sup>3</sup>. — Ännu enklare vore dock enligt M. O. att i \**Raus* söka den egentliga betydelsen 'arundo', här använt om säven, »hvoru efter gammel nordeuropæisk folketro [dock endast styrkt från finskt håll: fi. *Sämpsä*] vaarens vækstkraft først mentes at aabenbare sig. \**Raus* blev da frugtbarhedsgudens symbol paa et ældre udviklingstrin end »staven» paa røsen.» Med denna uppfattning förloras den direkta parallellism mellan benämningarna '*Pāos* och '*Páptos*, som man väntar sig att finna. Här kan också

ren', mht. *rafter*, *rachter* 'kleiner Balken, Latte'). TORP hos HÆGSTAD-TORP Ordb. s. XLVII antar i första rummet en grundform \**rafta*-, men tillägger: »um ikkje upphavleg \**raptra*, ags. *ræfter*».

<sup>1</sup> Så först MUCH, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. 36: 47, sedan t. ex. de tre i föregående not nämnda förff.

<sup>2</sup> Jfr ovan s. 50.

<sup>3</sup> HELLQUIST, N. o. B. 1917: 177 uttalar tvivel om \**raus* »verkligen... bör översättas med 'kjäp, tynd stok'.» De isl. sammansättningarna *reyrsproti* o. s. v. anser han föga bevisa och den nno. bet. 'spanskt rör' ännu mindre.

förtjåna åter påpekas det även av M. O. framhållna faktum att i Grekland dioskurerna framställdes under symbolen av två bjälkar<sup>1</sup>.

Om det alltså från betydelsens synpunkt stöter på vissa svårigheter att identifiera *'Pāos* med *rör*, så föreligger å andra sidan också en formell dylik. Redan WREDE, *Die Sprache der Wandalen* s. 47 (jfr även s. 99) framhåller att skrivningen *'Pāos* i st. f. *\*Pāṽs*, som man skulle vänta, väcker förvåning. Och denna förvåning kan väl ej anses hävd genom SCHÖNFELDS (Wb. s. v.) hänvisning till det så mycket senare got. *Aoricus* hos JORDANES, där för övrigt den av SCHÖNFELD efter MÜLLENHOFF föreslagna härledningen av förleden (= got. *\*Háuh-reiks*) torde vara minst sagt dubiös. Snarare finge man då med MUCH a. st. anta att *'Pāos* »zunächst auf *\*Raus* in einer lateinischen quelle des Dio Cassius zurückgeht».

Som synes talar åtskilligt emot det gängse anlagandet att *'Pāos* är lika med östgerm. *raus*. Såväl ortografin som analogien med *'Páπτος*, om detta som väl med rätta antagits är en germ. stam *rafta-* med grekisk ändelse, talar för att *'Pāos* är germ. *ra-* + gr. *-os*. Det ligger då för mig nära att tänka på det ovan behandlade nord. *rā* 'stång'.

Från betydelsens synpunkt är intet att invända, tvärtom passar det så bra som möjligt att detta gudomliga brödrapar benämnts med två allittererande synonymer. Något betänkligare ställer sig saken från formens synpunkt. Ordet *rā* återgår på en grundform *\*rahō-* (jfr mht. *rahe* f. 'Stange, Schiffsraa' m. m.<sup>2</sup>). Emellertid kan det ej förvåna att det germ. ordets *h* ej har någon beteckning (*χ*) i den grekiska transskriptionen, i synnerhet då man tar hänsyn till de klassiska författarnas vacklan i allmänhet på denna punkt<sup>3</sup>.

Däremot är det oklart hur man närmare skulle tänka sig förhållandet mellan det här som manligt namn uppträdande *'Pāos* och det eljest alltid feminina *\*rahō-*. Man kunde förmoda att

<sup>1</sup> PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-encyclopädie* s. v. *Dioskuren*, H. v. PROT, *Mitteil. d. deutschen arch. Inst. Athen* 29: 18 (1904), DE VISSER a. a. s. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Se FICK-TORP, *Wortschatz* s. 335.

<sup>3</sup> Se härom SCHÖNFELD a. a. s. XXII, WREDE, *Sprache der Wandalen* s. 107 f. (jfr WREDE, *Spr. d. Ostgoten* s. 175). Bland de vandaliska språkresterna träffas knappast någon säker parallell. De av WREDE a. st. anförda namnen *Oageis* (Luxorius), *Εὐαγέης* (Procopius från Cæsarea), *Εὐαγέτης* (Theophanes) och *'Οάμερ* (Procopius), *Oamer* (Victor från Tunnuna) äro dels mycket senare (500-talet, Theophanes början av 800-talet), dels etymologiskt tvivelaktiga.



*Pāos* och '*Páptos* egentligen varit appellativiska benämningar för de två bjälkar som symboliserade "*Ἀστυγγοί*. Men då *\*rahō-* och *\*rafta-* representerade ett brödrapar var det ju naturligt att den klassiske författaren återgav bägge orden med maskulin ändelse. Det är nu märkligt att den vandaliska sagan nämner ännu ett brödrapar, nämligen *Ambri* och *Assi* hos PAULUS DIACONUS, vilket kunde varit brödernas verkliga namn hos vandalerna<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Se vidare om *Ambri-Assi* HELM a. a. s. 326 (där andra slutsatser dragas).

## I-omljud och vokalsynkope i fornvästnordiskan.

För i-omljudet i de nordiska språken gäller, enligt den bland språkmännen gängse uppfattningen, som allmän regel: ett urn. obetonat *i*, som redan i förlitterär tid faller bort, verkar omljud i långstaviga, men icke i kortstaviga ord. Regeln belyses gemenligen med följande standardexempel, vardera representant för en betydande grupp av likartade fall:

Sg. ack.	* <i>gasti</i> > <i>gest</i>	~ * <i>stadi</i> > <i>staþ</i> ;
1 sg. prät.	* <i>dōmiðō</i> > <i>dāmpa</i>	~ * <i>ʁaliðō</i> > <i>valþa</i> ;
Pl. nom.	* <i>bandilōr</i> > <i>bendlar</i>	~ * <i>katilōr</i> > <i>katlar</i> ;
Sg. ack.	* <i>langistan-</i> > <i>lengstan</i>	~ * <i>batistan-</i> > <i>baztan</i> ;
Sg. ack.	* <i>barniskan-</i> > <i>bernskan</i>	~ * <i>daniskan-</i> > <i>danskan</i> .

Ett kvarstående *i* palataliserar däremot en föregående guttural vokal såväl uti lång som uti kort rotstavelse:

Sg. nom.	* <i>bandilar</i> > <i>bendell</i> , * <i>katilar</i> > <i>ketell</i> ;
Sg. nom.	* <i>fulli</i> , f. > <i>fylle</i> , * <i>gladī</i> , f. > <i>gleþe</i> .

Mellan omljud och vokalsynkope förefinnes uppenbarligen ett samband. Dettas beskaffenhet har blivit klarlagd genom Kocks betydelsefulla undersökning i ANF 4. 141 f. (= PBB 14. 53 f.) och närmare utvecklad av samme forskare i PBB 15. 261 f. och 18. 417 f. Jfr numera även framställningen i Umlaut und Brechung, sid. 38 f. och i Svensk ljudhistoria 3, sid. 18 f. Kocks åsikt är i korthet följande: Liksom för de västgermanska språken<sup>1</sup> har en gång för urnordiskan gällt den accentueringsregeln, att en ändelse varit svagare betonad efter en lång än efter en kort rotstavelse. Av denna olikhet i expiratorisk accent betingas sedermera en olikhet i förhållande till den i sent urnordisk tid inträdande synkopen. Ändelsevokalen bortföll tidigare i de långstaviga orden (\**gasti*, \**dōmiðō*) än i de kortstaviga (\**stadi*, \**ʁaliðō*). Nu uppvisa endast de förra

<sup>1</sup> Se t. ex. SIEVERS PBB 5. 116 f.



omljud (*gest*, *dómþa* ~ *staþ*, *valþa*). Å andra sidan har ett *i* litterär tid kvarstående *i* verkat omljud såväl i långstaviga som i kortstaviga ord (*bendell*, *fylle*; *ketell*, *gleþe*). Härav följer, att vi i själva verket ha att göra med tvenne olika omljud: ett äldre, verkat endast av ett fullständigt obetonat och därför bortfallande *ĩ* (i *\*gasti* > *gest*, men icke i *\*staði*, där *i* tills vidare kvarstod), och ett yngre, verkat av ett *i* litteraturspråket ännu bevarat *i* (i *\*bandilr* > *bendell* och *\*katilr* > *ketell*). Vokalbortfallet i *\*staði*, *\*uallidō* måste ha skett efter den första omljudstiden, men före inträdandet av det yngre omljudet. De båda omljudstiderna bli sålunda skilda åt av en omljudslös mellanperiod; under denna försiggick synkopen i kortstaviga ord.

Kocks teori om omljudsperioderna har i huvudsak vunnit anslutning av flertalet nordiska filologer, och den ligger till grund för framställningen i de flesta handböcker och grammatikor (t. ex. NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 63, Geschichte<sup>3</sup> § 51, HEUSLER Aisl. Element.<sup>2</sup> § 55). Diskussionen om omljudsspörsmålet, som alltjämt varit synnerligen livlig, har under de senaste årtiondena mestadels rört sig om förklaringen av detaljfrågor och specialfall.

Emot denna uppfattning av *i*-omljudet ha emellertid invändningar gjorts av tvenne forskare, WADSTEIN i PBB 17. 412 f. och PIPPING i avhandlingen Zur Theorie der Analogiebildung (i Mémoires de la société néophilologique à Helsingfors, Bd. 4), sid. 270 f. Enligt WADSTEIN skulle omljudet varit allmänt, verkat av bortfallande *ĩ* såväl efter kort som efter lång rotstavelse. Som stöd för sin åsikt anför WADSTEIN ett antal ord, där enligt hans mening omljud efter kort rotstavelse föreligger. Dessa äro representanter för den ljudlagsenliga utvecklingen. De talrika fallen utan omljud i kort stavelse (prät. *valþa*, pl. *katlar* o. s. v.) skola alltså uppfattas som undantag. WADSTEIN framställer flera olika försök till deras förklaring: de kunna vara resultatet av analogiska utjämningar inom paradigm, där växling förefunnits mellan omljudd och oomljudd vokal; de återgå på former utan *i* (bindevokallösa prät.); de bero på vokalharmoniska tendenser (*ketell*: *katlar*).

Kock har i PBB 18. 417 f. bemött WADSTEIN, såvitt jag kan finna på ett avgörande sätt. Det har ej lyckats WADSTEIN att förebringa något enda säkert bevis för sin omljudshypotes. Han åberopar bl. a. enstaka eller ytterst sällsynta fall av om-

ljud hos svaga prät. av *ja*-klassen; de visa sig tillhöra sena texter och torde, där ej felskrivning föreligger eller speciella förklaringsgrunder erbjuda sig, bero på en tendens, som då och då kommer till synes, att låta präsensformernas vokalism dominera i paradigmet. I fsv. framträder denna tendens, som bekant, starkare, och i nsv. har den blivit härskande regel hos en mängd av de hithörande verben (t. ex. *kräva*, *krävde*; *väcka*, *räckte*). — Mot WADSTEIN står däremot ett överväldigande material. De försök till förklaring av dessa omljuds-lösa ord och ordgrupper, som WADSTEIN framställer, äro — däri har KOCK utan tvivel rätt — fullkomligt oacceptabla.

WADSTEIN erhöll icke heller några instämmanden. Först år 1906 tas hans mening upp på nytt, av PIPPING i arbetet »Zur Theorie der Analogiebildung». PIPPING underkänner visserligen WADSTEINS bevisföring och betecknar hans argument som mindre lyckliga, men anser icke förty, att han i sak kan ha rätt. Han utmönstrar en god del av de exempel, varpå WADSTEIN byggde sin teori om i-omljud även efter kort rotstavelse, och håller andra för åtminstone osäkra och mindre beviskraftiga (*mylna* < lat. *molina*, *kylna* < lat. *culina*). Några nya stöd för åsikten anför PIPPING emellertid icke alls; hans uppfattning kommer därför om möjligt att vila på ändå mera lös grund än WADSTEINS. När han i slutet av sin undersökning gör en sammanfattning, visar det sig, att han endast har trenne ord att åberopa som bevis för omljud efter kort rotstavelse: det är det fda. personnamnet *Hæghne* (också i fsv. ortnamnet *Hængnestadha*) — jämte fvn. *Høgne* — samt de båda orden fsv. *nætla* 'nässla' (fda. *nædle* 'Nælle', nno. *netla*) och fvn. *hekla* 'mantel' (även namn på ett berg).

Vid denna sida av saken, den positiva bevisföringen, lägger PIPPING ej heller så stor vikt. Han betonar uttryckligen (sid. 313), att han icke har mönstrat igenom hela språkmaterialet för att se efter, vilka exempel som tala för och vilka emot hans åsikt. Det nya hos PIPPING är i stället, att han, under förutsättning att omljurstendensen verkat även efter kort rotstavelse, söker förklara, varför omljudet faktiskt uteblivit i de stora grupper av ord, där rotstavelsen är kort. Hans huvudsakliga invändning mot KOCKS *periodteori* är, att den är för *komplicerad* för att kunna betraktas som en slutgiltig lösning. Enklare är onekligen WADSTEINS omljudsregel,



enligt vilken ett bortfallande *ī* alltid verkat omljud, även efter kort rotstavelse. Denna regel kan man upprätthålla, om man nämligen förklarar formerna utan omljud icke som ljudlagsenliga, utan som resultat av analogiska utjämnningar inom paradigm och formgrupper.

Överhuvud taget har man, menar PIPPING, i språkhistorien hittills alldeles för litet tagit hänsyn till associationernas betydelse vid förklaringen av problem, som hänföra sig till ljudläran. PIPPING skiljer mellan två slag av analogibildning: *erhaltende und schaffende*, bevarande och nyskapande. Bevarande är en sådan, då språket ej förändras genom analogibildningen (t. ex. om ett barn bildar pl. *båtar* till *båt* efter andra pl. på *-ar*, som det känner: *stolar*, *dörrar*, *ängar*), nyskapande, då en ny form framkommer (t. ex. om barnet bildar *fotar*, *handar* i stället för *fötter*, *händer*). Själva distinktionen är gjord av JESPERSEN. PIPPING menar, att särskiljandet av dessa olika arter av analogibildning har en stor, men hittills obeaktad betydelse vid studiet av språkhistoriska problem. Vad sker, då en ljudförändringstendens råkar i konflikt med sådana krafter, som kunna framkalla en bevarande analogibildning? — det är den fråga, som PIPPING undersöker, bl. a. just i fråga om i-omljudet.

PIPPING belyser sin uppfattning med följande exempel. Vid sidan av fvn. *dagsverk* finnes en neutral ia-stam *dagsverki*,<sup>1</sup> ehuru man efter ljudreglerna borde vänta en form med i-vokal: *\*dagsvirki*. Denna form behöver enligt PIPPING aldrig ha existerat; under själva omljudstiden har nämligen den nära associationen med *dagsverk* helt enkelt hindrat omljudets genomförande, alltså uppkomsten av *\*dagsvirki*.

Under den tid, då omljudet verkade, utbildades en klyfta mellan den äldre och den yngre generationens språk: de äldre sade *dagsverk* och *dagsverki*, hos de yngre var en böjelse förhanden att förskjuta *e* i det senare ordet till *i*, men denna tendens motverkades dels av associationen med *dagsverk*, dels av den äldre generationens uttal. Därigenom övervanns i detta fall ljudlagens verkan.

<sup>1</sup> Ordet är osäkert belagt; anföres endast av FRITZNER, och av honom med ett enda belägg, från *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. Men citatet är felaktigt. Ordet upptages ej av CLEASBY-VIGFUSSEN eller av HÆGSTAD.

Frågan är emellertid, om ej denna framställning av förloppet bygger på en oriktig uppfattning av själva omljudets natur. Det genomfördes nog ej så hastigt, att man kan tala om en bestämd klyfta mellan en äldre och en yngre generation, utan och med omljud. Förskjutningen från *e* till *i* skedde snarare under loppet av en tämligen lång tidsperiod, genom en serie av små, omärkliga förskjutningar. Själva förloppet var väl en art av vokalharmoni, verkad väsentligen av *psy-kiska* faktorer, och dessa voro verksamma ej endast hos de allra yngsta språktalande individerna, även om tendensen generation efter generation småningom förstärktes, utan även i det äldre släktets talande. Någon så stor olikhet mellan de vuxnes språk och barnens förelåg alltså ej, att de senare på grund därav måste »rätta» sitt *dagsvirki* efter de äldres *dagsverki*, så som sker, när t. ex. ett barn i våra dagar tvingas att uppge sin nybildning *handar*, *fotar*, då det av de äldre, mera språkkunniga och auktoritativa får lära sig, att det heter *händer*, *fötter*. Hos en individ, där omljudstendensen var verksam, verkade nog alla minnesbilder av ordet, hört och uttalat, i samma riktning — förstärkande av tendensen. Omljudet innebar väl snarast en sådan förskjutning av minnesbilderna. Olikheter med de äldres uttal torde av det samtida yngre släktet knappast ha uppfattats.

För en form *dagsverki* i stället för ljudlagsenligt *dagsvirki* verkade alltså, även under omljudstiden, endast associationen med *dagsverk*. Men även denna associations förmåga att inverka på uttalet var begränsad. När omljudet verkade, var man säkerligen till en början ur stånd att uppfatta någon olikhet mellan de vokaler man uttalade i *dagsverk* och *dagsverki*. Under denna tid kunde naturligtvis ej heller någon analogibildning uppkomma. När förskjutningen i *dagsverki* > *dagsvirki* fortskridit så långt, att olikheten kunde bli hörbar för de talande själva, ja då förelågo ju i själva verket redan olika vokalkvaliteter.

Men i så fall blir detta exempel, som PIPPING framställer som typiskt för en bevarande analogibildning, i princip ej olika mot analogibildningen *lyklar* i st. f. *luklar* (efter sg. *lykell*). I båda fallen tränger en genom association nybildad form lyckligt igenom i strid mot det i språkbruket givna. I förhållande till associationsformen *dagsverki* var den — visser-



ligen i långsam förskjutning stadda — ljudlagsenliga formen *dagsverki* > *dagsvirki* lika ställd som nybildningen *lyklar* till det ljudlagsenliga *luklar*. Ljudförändringen var alltså i förhållande till analogibildningen en stabil faktor.

Om sålunda betydande betänkligheter kunna framställas mot PIPPINGS utgångspunkter, är det ej mindre fallet, när han kommer in på de speciella frågorna. Hans grundsats är, att en bevarande analogibildning kommer till stånd lättare än en nyskapande. Man har alltså rätt att i stor utsträckning räkna med bevarande analogibildning.

1. I såväl *ketell* som *bendell* skulle en gång omljudet ljudlagsenligt inträda i synkoperande kasus, men den ursprungliga vokalen upprätthölls genom de icke synkoperande former-  
nas inflytande. I stället för ljudlagsenligt

Sg. nom. * <i>katilr</i>	* <i>bandilr</i>
dat. * <i>kætle</i>	* <i>bændle</i>

fick man alltså (genom *bevarande* analogibildning)

Sg. nom. * <i>katilr</i>	* <i>bandilr</i>
dat. * <i>katle</i>	* <i>bandle</i> .

Omljud inträdde senare i de icke-synkoperande kasus: \**katilr* > *ketell*, \**bandilr* > *bendell*. PIPPING gör emellertid nu beträffande det yngre omljudet det antagandet, att det inträdde tidigare efter lång än efter kort rotstavelse. Något bevis för detta antagande lämnas ej av PIPPING, och såvitt jag vet, finns ingenting som talar för att det skulle vara riktigt. En tendens till utjämning inom paradigmet, genom införande av den omljudda vokalen i synkoperade kasus, gjorde sig nu gällande (alltså en *nyskapande* analogibildning), men eftersom denna tendens haft längre tid att verka efter lång än efter kort rotstavelse, gav den till resultat i det isl. litteraturspråket *katle*: *bendle*.

2. På liknande sätt vill P. förklara omljudets uteblivande i t. ex. *danskr*, *baztr* (: *bernskr*, *lengstr*). Paradigmen lydde en gång

* <i>daniskr</i> , * <i>batistr</i>	* <i>berniskr</i> , * <i>lengistr</i>
* <i>danskan</i> , * <i>batstan</i>	* <i>barnskan</i> , * <i>langstan</i>

vilket gav

<i>danskr</i>	<i>baztr</i>	<i>bernskr</i>	<i>lengstr</i>
<i>danskan</i>	<i>baztan</i>	<i>bernskan</i>	<i>lengstan</i> .

Vidare t. ex. *katla*, f. (efter \**katilr*) i stället för ljudlagsenligt *ketla*, *Sturla* (efter det ännu icke omljudda subst. \**sturjia*, isl. *stýrr*), *fagna*, *fatla* 'binda' (: *fetell*).

3. *tualf* 'tolv' på Rök-stenen. Formen har nybildats (i st. f. *\*tuelif*; g. *twalif*, fht. *zwe lif*) före den yngre omljudstiden genom inflytande från ordningstalet *tualfta* (Rök). Men detta har återigen, på en tidigare tidpunkt, det då ännu icke omljudda kardinaltalet (*\*tualif*) att tacka för sin vokal.

4. Prät. *\*talidō* skulle ge *\*telþa*, liksom *\*dōmidō* > *dōmþa*. Men under det infinitiven i det senare verbet samtidigt erhöill omljudd vokal (*\*dōmian* > *dōma*), kvarstod enligt PIPPING i det förras inf. den ursprungliga a-vokalen. De långstaviga verben erhöillo alltså ljudlagsenligt samma vokal i inf. och prät. Med stöd av detta mönster (*dōma dōmþa*) uppehölls hos de kortstaviga genom bevarande analogibildning den omljudda vokalen (*\*talja talþa*). Senare erhöillo infinitiven och präsens i verb av typen *telia* omljud. — PIPPINGS förklaring vilar emellertid på osäker grund. Den nödvändiggör ett nytt, djärvt antagande: omljudet i inf. *telia* och i präs. *tel*, *telr* skulle vara yngre än det i *dōma*, *dōmþa* och *\*telþa*, väl samtidigt med det yngre i-omljudet<sup>1</sup>. Vidare är att märka, att i verbet *dōma* tvärtom flera former i präsens ännu saknade omljud. Det förefaller därför ganska osannolikt, att förutsättningarna för en ombildning av prät., så att det skulle erhålla omljudd vokal, lågo gynnammare vid typen *telia* än vid *dōma*. — Om såsom ovan framhållits, någon skillnad mellan bevarande och nyskapande analogibildning med avseende på förutsättningarna för uppkomsten icke torde finnas, bli analogiverkningar sådana som PIPPING här antager, ytterst osannolika. Det vore i varje fall egendomligt, att i hela denna stora formgrupp intet enda säkert fall som representant för den ljudlagsenliga utvecklingen levat kvar.

Om sålunda PIPPING icke kan sägas ha lyckats lämna någon tillfredsställande förklaring till omljudets regelbundna uteblivande efter kort rotstavelse, så äro också bevisen för att det ljudlagsenligt skulle ha inträtt mycket bristfälliga. De utgöras i PIPPINGS framställning av de tre orden: *hekla*, *netla* och *Hegne*. Intet av dem torde emellertid, enligt vad som påvisats av VON FRIESEN i föreläsningar och av LINDROTH IF 29. 170, kunna tagas i intäkt för nordisk ljudhistoria. *hekla* 'mantel' är sannolikt, liksom ett stort antal namn på klädesplagg, lån från fe. (*hæcile*, *hæcele*, *hecile*). Ordet 'nässla' är sannolikt också lån.

<sup>1</sup> Om denna fråga (det s. k. *ī*-omljudet), se särskilt LINDROTH IF 29. 182 f.



Växten användes i äldre tid för textiländamål (nätberedning); se HEHN Kulturpflanzen<sup>6</sup>, sid. 569 f. Själva ordet, urg. \**natilōn-*, deminutivum till \**natōn-* (i fht. *nazza*, gotl. *natä*, nno. dial. *nata*), är bildat på samma rot som *nät* och *not*. Beteckningen för växten var alltså ett kulturord, och sådana vandrade som bekant ofta från språk till språk. Hos oss har det sannolikt inkommit söderifrån (fht. *nezzila*, mlt. *nete*). --- Namnet *Høgne* och *Hæghne* är tyskt lån: fht. *Hagino*, *Hegino*.

När man sysslar med frågor, som sammanhånga med i-omljudet, kan man knappast komma förbi PIPPINGS intressanta undersökning utan att underkasta den en granskning. Men resultatet torde näppeligen kunna bli något annat än att man kommer till den övertygelsen, att man med trygghet kan hålla fast vid att Kocks formulering av omljudsregeln är riktig.

Emellertid finnas i de nordiska språken ett stort antal former, som icke stämma med denna huvudregel: ett *ī*, som synkoperas, verkar omljud efter lång, men icke efter kort rotstavelse. De tarva alltså sin särskilda utredning. Det finns såväl långstaviga ord utan omljud, som kortstaviga med. Undantagen äro alltså av två olika slag.

#### I. Långstaviga utan omljud.

1. Ett antal i-stammar: feminina, t. ex. fvn. *bón*, *skuld*, *þxl*, *døp*; maskulina: fvn. *urþr*, *burþr*, *skurþr*, *þurþr*, *stuldr*, *sultr*, *sullr*, *fundr*, *þróttr*, *daunn*, *saupr*, *kostr*.<sup>1</sup>

2. I fsv.: präs. sg. av de starka verben: *skiüter*, *falder*.

#### II. Kortstaviga med omljud.

1. I fvn.: präs. sg. av starka verb: *ferr* (*fara*), *grefr* (*grafa*), *veþr* (*vafa*), *tehr* (*taka*), *dregr* (*draga*) — *kømr* (*koma*), *søfr* (*sofa*), *trøþr* (*troþa*).

2. Pl. nom. och ack. av konsonantstammar: *hnøtr* (*hnót*), *støþr* (*stop*), *dyrr*, pl. tantum. I fsv. *nyter*, *nøter*; *dyr*.

3. Komparativer av adjektiv: fvn. *betre* (fsv. *bætre*), *fremre*, *fyrre*, *øfre*, *efre* 'senare'. Likaså de därtill hörande adverb: *betr* (fsv. *bætr*), *fyrr*, *fremr*.

Inom i-stamsböjningen finnas också en mängd kortstaviga ord med omljud, men dessa äro, som von FRIESEN uppvisat (i *Xenia Lidéniana*) allesammans ja- eller ju-stammar, och de falla sålunda utanför ramen av denna undersökning.

<sup>1</sup> Jag följer tills vidare fördelningen av orden på de olika stamdeklinationer i t. ex. Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup>

Jag behandlar först den senare gruppen av undantag: kortstaviga former med i-omljud.

Kock har i ANF 8. 256 f. framställt en teori till förklaring, som han senare upprepat, bl. a. i Svensk ljudhistoria, Bd. 3 (sid. 43 f.) och i Umlaut und Brechung. Kock påpekar, att det för alla dessa former gemensamma är, att efter rotstavel- sen följer ett *-ir*. Detta kan icke vara någon tillfällighet, och Kock gör därför det antagandet, att ljudförbindelsen *-ir*- ver- kade omljud, även när den följde efter kort rotstavelse (det s. k. *ir*-omljudet).

Kocks teori om ett särskilt *ir*-omljud har icke vunnit någon allmännares tillslutning, och som jag tror har den av- visande hållning, som andra forskare intagit till densamma, varit fullt befogad. En hel del betänkligheter kunna nog fram- ställas mot densamma. Jag kan i allt väsentligt ansluta mig till vad som i denna fråga sagts av LINDROTH i IF 29. 174. Även mig förefaller det, som om orden *hatr* 'hat' (gen. *hatrs*) och *barr* 'korn, säd' utgjorde en instans emot *ir*-omljud. De äro gamla *s*-stammar och uppvisa i såväl got. som västger- manska språk *i* i stambildningssuffixet: got. *hatis*, *barizeins*, fe. *hete*, *bere*-. Det är därför ej tilltalande, att för de nordiska språkens vidkommande behöva förutsätta en annan grundform med suffixavljud, så som Kock nödgas göra: *\*hataz*, *\*baraz*.

Det är vidare att märka, att inga kortstaviga *i*-stammar ha omljud. Orden *glymr* 'bullen', *kylr* 'kyla', *yss* 'larm' o. s. v., som Kock åberopar, kunna ej längre tjäna som stöd för *ir*- omljudet, ty de äro ursprungligen *ju*-stammar. Det vore dock egendomligt, om icke bland de kortstaviga orden ett enda spår av *ir*-omljudet i nom. sg. skulle leva kvar.

Även Kocks försök att ljudfysiologiskt förklara *ir*-omlju- det verkar mycket litet övertygande. Som bekant hade *r* ett palatalt uttal; detta förklarar, att *r* verkar *i*-omljud på en omedelbart föregående vokal: *ḡār* > *ḡæ̃r*, *īr* > *ȳ̃r* etc. När en konsonant skilde *r*-ljudet från vokalen, kunde det i vanliga fall icke verka omljud, utan nom. sg. *dagr* (av *\*dagar*), *ulfr* (av *\*wulfar*), *vōllr* (av *\*wallur*) etc. bibehöllo sin vokal utan *i*-om- ljud (*dagr*, *ulfr*, *vōllr* etc.). — — När åter en kort rotstavelse åtföljdes av såväl *i* som *r*, verkades omljud genom båda dessa faktorer i förening. Man bör väl tänka sig detta på så sätt, att *i* t. ex. i *\*komir*, 3 sg. präs. av *koma*, före sitt bortfallande



så förstärkt den i-klang (= det palatala uttal), som *ʀ* redan i och för sig hade, att ett dylikt sålunda särskilt starkt palataliserat *ʀ* verkade omljud på föregående vokal, även när *ʀ*-ljudet skildes från vokalen av en mellanstående konsonant (\**komir* > \**komir* > *kømr*).»

*ʀ* är redan i och för sig palatalt till sin karaktär, men det skulle enligt Kock ytterligare ha förstärkt sitt palatala uttal. Alltså: ett palatalt ljud, som blivit ändå mera palatalt — det är svårt att förstå, hur man skall tänka sig ett sådant ljuds bildning. Ett *i*, den mest palatala av alla vokaler, förmår i det fall, varom här är fråga, icke inverka på en föregående vokal, men väl ett dylikt starkt palataliserat *ʀ*. Och denna inverkan skulle icke hindras av en mellanliggande konsonant, t. ex. *m* i \**komir* > *kømr*. Huruvida man vill antaga något sådant, sammanhänger naturligtvis i yttersta hand med uppfattningen av i-omljudets art. Jag har icke tillfälle att i detta sammanhang gå in på denna fråga, men det förefaller mig knappast, som om förhållandena talade för att omljudet i de nordiska språken varit muljerande, d. v. s. att vokalförändringen förmedlats av de mellanliggande konsonanterna. I så fall blir naturligtvis ett slags *ʀ*-omljud, sådant som Kock här tänker sig, mycket otroligt.

De forskare, som icke velat godkänna Kocks *ir*-omljud, ha i stället försökt förklara omljudet i de kortstaviga formgrupperna genom analogi och utjämningar inom paradigmerna.

Vad först komparativerna beträffar, så anser NOREEN (*Geschichte d. nord. Spr.*, 3. Aufl., sid. 88), att omljudet på analogisk väg spritt sig till mask. och neutr. från fem. och från pl., vilka former hade ändelsen *-i* och därför fingo yngre i-omljud. Till denna förklaring ansluter sig LINDROTH i IF 29. 174. Möjligheten av en sådan utjämning kan naturligtvis icke bestridas. Men väl måste det i så fall förefalla egendomligt, att den äldsta isl. uteslutande har *e*-vokal i komparativen, under det superlativen heter både *beztr* och *baztr*. På samma sätt förhåller det sig med den äldsta fno. (HÆGSTAD, *Gamalt trøndermaal*, sid. 49). I motsats mot komparativen har alltså superlativen genom sina dubbla former bevarat spår av den ursprungliga vokalväxlingen inom paradigmerna (\**betistr* : *baztan*). Häremot invänder nu LINDROTH, att formdubbelheten i superlativen icke behöver uppfattas på detta sätt. Man kan mycket

väl antaga, att den synkoperade stam-formen (*bazt-*) genomförts redan före det yngre i-omljudet. *baztr* blir då den enda ljudlagsenliga formen. *beztr* återigen kan knappast vara något annat än en analogisk nybildning efter komparativen. Med detta antagande — mer än ett sådant är det ju icke — har LINDROTH måhända försvagat det stöd, som KOCK ansett sig kunna hämta från förhållandena i superlativen. Men han har ingalunda brutit udden av KOCKS invändning mot NOREEN. I hela paradigmet (komparat. — adv. — superl.) har alltså enligt LINDROTH i-omljudet varit ljudlagsenligt endast i fem. och pl. av adjektivets komparativ. Från denna utgångspunkt skulle i jämförelsevis sen tid — efter det yngre i-omljudet — det äldsta litteraturspråkets paradigm: adj. komp. *betre*, superl. *beztr* (jämte *baztr*) och adv. komp. *betr* ha erhållit sin gestaltning. Och av de ljudlagsenliga formerna i mask. och neutr. (*batre*, *batra*) och i adv. (*batr*) skulle ej finnas ett spår — trots den omständigheten, att de kunde finna stöd i superlativens former med a-vokal. I likhet med KOCK kan jag därför, med hänsyn till materialet från de äldsta texterna, icke anse NOREENS och LINDROTHS förklaring som vidare sannolik.

Svårare är det att förklara de andra formgrupperna: omljudet i de kortstaviga präsensformerna och i pl. av konsonantstammarna *hnøtr*, *støpr* och *dyrr*. Här finns inom paradigmet självt ingen form, som ljudlagsenligt skulle uppvisa omljud. Enligt NOREEN har analogien med andra paradigm i stället varit bestämmande (Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 64, anm.; Geschichte<sup>3</sup> § 249, sid. 210). I präsens har sålunda de långstaviga paradigmerna med omljud utgjort mönstret. Efter *stendr*: *standa*, *fell*: *falla*, *heldr*: *halda* o. s. v. skulle alltså ha nybildats *ferr*: *fara*, *tekr*: *taka*, *grefr*: *grafa*, o. s. v. i stället för det ljudlagsenliga *\*farr*, *\*takr*, *\*grafir*. Det förefaller onekligen ganska otroligt, att hos en så talrik grupp av till större delen mycket vanliga ord präsensformerna skulle ha nybildats, ty detta förutsätter väl, att de ursprungliga, ljudlagsenliga formerna råkat i glömska, ej längre tillhörde språkets minnesformer. De kortstaviga verben med *ǣ* äro till antalet flera (enligt WIMMER, Fno. ljudl.: 16), och man förstår ej, varför de skulle ligga under för de långstaviga (2 avljudande: *standa*, *vaxa*, och 6 reduplicerande: *blanda*, *falda*, *falla*, *halda*, *hanga*, *ganga*). LINDROTH betonar, att dessa voro så vanliga ord. Men verb sådana som



*fara, taka, draga, grafa* voro knappast mindre vanliga. Av de långstaviga hade flertalet även i övrigt en helt annan böjning: *blanda blett ~ fara fór*. Man måste därtill instämma i Kocks anmärkning, att »ifall \**farr* etc. vore de ljudlagsenliga formerna, man skulle vänta, att i den äldsta isl. finna exempel på dylika, men en granskning av L. LARSSONS Ordförrådet visar, att i de äldsta isl. handskrifterna ingen dylik form anträffats».

Men om redan förklaringen av dessa verb med ursprunglig *a*-vokal bereder svårigheter, är det i ännu högre grad fallet med präsensformerna *kømr, søfr, trøþr*. Det finns icke något verb med lång rotstavelse och kort *o*-ljud, efter vilket de skulle kunna vara bildade<sup>1</sup>, och med *ō* endast ett, det jämförelsevis ovanliga verbet *blóta* — med en helt annan böjning för övrigt.

NOREEN yttrar i sin Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 520 a. 6 om präs. *kømr* endast helt kort, att omljudet har blivit infört genom analogi efter de långstaviga verben. LINDROTH erkänner (IF 29. 177), att denna väg är oframkomlig. I stället framställer han ett förslag, om vars riktighet han emellertid säger, att han själv ej är övertygad. Han antar, att vi haft en samnordisk övergång av *ue > ø*, åtminstone framför labial konsonant. Härpå tyder enligt LINDROTH ordet 'sömn': fno. *søfn*, m. (gen. *søfns*) jämte fvn. *suefn*, m., fsv. *sømpn* (*sympn, sompn*), m.<sup>2</sup> På samma sätt som detta *søfn* är att härleda ur *suefn*, har alltså *kømr* ljudlagsenligt utvecklats sig ur ett präsens \**kuemr* (< \**kuemir*). Efter detta *kømr*: *koma* skulle sedan ha bildats *søfr*: *sofa* och *trøþr*: *tropa*.

LINDROTHS förklaring laborerar med så många delvis osäkra, delvis uppenbart omöjliga antaganden, att den måste betecknas som fullkomligt oantaglig. Osäkert är väl redan, att *søfr* och *trøþr* skulle ha bildats efter *kømr*. Men betänkligare är själva förklaringen av detta *kømr*. Om *ue* blivit *ø* i präs. sg., måste det också ha blivit det i inf. och i präs. pl. Men sådana former med *ø* söka vi förgäves. Enligt LINDROTH skulle vi alltså i präs. *kømr* ha att se icke i-omljud, utan en annan av-

<sup>1</sup> Av *sporna* 'spjärna, sparka' finnes endast ett svagt präsens (*spornar*) belagt.

<sup>2</sup> Om former i nsv. dial., se HESSELMAN, De korta vokalerna i och y, sid. 145.

ljudsform än i inf. *koma*. Att antaga en ursprunglig avljuds-  
växling mellan präs. sg. å ena sidan och präs. pl. och inf. å  
den andra (*ye : ũ*), går givetvis icke an. Men lika orimligt  
synes det mig vara, att mellan tvenne paradigm, som skulle  
ha funnits vid sidan av varandra, med rotformen *\*k<sub>y</sub>em* och  
med rotformen *\*k<sub>u</sub>m*, en sådan fördelning inträtt, att endast det  
förra skulle leva kvar i präs. sg. och endast det senare i inf.  
och präs. pl. På detta egendomliga sätt skulle en vokalväx-  
ling ha uppkommit, som har *skenet* av att vara i-omljud, på  
vanligt sätt verksamt i präs. sg.

Om man bortser från detta präs. sg. *kømr*, finnas inga spår  
av ett nordiskt *\*k<sub>y</sub>eman* kvar i litterär tid eller i någon nordisk  
dialekt; överallt möta endast former med *ø*. LINDROTH vill  
stödja det med prät. *kuam*. Men denna form finnes endast  
i ordböcker och grammatikor. Däremot förekommer den, efter  
vad THORKESSON uppger i sina rättelser till FRITZNERs ordbok,  
icke i någon handskrift. I nyisländskan finns den, men skall  
vara skapad av prästen Eyjólfur Jónsson, som dog 1745.

Fvn. *søfn*, fsv. *sømpn*, *sympn* bör förklaras på annat sätt  
och nödvändiggör ej alls antagandet av en ljudutveckling *ye*  
> *ø*. Vid sidan av a-stammen *suefn* (fe. *swefn*, fs. *swēban*; skr.  
*svapna*, lat. *somnus*) har i urnordisk tid åtminstone i vissa dia-  
lekter funnits en abstraktbildning till verbet *sofa* med suffixet  
*ni* (*\*subni-*): fsv. *sympn*. Genom påverkan av verbet kunde  
denna bildning erhålla präsensformernas vokalism (*\*soðni-*): fno.  
*søfn*, fsv. *sømpn*. Formerna med *o* slutligen: fno. *sofn*, fsv.  
*sompn*, nsv. *somn* (NOREEN, Vårt språk 3. 217) kunna antingen  
representera en utveckling utan omljud av samma urn. ord  
(jfr *bón*: *bón*, *sýn*: *sión* o. a.) eller bero på en ny påverkan av  
verbet. — Denna förklaring synes mig vara att föredraga fram-  
för den av NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 74 a. 4 föreslagna. Även No-  
REEN betraktar fno. *sofn* (och fsv. *sompn*, Vårt språk 3. 217) som  
nybildning till verbet *sofa*. Liksom vid sidan av *suefn* finnes  
ett neutrum *suefne*, så kan till *sofn* ha bildats ett *\*søfne*. Från  
detta *\*søfne* kan så vokalismen i fno. *søfn*, fsv. *sømpn* här-  
stamma. I fgotn. finnes ett neutr. *symni*. Detta torde ha funnits  
även i fsv., och från det kan dess *sympn* förklaras. Man bör väl  
emellertid om möjligt söka undvika att förklara ljudföreteelser i  
faktiskt förefintligt språkgods — allra helst då det gäller så  
vanliga ord som här — genom inflytande från bildningar, som



icke kunna beläggas. De neutrala avledningarna ha av allt att döma varit relativt ovanliga — i svenskan kunna de ej alls påvisas, vare sig i litteraturen eller dialekterna —, och en inverkan av dem på grundorden är alltså föga sannolik. Alternativt antager NOREEN, att *søfn* har uppstått genom u-omljud. Häremot invänder KOCK med rätta (Svensk ljudhistoria 1. 128), att det är mycket litet troligt, att subst. *søfn* (*sømn*) fått *ø* från adj. *søfnugr* (*sømnogher*) och från den föga brukliga dat. pl. *søfnum*. KOCK förmodar i stället, att i vissa trakter av Norden ljudförbindelsen *-web-* ljudlagsenligt blivit *-(w)øb-* åtminstone framför en tautosyllabisk konsonant: *swefn* > *søfn*, *sømn*. Men då vid sidan härav föreligger dels fno. *sofn*, fsv. *sompn*, dels fsv. *sympn*, som icke kan förklaras på detta sätt, tänker KOCK i likhet med NOREEN för formerna med *ø* och *y* på inflytande från de neutrala ia-stammarna: *\*søfne*, *\*symne* (fgutn. *symni*). —

Om analogiförklaringens anhängare sålunda måste stå helt villrådiga inför präsensformerna *kømr*, *søfr* och *trøpr*, så är det i lika hög grad fallet med pluralerna fvn. *hnøtr*, *støpr* och *dyrr*, fsv. *nøter*, *nyter* och *dyr*. Alla andra konsonantstammar äro långstaviga och ha därför ljudlagsenligt omljud. Enligt NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 64 anm. är *hnøtr* bildat till sg. *hnot* efter mönstret av *røtr* : *rót*, *bøkr* : *bók* och dylika. På liknande sätt skulle väl fsv. *nyter* förklaras (efter t. ex. fvn. *brýnn* : *brún*, *lýss* : *lús*, *mýss* : *mús*).

KOCK bestrider sannolikheten av en sådan analogi och, som jag tror, med all rätt. Fullständigt omöjlig blir den i varje fall i fråga om ordet *dyrr*. Det förekommer endast i plural, och att hos detta vanliga ord omljudet i nom. och ack. skulle bero på nybildning till gen. *dura*, dat. *durom* efter mönstret av gen. *brúna*, dat. *brúnom*: nom. ack. *brýnn*, är naturligtvis orimligt. Lika oframkomlig är den utväg, som LINDROTH föreslår: i urn. har funnits en sg. *\*durō*, alltså ett paradigm sg. *\*durō*, pl. *\*durik*, alldeles som *\*hnutō*, pl. *\*hnutik*<sup>1</sup>. Till denna aldrig någonsin belagda singular (jfr dock fe. *duru*, fht. *tura*) skulle den omljudda pl. vara nybildad på samma sätt som fsv. *nyter* : *nut*, *not*. LINDROTH nämner ej, hur han tänker sig denna

<sup>1</sup> LINDROTH tar här upp en tanke, som framställts redan av SIEVERS PBB 5. 114.

nybildning; men förmodligen menar han, liksom NOREEN, att den skett efter mönstret av lika böjda substantiv med *ū*, *brún* o. a.

Jag är, liksom KOCK, av den övertygelsen, att omljudet i pl. *hnøtr* (fsv. *nøter*, *nyter*), *støþr*, *dyrr*, i komparativerna *betre*, *fyrre* o. s. v., i präs. *kømr*, *søfr*, *trøþr* måste vara ljudlagsenligt, sannolikt därför också i präs. av verben med a-vokal: *ferr*, *tekr*, *dregr*, *grefr* m. fl. Redan den omständigheten, att man i annat fall nödgas för detta material röra sig med *flera* olika specialförklaringar, vilka delvis därtill visat sig mycket tvivelaktiga, synes mig starkt tala därför. I dessa tre formkategorier ha vi fvn. *alltid* omljud, vare sig rotstavelsen är kort eller lång och vilken än vokalen är: *a*, *o* eller *u*. Det är detta faktum, som behöver förklaras, men det blir, om man följer NOREEN och LINDROTH, knappast mer än en tillfällighet. Ett så enhetligt material kräver en enhetlig tolkning, men det innebär i detta fall, så vitt jag kan finna, att det måste uppfattas som resultat närmast av en ljudlagsenlig förändring.

Men hur skall då ett ljudlagsenligt omljud i kortstaviga ord förklaras, om man nu ej vill drivas till WADSTEINS och PIPPINGS slutsatser och icke heller kan anta KOCKS *ir*-omljud?

KOCK har i sin omljudsteori ställt *i*-omljudet i intimt samband med förlusten av ändelsevokalen *i* under sent urn. tid. Liksom i de västgermanska språken faller en ändelsevokal tidigare efter lång rotstavelse än efter kort. Denna vokalförlust betingas återigen av den dåtida accentueringen. De kortstaviga orden ha haft en starkare expiratorisk accent på andra stavelsen, än fallet var i de långstaviga. Om vi jämföra de båda orden *staþr* och *gestr* med varandra, så måste de redan på ett tidigt stadium av urn. ha representerat två olika accenttyper. Inom *i*-stamsflexionen hade vi sålunda redan då (före synkopetiden) två olika böjningsmönster: *\*gastir* och *\*staðir*<sup>1</sup>. Under en senare period resulterade detta i följande utseende av paradigmerna: de långstaviga med synkope och omljud: *\*gestir*, de kortstaviga med ännu kvarstående *i* och utan omljud: *\*staðir*. De nordiska språken befunno sig då på det utvecklingsstadium, som vi faktiskt återfinna i fornengelskan i

<sup>1</sup> För accenten skulle kunna användas beteckningen ' och `: *gástir* och *stàðir*.



litterär tid: *wyrm*, *giest*, *wyrrp* 'kast', *lyft* — *byre* 'son', *hyge* 'håg', *mete* 'mat', *stede*, *wine*. Senare bortföll i de nordiska språken ändelsevokal även efter kort rotstavelse; vi fingo *gestr* och *staþr*.

På samma sätt skulle vi i urn. tid ha haft med avseende på accentueringen olikartade paradigm hos flertalet andra böjningar. Klyvningen måste gå tillbaka på urg. tid. Så t. ex. i prät. av det svaga verbet (\**dōmidō* : \**talidō*), komparativen hos adj. och adv. (\**langirē* : \**batirē*), präs. av det starka verbet (\**standir* : \**farir*), pl. av konsonantstammar (\**bōkir*, \**markir* : \**hnotir*, \**durir*). Härav skulle vi vänta en alltjämt fortlevande dubbelhet i dessa flexioner: i yngre urn. t. ex. i prät. \**dōmda* : \**talida*, i präs. \**stendr*, \**skýtr* : \**farir*; i litterär tid liksom prät. *dōmþa* : *talþa*, så ock präs. \**stendr*, *skýtr* : \**farr*. Så har resultatet icke blivit. Någonstädes har ett avbrott skett i den ljudlagsenliga utvecklingen. Men man behöver ingalunda förutsetta, att det skett på en så sen tidpunkt, som NOREEN och LINDROTH göra, ty detta leder, som vi sett, till betydande svårigheter.

De ord, som det här är fråga om, tillhörde mycket utpräglade och slutna formgrupper, t. ex. präsensbildningen. Att inom sådana formgrupper utjämna ljudlagsenligt uppkomna olikheter, är en framträdande strävan hos språket. Sådana utjämnningstendenser sträcka sig ej endast till själva ljudkroppen, utan också till accenten. Saken kan belysas med ett nära till hands liggande exempel. I svenskan skulle vi vänta, att präsensformerna sådana som *dömer*, *köper*, *möter*, *lyser*, *ställer*, *händer*, *mister* o. s. v., som i fornspråket voro tvåstaviga, hade grav accentuering. Men de ha uppgivit denna och antagit samma betoning, som var ursprunglig hos flertalet präsens på *-er*, nämligen de starka verben och en del svaga (Kock, *Alt- und neuschwed. Accentuierung*, sid. 42; *Språkhist. undersökningar om svensk akcent* I. 92 f.).

Något liknande vill jag antaga beträffande de starka verben i urn. tid. De skulle enligt den sannolikt redan urgermanska accentregeln fördela sig på tvenne olika paradigm, som skilde sig åt endast med avseende på accentueringen: ett långstavigt, med svagtonig, sedermera bortfallande ändelse: \**skiútir*, \**fállir*;

ett kortstavigt, med starkare betonad ändelse: \**fàrik*, \**kòmir*, \**gèbir*. De långstaviga voro flera till antalet; de omfattade 1.—3. avljudsklasserna, verben *standa*, *vaxa*, *fela*, *fregna*, de reduplicerande. Efter dem rättade sig med avseende på betoningen de kortstaviga. De två böjningsmönstren reducerades därmed till ett (liksom i nsv. *bryter* och *köper*). \**fàrik* och \**kòmir* förlorade sålunda sitt *i* på samma gång som \**standir* och \**skiūtir*, d. v. s. under omljudstiden. Fvn. *ferr* och *kømr* ha därför ljudlagsenligt *i*-omljud.

Naturligtvis kan utjämning också tänkas ske i motsatt riktning<sup>1</sup>, och det har möjligen varit fallet på östnordisk botten. Om de långstaviga formerna antagit de kortstavigas starkare tryck på ändelsevokalen, kvarstod denna över omljudstiden och bortföll på samma gång som i \**stadir*. Därför utan omljud<sup>2</sup>.

Efter den stora mängden långstaviga komparativer med omljud (*lengre*, *fegre*, *légre*, *større*, *yngre* o. s. v.) ombildades redan före den äldsta *i*-omljudsperioden de fåtaliga kortstaviga till samma accentuering. Detta gav senare former med tidig synkope och omljud: (\**batirē* >) *betre*, *fremre*, *fyrre*, *øfre*. — Även här kan en parallell framdragas från nutida talspråk. De tvåstaviga komparativerna i nsv., som förlitterärt synkoperat en mellanstavelsevokal (*längre*, *bättre*), ha därvid antagit s. k. enstavighetsaccent (Kock ANF 3. 354; Accentuierung, sid. 50). *Flere* (*flera*) och *mera* voro däremot i urn. tid tvåstaviga. Då de detta oaktat i stor utsträckning uttalas med acc. 1, beror det på att de ej kunnat undgå att påverkas av den stora huvudmassan komparativer med denna betoning.

De kortstaviga konsonantstammarna voro så få, att ett eget böjningssätt för dem ej gärna kunde upprätthållas. De anslöto sig i accentueringen till de långstaviga och erhöilo därmed omljud: *dyrr*, *hnøtr*, *støpr*. — Jämför härmed de förskjutningar, som i svenskan ägt rum bland de substantiv, som i pl. ändas på *-er*. *Ärter*, *kinder* och *vrister* ha mot förväntan

<sup>1</sup> Jfr den växlande betoningen av präsens på *-er* i svenska dialekter och i riksspråket i äldre tid; vidare passiva präsensformer på *-es* med numera övervägande grav accent: *gives*, *kräves*, *drages*. Kock, Sv. aks. I. 93 f., 97 f.; Accentuierung, sid. 46; BECKMAN ANF 11. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Omljudets uteblivande i fsv. kan dock förklaras även på annat sätt.



acc. 2; omvänt ha andra pluraler erhållit acc. 1, fastän de i fornspråket voro tvåstaviga: *länder* (till sg. *länd*), *saker*, *sägner*, m. fl. Se Kock, Sv. Aks. I. 89; Accentuierung, sid. 41.

Den uppfattning av förloppet, som jag här antagit, skulle utan tvivel kunna tillämpas på åtskilliga företeelser inom äldre germansk språkhistoria. Jag nöjer mig här med att anföra ett par.

De västgermanska språkens i- och u-deklinationer äro mycket lärorika. *i* och *u* faller, som redan nämnt, efter lång men kvarstår efter kort rotstavelse. I fe. äro orden också efter denna princip fördelade mellan tvenne olika paradigm: ett långstavigt (*wyrm*, *feld*) och ett kortstavigt (*hyge*, *sunu*). Men i fht. ha endast ett fåtal i-stammar de väntade tvåstaviga formerna: *wini*, *risi*, *quiti*, *kumi*, *kuri*, *turi*. De övriga ha förlorat *i* och sakna omljud, m. a. o. de ha fullständigt gått upp i den långstaviga typen: *gast*, *anst*. Detta har skett före omljudstiden, sannolikt redan före bortfallet av *i* efter lång rotstavelse, d. v. s. genom övergång av dessa kortstaviga i de långstavigas accentueringstyp: *slag* (fs. *slegi*), *sal*, *stat*, *haz*, *maz*, *flug*, *zug*, *bruh*, *scuz*, *au*, m. fl. Med rätta betonas också av FRANCK (Altfränk. Gram. § 142, sid. 187) och av VAN HELTEN (PBB 36. 462 f.), att vokalförlusten icke kan bero på att en del av dessa ord (t. ex. *haz*, *bruh*) genom ljudskridningen fått förlängd konsonant och därigenom övergått till de långstavigas kategori. Förlängningen medförde icke någon förändring av ordets betoning; ändelsen bibehöll fortfarande sitt bitryck, som borde skydda dess vokal mot bortfall.

En liknande attraktion har ägt rum bland de neutrala a-stammarna i fht. De kortstaviga skulle ljudlagsenligt bevara sitt *u* i nom. ack. pl. (fe. *fatu*, *hofu* : *word*; fs. *grābu* : *word*). De ha emellertid anslutit sig till de långstaviga med svagtonig vokal, som sedermera bortföll: *\*dalu* > *tal* (*ioh*, *grab*) liksom *\*wordu* > *wort* (*barn*, *swert* o. s. v.)

Om nom. sg. *sutis*, *nawis* få tjäna som bevis för att *i* i got. ljudlagsenligt bortföll endast efter lång rotstavelse (STREITBERG Got. Elementarbuch § 183. 2; Urg. Gram. § 146; VAN HELTEN PBB 21. 476, 36. 450 not 2, 463; Kock PBB 21. 432; HIRT IF 1.

216), äro got. *mats*, *qums*, *muns* o. s. v. resultat av en liknande utjämning<sup>1</sup>.

Vi ha visserligen också för förklaringen av i-omljudet hos de kortstaviga orden måst tillgripa analogivägen. Men utjämningen gäller ej ordens ljudgestalt, utan deras accenttyp. Mönster blir alltså ej ett eller annat långstavigt ord med samma vokal, som tilläventyrs kan uppletas, utan hela gruppen av långstaviga bildningar.

Det återstår till slut att något dröja vid omljudsförhållandena hos i-stammarna<sup>2</sup>. De kortstaviga — med undantag av ordet *dul* äro de maskuliner — sakna samt och synnerligen omljud. De ord med omljudd vokal, som man tidigare betraktade som i-stammar, ha nämligen visat sig vara bildningar med ja- eller ju-suffix (FALK ANF 3. 296; HELLQUIST ANF 7. 25 f.; VON FRIESEN, Xenia Lidéniana). Bland de långstaviga finnas ord såväl med omljud som utan, både bland maskuliner och femininer<sup>3</sup>.

För de maskulina i-stammarna i fvn. finnas två olika böjningstyper: en med genitivändelsen *-ar* (som hos femininerna), en med den från a-stammarna lånade ändelsen *-s* (*staþr* : *gestr*). En del ord vackla, i det av dem finnes belagd genitiv både på *-s* och *-ar* (NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 378. 1). Inom båda grupperna finnas såväl långstaviga som kortstaviga. Men härvid är ett märkligt förhållande att iakttaga rörande dessas fördelning: de långstaviga med genitiv på *-s* ha regelbundet omljud, under det de med genitiv på *-ar* sakna omljud. Ordmaterialen grupperar sig alltså på följande sätt:

<sup>1</sup> Ätminstone bland femininerna synas de långstaviga orden, av det got., fvn. och fe. materialet att döma, utgöra en betydande majoritet; kortstaviga fem. i-stammar äro fåtaliga.

<sup>2</sup> Under arbetet med följande undersökning hade jag flera gånger tillfälle att med professor VON FRIESEN diskutera hithörande frågor, och dessa samtal ha givit mig en del värdefulla synpunkter på ämnet. Uppfattningen av dat. på *-e* hos *burþr* m. fl. som härrörande från u-stamsdeklinationen framställdes härunder av VON FRIESEN vid en tidpunkt, då jag ännu hyste en annan mening därom. Senare kom jag, delvis på andra skäl, till samma resultat som VON FRIESEN i denna fråga.

<sup>3</sup> Från orden på *g*, *k* (*elgr*, *bekkr*), där ljudförhållandena voro av en särskild beskaffenhet, bortser jag i det följande.



1. Sg. gen. på -s, i-omljud: *gestr*, *dóll*, *lýþr*<sup>1</sup>; *pyttr*<sup>2</sup>; *gláþr*, fno. *söfn*<sup>3</sup>.

2. Sg. gen. på -ar, utan omljud:

*burþr*. Dat. *burþ*, *burþe*; i sammansättningar vanl. -*burþe* (*at-*, *hingat-*, *vitnes-burþe*). Vid sidan ett *byrþ*, f. (börd, härkomst). Till detta kan Pl. dat. *byrþom* (Óláfr huitaskald) höra. (EGILSSON-JÓNSSON: *byrþr*, m.). Nisl. *burður* (-ar, -ir). Nno. *burd*, m. — Fsv. *byrþ*, f.

*skurþr*. Dat. *skurþ*, *skurþe*. Nisl. *skurður* (-ar, -ir). Nno. *skurd*, m. — Fsv. *skyrþ*, f.

*þurþr*. Dat. *þurþ*, *þurþe*. Nisl. *þurður* (-ar, -ir).

*stuldr* (LARSSON Ordförrådet: *stulþr*). Dat. *stuld*. Nisl. *stuldur* (-ar, -ir). Nno. *stuld*, *styld*, m. (enligt Ross med tjockt l). — Fsv. *styld*, *stuld*, f.

*fundr*. Dat. *funde*. Därjämte fno. *fyndr*, m. (THORKELSSON, Supplement 4; HERTZBERG, Glossarium; belagda former: Sg. nom., ack., dat. *fynde*). Nisl. *fundur* (-ar, -ir). Nno. *fund*, m. (och *fynd*, f.?). — Fsv. *funder*, *fynder*, m.; vanligen *fund*, *fynd*, f.

*kostr*. Dat. *koste*, Pl. ack. *koste*, även *kosto*. Nisl. *kostur* (-ar, -ir). Nno. *kost*, m. — Fsv. *koster*, *kuster*. — Got. *kustus*, m.<sup>4</sup>

*sauþr*, *sultr* (fe. *swylt*) och *þróttr*<sup>4</sup> ha vanligen -ar i gen., men finnas belagda även med -s (NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 378. 1; F. JÓNSSON, Det no.-isl. Skjaldesprog, sid. 48; FRITZNER).

*sullr* skall enligt NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 377 böjas som *gestr*, men genitiven är, såvitt jag kunnat finna, icke belagd.

Beträffande följande ord kan, alldenstund deras genitiv ej är känd från den fvn. litteraturen, ej avgöras, till vilken grupp de äro att föra: *dyttr*, *kýll*<sup>5</sup>, *hlemmr* (nisl. -s, pl. -ar), *skellr* (nisl. -s, pl. -ir), *steytr*, *slómr*, *yrþr* 'fördärv, olycka, död' (Sg. nom. 1 g.) ~ *urþr* (Sg. nom. 3 ggr., ack. 1 g.), *skyldr* ~ *skuldr* (Sg. ack. *fyrer þann skyld* o. dyl.; vanl. *skyld*, *skuld*, f.), *daunn*, *brundr*, *gustr*.

<sup>1</sup> Vid sidan *lióþr*, utan omljud, men dettas böjning framgår ej av de få belägg (Sg. nom. *lióþr* 2 ggr., Pl. gen. *lióþa* 1 g.).

<sup>2</sup> Möjligen lånord (KLUGE, M. KRISTENSEN, F. FISCHER: från fe. *pytt*, lat. *puteus*); enligt FALK och TORP Etym. Wb. inhemskt.

<sup>3</sup> Jfr ovan sid. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Om *kostr* och *þróttr*, se nedan sid. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Lånord, från lat. *culeus*.

Bland de långstaviga i-stammarna med genitiv på *-s* finnes sålunda intet exempel på uteblivande av omljud; bland dem, som ändas på *-ar*, förmodligen blott ett fall av omljud, *feldr(-ar)*, — om nämligen detta ord har rotvokalen *a* och utgår från en stamform *\*falði-* (se VAN HELTEN PBB 36. 476).

Det förefinnes uppenbarligen ett samband mellan böjning och omljud hos de långstaviga i-stammarna. Delvis har det visserligen blivit stört genom senare beröringar mellan de olika paradigmerna, men det torde ej vara omöjligt att med begagnande av det material, som föreligger i den litterära fvn., sluta sig till vad som i stora drag försiggått. Det kan knappast vara en tillfällighet, att omljudet — som var ljudlagsenligt åtminstone i nom. och ack. (*\*gastir*, *\*gasti*) — blivit genomfört i paradigmerna just hos de ord, där den ursprungliga genitiven gått förlorad och blivit ersatt med en nybildad på *-s* efter mönstret av a-stammarna. Då denna nybildning icke sträckt sig till en betydande grupp av kortstaviga ord (typen *staþr*), har den sannolikt uppkommit först sedan i synkoperats efter lång rotstavelse, m. a. o. på den tid, då det ännu hette *\*gæstr*, men *\*staðir*. De långstaviga i-stammarna sammanföll då i Sg. nom. och ack. med a-stammarna, och efter mönstret av t. ex. gen. *arms* till nom. *armr*, ack. *arm* bildades till nom. *gestr*, ack. *gest* en gen. *gests*.

Så fingo vi tvenne olikartade böjningstyper för i-stammarna:

en enstavig, med omljud, gen. på *-s*; böjningen i sg. alltså sammanfattande med a-stammarnas; långstaviga ord;

en tvåstavig, utan omljud, gen. på *-ar*; kortstaviga ord.

I got. ha i-stammarna i sg. helt och hållet antagit a-stamsböjning (gen. *gastis*, dat. *gasta*). Jag finner det sannolikt, att även här liksom i de nordiska språken ombildningen ägt rum först efter ändelsevokalens bortfall. Det got. paradigm *gasts* (gen. *gastis*, pl. *gasteis*) är alltså fullt jämförbart med det fvn. *gestr* (gen. *gests*, pl. *gester*). Blott är att märka, att got. paradigm *gasts* omfattar *alla* maskulina i-stammar. Här har nämligen — som ovan framhållits, förmodligen till följd av analogiska förändringar — vokalen *i* synkoperats även efter kort rotstavelse.

Då en mängd kortstaviga ord i fvn. jämväl böjas efter *gestr*, d. v. s. i gen. ha ändelsen *-s*, beror det på senare inver-



kan från a-stamböjningen. Genitivändelsen -s breder som bekant alltmera ut sig, först bland i-stammarna, senare också bland u-stammarna. I fsv., som även i sitt äldsta skick med avseende på substantivböjningen representerar ett yngre utvecklingsstadium än fvn., finnes icke en enda i-stam, som icke åtminstone kan ändas på -s i gen.; i y. fsv. har denna böjning helt trängt igenom (NOREEN Aschwed. Gr. § 407. 2). Efter synkopen av *i* efter kort rotstavelse (\**stadin* > *staþr*) ha alltså en del kortstaviga i-stammar i fvn. antagit ändelsen -s i Sg. gen.

*gestr* bör sålunda betraktas som huvudparadigmet för de långstaviga maskulina i-stammarna. Utom de ovan uppräknade orden med omljud hör hit *gríss*, sannolikt också *leistr* (got. *laists*, fe. *læst*, fht. *leist*), ehuru dess böjning endast är ofullständigt belagd<sup>1</sup>.

Det är emellertid att märka, att det finnes en annan grupp ursprungliga i-stammar, som sakna i-omljud och ha a-deklinationens ändelse -s i genitiv. Det är fallet med orden *ormr*<sup>2</sup> och *garþr*<sup>3</sup>. De ha emellertid även i plural antagit a-stammarnas ändelser. De höjas sålunda fullständigt regelbundet efter paradigmet *armr*. Antingen ha de på ett tidigare stadium av urn. gått över till a-stamsflexion (Sg. nom. \**wormar*, \**wormr*, ack. \**worma*, \**worm* — med a-omljud! —, i stället för \**wurmīr*, \**wurmi*), eller också har redan från samgermansk tid vid sidan av i-stammen funnits en a-stam (got. *gardawaldands*, fe. *geard*)<sup>4</sup>. — Bland de ord med a-stamsböjning för övrigt, som i gen. ha ändelsen -ar, antingen enbart eller jämte -s (NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>5</sup> § 348. 2; WIMMER Fornnordisk formlära § 47), torde finnas gamla i-stammar. Med en viss sannolikhet kan detta antagas vara fallet med *grautr* och *gróþr* (ffris. *grēd*, mht.

<sup>1</sup> Däremot är *brestr* säkerligen icke att räkna som ursprunglig i-stam. Pl. ack. *bresto*. Fht. *brest*, m. böjes som a-stam. — Vid sidan finnes västgerm. en i-stam med svag rotform: fe. *byrst*, m., fht. *brust*.

<sup>2</sup> Got. *waurms*, m.: endast Sg. nom. *waurms* och Pl. gen. *waurme*. I västgerm. språk i-stam: fe. *wyrm*, fht. *wurm*, pl. *wurmi*.

<sup>3</sup> Sg. gen. *garþs* och (1 g.) *garþar*; se JÓNSSON Skjaldesprog, sid. 8. Fsv. *garþer*, *gærþer*, NOREEN Aschw. Gr. § 389. 1. Got. *gards*, m. i-stam (Pl. dat. *gardim*).

<sup>4</sup> Fvn. *váttr* (TORP Gno. ordavledning: < \**vahti*-) torde ursprungligen vara u-stam (-s; pl. -ar, ack. fisl. -a, fno. -a, -o). NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>5</sup> § 385.

*gruot* f., gen. *grüete*). I de flesta fall är det emellertid omöjligt att avgöra, hur den urn. stamformen varit beskaffad<sup>1</sup>.

Att omljudet uteblivit i de sist berörda fallen, står utan tvivel på ett eller annat sätt i samband med övergången till a-stamsböjning. Å andra sidan har gen. på *-ar* säkerligen spelat en viss roll vid den oomljudda vokalens genomförande i paradigmerna *burþr*, *fundr* o. s. v. Men om alla övriga former i sg. ljudlagsenligt skulle få omljud, är det väl då sannolikt, att gen. allena skulle kunna sätta igenom sin oomljudda vokalism? Pluralen kan väl icke heller ha haft en så stor vikt hos dessa ord, som (med undantag av *sauþr*) väsentligen varit abstrakta till sin betydelse.

Nu är emellertid att märka, att gruppen rymmer åtminstone en ursprunglig u-stam: *kostr*. Det framgår såväl av egendomligheter i dess böjning: Pl. ack. *koste* eller (ehuru mera sällan) *kosto*, Sg. dat. regelbundet *koste*, som av dess motsvarighet i gotiskan: *kustus*<sup>2</sup>. Detsamma torde vara fallet med *þrótt* (fe. *þroht*, m.).

Även beträffande ett flertal av de övriga kan man ha starka skäl att misstänka, att de från början ej hört hit, till det maskulina i-stamsparadigmet. De motsvaras nämligen på östnordiskt språkområde av ord med feminint genus. Att detta representerar det ursprungliga förhållandet, framgår ofta nog genom en jämförelse med övriga germanska språk.

Vid sidan av *burþr* finnes redan i fvn., i betydelsen 'börd härkomst', ett *byrþ*, f., som dock möjligen kan tänkas vara lånord. Det fsv. *byrþ*, f. är dock med säkerhet inhemskt

<sup>1</sup> Fvn. *eiþr* (*-ar*; *-ar*) — got. *aiþs*, a-stam (Pl. ack. *aiþans*), fs. *ēth*, fe. *áþ*, m.; *auþr* (*-ar*) — got. *audags*, *audahafts*, fe. *éad*; *skógr* (*-ar*, *-s*; *-ar*), ej i andra germ. språk; *lundr* (*-ar*, *-s*; *-ar*; LIDÉN PBB 15. 521 = *\*vln̥ti-*); *snúþr*, *úrr*, *óþr* — fe. *snúð*, *úr*, *wóþ* (a-st.); *reyrr* (*-ar*) — got. *raus*, n., fht. *rór*, n. (a-st.).

<sup>2</sup> Av sammansättningen *gakusts* finnes endast Sg. ack. *gakust* belagd. Jfr. Sg. ack. *uswahst*, men *wahstus*. Här böra vi utan tvivel anta vokalbortfall i de sammansatta formerna. Att vi vid sidan av tu-stammarna *wahstus* och *kustus* (fvn. *vq̥xtr* och *kostr*) skulle ha haft ti-stammar i got., som VAN HELTEN antar (PBB 36. 477), synes mig föga sannolikt. I de västgermanska språken har u-stamsböjningen för långstaviga ord råkat i upplösning, och de hithörande orden ha övergått till andra flexioner. Varken fe. *cyst* eller fht. *cust* torde därför bevisa tillvaron av en germansk i-stam.



('bärande': *iarnbyrþ*, *upbyrþ*, *vitnesbyrþ* o. a.; 'börda; foster, barn; börd, härkomst'). Ordet återfinnes såväl i got. (*gabaurþs*) som i västgermanska språk (fe. *byrd*, *gebyrd*, f.<sup>1</sup>; fht. *giburt*, f.), överallt med feminint genus. Ja, detta överensstämmer också med de utomgermanska motsvarigheterna: lat. *fors*, f., skr. *bhṛtī*, f. Fvn. står ensam med sitt maskulina kön. Det måste betraktas som en nybildning. — På samma sätt förhåller det sig med fvn. *skurþr*, m. och fsv. *skyrþ*, f. — Ordet *urþr* 'fördärv, olycka, död' finnes ej i fsv. Det är mask. i fvn., men vid sidan står *Urþr* som namn på en norna, med feminint genus. Nornorna voro kvinnliga väsen; deras namn voro feminina appellativer. Det gäller också om den yngsta nornan, *Skuld*. Ordet *skuld*, *skyld* är nu vanligen fem. i fvn., men därjämte finns en maskulin form: *skuldr*, *skyldr*. I fsv. är det uteslutande fem. På samma sätt fvn. *stuldr*, m. och fsv. *styld*, *stuld*, f. Vidare fvn. *fundr*, m. — fsv. *fynd*, *fund*, f. (jämte *funder*, *fynder*, m.; jfr. även fht. *vunt*, m.); fvn. *sultr* — fsv. *sylt*, f. (även *sulter*, m.; jfr fe. *swylt*, m.). Fvn. *daunn*, m. motsvaras av ett got. *dauns*, f.

Orsaken till genusväxlingen är utan tvivel att söka i den omständigheten, att dessa ord i fvn. bevarat nom.-ändelsen -r, som ursprungligen tillhört även de feminina i-stammarna men alltmera kom att uppfattas som ett särmärke för maskulina ord.

Efter vad det nu visat sig, måste man emellertid räkna med möjligheten, ja, sannolikheten av att omljudets uteblivande i *kostr*, *þróttr*, *burþr*, *stuldr* o. s. v. icke sammanhänger med förhållanden i den maskulina i-stamsböjningen, utan med de böjningsgrupper, i vilka de ifrågavarande orden ursprungligen hört hemma.

De feminina i-stammarna skulle även de ljudlagsenligt ha omljud i åtminstone nom. och ack. sg.; dessutom yngre i-omljud i samma kasus i pl. I många fall uppvisa också de hithörande orden paradigm med genomfört omljud (*ferþ*, *bán*, *sátt* o. s. v.). I fsv. är detta vanligare än i fvn. (fsv. *yrt*, *rærn*, *sæghn*, *dæk* — fvn. *urt*, *vørn*, *søgn*, *døkk* m. fl.). Påfallande är emellertid, att i fvn. i regeln den icke omljudda vokalen blivit genomförd (*qxl*, *døþ*, *røst*, *braut*, o. s. v.). Det finnes därtill knappast en enda feminin i-stam i fvn. med omljud, till vilken icke vid

<sup>1</sup> Om *gebyrd*, m., se SIEVERS *Ags. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> § 267 b.

sidan finnas oomljudda former belagda (*sýn* — *síon*, *sétt* — *sótt*, *bón* — *bón*, *ferþ* — pl. *farþer*, o. s. v.; se NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 382).

Är det männe sannolikt, att denna den oomljudda vokals öfvervikt kan utgå allenast från den oomljudda genitiven? Hur förklara den egendomliga skillnaden i förhållande till omljudet mellan maskulina och feminina ord? Som ursprungliga femininer måste vi enligt det föregående betrakta jämväl maskulinerna *burþr*, *stuldr*, *fundr* o. s. v.

Jag vill först göra uppmärksam på några i detta sammanhang betydelsefulla fakta.

1. De feminina ord, som bevarat sin nominativändelse *-r* sakna genomgående omljud: *brúþr*, *naupr*, *Urþr*, *unnr* (*váttr*<sup>1</sup>) — *burþr*, *skurþr*, *þurþr*, *stuldr*, *daunn* o. s. v. Om ett par undantag, se nedan sid. 89.

2. En stor del av de hithörande orden utgöra rimord, och sådana ha säkerligen i stor utsträckning påverkat varandras utveckling: *urþr*, *burþr*, *skurþr*, *þurþr* — *skuldr* ~ *skuld*, *stuldr* — *fundr*, *brundr*, *lundr* (*-ar*, *-s*; pl. *-ar*; urspr. i-stam? u-stam?), *lund*, f. 'sinneleg; sätt', *grund*, *stund*. Till denna sista ordserie få vi föra också ordet *mund*, f. 'hand' (i-stam? ō-stam? Pl. nom. ack. ej belagda) och det etymologiskt därmed sammanhörande *mundr*, m. 'gåva (till bruden eller hennes giftoman); hemgift' (i-stam? u-stam? Torp Gno. ordavledning: i-stam; NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 349. a. 5: u-stam). En annan rimserie ha bildat: *sauþr*, *naupr*, *daupr* (u-stam).

3. I alla dessa ordserier, med undantag av den sista, innehåller rotstavelsen i fvn. vokalen *u*. I stället för ursprunglig feminin i-stam har i fvn. trätt en maskulin i-stam, ett ord som böjes efter mönstret av det kortstaviga paradigmet *staþr*. — Men hur har det gått, om rotvokalen varit en annan, exempelvis *ǣ*? Utan tvivel ha vi sådana bildningar bevarade, men ej som maskulina i-stammar, utan som u-stammar. I detta fall stå alltså feminina<sup>2</sup> i-stammar i fsv. och andra germanska språk vid sidan av maskulina u-stammar i fvn. Vi ge några exempel:

<sup>1</sup> *dís* (· *\*disk*), *Hrist* (NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 291. 2)?

<sup>2</sup> Sällan maskulina (fsv. *þuett*; *sluett*?)



fvn. *mōttr*, m. 'makt' — got. *mahts*, f. (*mahteigs*), fs. fht. *maht*, f. (pl. *mahti*; *mahtig*), fe. *meaht*, *miht*, f. (*mihtig*), ffris. *mecht*, *macht* f. Utomgermanskt: fslav. *moštī*, f. 'makt'.

fvn. *drōttr*, m. 'dragande' (*fiske-drōttr*, *undan-drōttr* o. s. v.) — fsv. *dræt*, f. 'dragande; dräkt' (*fiska-*, *kielka-*, *nōta-*, *up-dræt* m. fl.), sv. dial. *drätt*, f., da. *Dræt* 'dragande; dragtyg; notvarp; bonader, tapeter' (MOLBECH), *Aandedræt*, fht. *traht*, f., mlt. *draht*, f.;

fvn. *flōttr*, m. 'flående' (*hornaflōttr*) — fsv. *flæt*, f. 'flående, avbarkande' (*bark-*, *bast-*, *næfra-*, *ramata-flæt*);

fvn. *slōttr*, m. 'höskörd; myntning', nno. *slaat* — fsv. *slæt*, f (?) <sup>1</sup>, da. *Slæt* 'höskörd; klockans slag' (fe. *sleaht*, *slieht*, m.);

fvn. *þuōttr*, m. 'tvagning; tvätt' — fsv. *þwætter*, m., nsv. *tvätt*, da. *Tvæt*;

fvn. *krōptr*, m., *kraptr*, m. — fsv. *krapter*, m., *kraft*, f.; fe. *craft*, m., fht. *craft*, f. I stället för tre stammar: *\*krafti*, f., *\*kraftu*, m. och *\*krafta*, m. (TORP i FICKS Vergl. Wb.<sup>4</sup>) kunna vi åtminstone slippa att laborera med flera än två: *\*krafti*, f. och *\*krafta*, m.

fvn. *grōptr*, m. — fno. nno. *greft*, *grōft*, f.<sup>2</sup>; fht. *grast*, f., mlt. *grast*, f.

Fvn. *hōttr*, m. kan ej följas i andra språk. *Vōxtr* är däremot en u-stam: got. *wahstus*; om *uswahts*, se ovan sid. 81; fsv. *vaxter*; nsv. *växt* genom påverkan av verbet *växa*.

Till samma grupp hör, med rotvokalen *e*, denna orddubbellett i fvn:

fvn. *réttr*, m. 'inhägnad för kreatur' (*afréttr* 'gemensam betesmark', *yxnaréttr*) — *rét*, f. 'drivande av kreatur; inhägnad' (*lōg-rét*).

Vid sidan av *réttr*, m. 'rätt' (fsv. *rætter*) står i västgermanska språk en neutral a-stam (egentligen det substantive-rade neutrum av adjektivet *\*rehta-*): fe. *riht*, fht. *reht*.

Fvn. *gróþr* uppfattas av TORP (FICKS Vergl. Wb.<sup>4</sup>; Gno. ordavledning) som u-stam (< *\*grōþu-*). Det motsvaras i västgermanska språk av en feminin i-stam: ffris. *grēd*, mht. *gruot* (gen. *grüete*). Jfr ovan sid. 81.

<sup>1</sup> Ordets genus framgår ej av beläggen; se SÖDERWALL.

<sup>2</sup> Fsv. *gript*, f., ä. da. *grift*, nda. *Groft*, se NOREEN Aschw. Gr. § 179, TAMM Etym. ordbok.

Vid sidan av fvn. *prótttr*, m. står fe. *proht*. Ordet är därför sannolikt en u-stam. Fvn. *flótte*, m. är en utvidgad stam; till grund ligger ett fvn. \**flótttr*, som utomnordiskt motsvaras av en feminin ti-stam: fht. fs. *fluht*, fe. *flyht*, ffris. *flecht*.

Jag tror, att efter detta antalet fall, där man vid sidan av vartannat ursprungligen haft en i-stam och en u-stam, torde kunna högst betydligt reduceras. I allmänhet är det just de fvn. formerna, som föranlett sådana antaganden (se t. ex. KLUGE Nominale Stammbildungslehre § 133, TORP i FICKS Vergl. Wb.<sup>3</sup>). Att på grund av fvn. *mótttr*, *drótttr*, *krøp| o. s. v. vid sidan av ti-stammen uppställa en germansk tu-stam, finner jag lika obefogat, som att antaga ursprungligen växlande genus (mask. ~ fem.) hos grundformerna för fvn. *burþr*, *stuldr*, m. — fsv. *byrþ*, *styld*, f. ti-stammarna voro redan från urspråklig tid i regeln femininer, tu-stammarna maskuliner.
|  |*

Det är i varje fall ett märkeligt faktum, som förtjänar att närmare belysas: av de ursprungligen feminina i-stammarna, som bevarat sitt -r i Sg. nom., uppträda en del i fvn. som maskulina i-stammar, nämligen de med rotvokalen *u*, en del som maskulina u-stammar, nämligen de med rotvokalen *a*. En sådan fördelning kan icke gärna tänkas representera ett ursprungligt förhållande. A priori vore man väl mest benägen att betrakta i-stamsböjningen (hos *burþr*) som det äldsta. De maskulina och de feminina paradigmerna voro ju från början fullkomligt likartade med avseende på sina ändelser, och en genusväxling på grund av nominativens ändelse vore sålunda lätt tänkbar. Men det torde vara svårt att från denna utgångspunkt förstå övergången till u-stamsböjning hos *mótttr* m. fl.

I-stamsböjningen, paradigmerna *staþr*, och u-stamsböjningen, paradigmerna *vøndr*, skilde sig med avseende på ändelserna åt endast i tvenne kasus: Sg. dat. och Pl. ack. I den senare av dessa uppträder emellertid redan i den äldsta litteraturen vid sidan av u-stammarnas ursprungliga -o den från i-stammarna övertagna ändelsen -e; i Sg. dat. blevo likaledes tidigt (genom påverkan av flexionstyperna *gestr* och *staþr*) ändelselösa former vanliga. Det mest karakteristiska för u-stamsböjningen var omlydsväxlingen, men denna framträder i sin typiska gestalt endast hos ord med rotvokalen *a*. Om icke händelsevis en Pl. ack. på -o finnes belagd, är det därför omöjligt att på andra än etymologiska grunder veta, huruvida man skall hänföra ord som



*friþr*, *kuistr*, *reitr*, *réttr* till böjningsgruppen *staþr* eller till *rþndr*. Av ord med rotvokalen *u* finna vi med genomförd u-stamsböjning endast *sunr* (*sonar*: *syne*; pl. *syner*). Om däremot genom utjämning vokalväxlingen upphävdes, kom ordet naturligen närmare att ansluta sig till paradigmet *staþr*. *Kostr* är en gammal u-stam, vilket också framgår av dess Pl. ack. *kosto* (jämf. *koste*). Men alldeles som hos *staþr*, *salr* o. s. v. har här den ljudlagsenliga, omljudda formen i Pl. nom. (och ack.) blivit ersatt av en nybildad (*koster*, *koste*) med samma vokalism som i flertalet övriga kasus. Likaledes Sg. dat.: *koste*, i stället för *\*køste*, *\*kyste*<sup>1</sup>. På samma sätt förhåller det sig med *hlutr* (Pl. ack. *hluto*) och med *þróttr* (fe. *þroht*, m.). *Kostr*, *hlutr* och *þróttr* ha »gått över» från u-stamsböjning till i-stamsböjning.

*Mundr* böjes i pl. som en a-stam; men Sg. gen. heter *mundar* och dat. *munde* eller (fno.) *mynde* (HERTZBERG Glossarium; NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 348 a. 5). Här ha vi alltså en rest av omljudet i dativen. — *Ullr* (got. *wulþus*): gen. *Ullar*, *Ullz*, dat. utan omljud *Ulle*.

En egendomlighet för böjningen av de långstaviga maskulina i-stammarna utan omljud är, att Sg. dat. i regeln ändas på *-e*. Det är fallet med *burþr*, *skurþr*, *þurþr*, *fundr* och *sultr*. Se ovan sid. 78 och vidare i LARSSON Ordförrådet, HERTZBERG Glossarium och EGILSSON-JÓNSSON Lexicon poeticum<sup>2</sup>. Det är så mycket mera påfallande, som dessa paradigm härigenom avvika från de omljudda: *gestr*, *lýþr* o. s. v. Om det vore a-stammarnas dativändelse, som det vore frågan om, skulle vi väl snarast vänta den här. *Gestr* har visserligen (enligt NOREEN

<sup>1</sup> Jfr också dat. *daufþe* till *daufþr* (got. *daufþus*). — WIMMER Fno. formlära § 52 a. 2: »Blandning af i- och u-stammar visar sig även däri, att flere av de under i-stammarne anförda ord, som hafva *-i* i dat. sing., särskildt alla orden på *-(n)aðr*, ursprungligen hafva varit böjda som u-stammar, hvilket äfven förklarar omljudet i *-(n)uðr* för det yngre *-(n)aðr*; men då ack. plur. alltid ändas på *-i*, och vi lika så litet i orden på *-(n)aðr* som i *hlutr* och *kostr* finna former med i-omljud i dat. sing. och nom. plur., måste de betraktas som i-stammar. Därför kunna ord som *friðr*, *kuiðr*, *verðr*, som blott brukas i sing. och ej kunna erhålla omljud, från fornnordisk ståndpunkt äfven hänföras till § 45. (i-stammar). NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> räknar orden på *-(n)aþr*, *-(n)oþr* till u-stammarna, *hlutr* och *kostr* till i-stammarna.

<sup>2</sup> Av *gustr* finns Sg. dat. *guste* 2 ggr. (i poesi), *gust* 1 g. (Spec. reg.).

Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 377 a. 2) understundom Sg. dat. på *-e*. Men denna form är i varje fall sällsynt; i poesi finnes endast dat. *gest* (Häv. 31; F. JÓNSSON Skjaldesprog).<sup>1</sup> *Lýþr* har i det poetiska språket enligt F. JÓNSSON »dativ uden endelse (*lýð*) alltid»; LARSSON har Sg. dat. *lýþ* 18 ggr., best. f. *lýþnom* 8 ggr.

Denna ändelse *-e* i dativ hos *burþr* stämmer icke med paradigmet *staþr*, icke heller med paradigmet *gestr* och är därför sannolikt icke överförd från *a*-stammarna. Då den därtill icke har förts med från en ursprunglig feminin *i*-stamsböjning<sup>2</sup>, kan den knappast tolkas på annat sätt än som en rest av en äldre *u*-stamsböjning, hos *burþr* likaväl som hos *kostr* och *mundr*.

Då sålunda ett icke ringa antal feminina *i*-stammar i fvn. övergått till *u*-stamsböjning och blivit maskuliner, må vi se till, vilka slutsatser vi härav kunna draga med avseende på det urnordiska flexionssystemets utveckling. Var lågo utgångspunkterna för denna deklinations- och genusväxling? Det är denna fråga, som vi nu närmast få ta under behandling.

De feminina *i*-stammarnas böjning i singular är i historisk tid i fvn. fullständigt lika med *ō*-stammarnas (paradigmet *sogg*). För de paradigms vidkommande, som uppvisa *i*-omljud (t. ex. *ferþ*, *seyþ*), kan detta sammanfall ha ägt rum först efter *i*-synkopen, alltså i relativt sen tid. Över omljudstiden har alltså ett självständigt feminint *i*-stamsparadigm för Sg. existerat, skilt från *ō*-deklinationen.

Men flertalet ord ha icke omljud. De ha en hela böjningen genomgående, icke palataliserad vokal (t. ex. *urt*), eller de få, därest stamvokalen är *a*, *u*-omljud i Sg. nom. och ack. (t. ex. *qxl*, *dqþ*). Vad kunna vi veta om dessa ords förhistoria?

Föga sannolikt synes det mig vara, att övergången till *ō*-stamsböjning för dessa ords vidkommande skett i så sen tid, att ett ljudlagsenligt utvecklat *\*exl*, *\*dǣþ* i nom. och ack. ersatts av *qxl*, *dqþ*, nybildat till gen. *axlar*, *dáþar* efter mönstret av *sagar* : *sogg*, *nálar* : *nól* o. dyl. Omljudet skulle då helt och hållet vara av sekundär natur. Med ett sådant antagande

<sup>1</sup> LARSSON Ordförrådet har ej denna kasus belagd.

<sup>2</sup> Ändelsen *-ai* i got. (*anstai*) är säkerligen en nybildning efter *ō*-stammarna (*gibai*).



torde det bli svårt att finna några beröringar med u-stamsböjningen, som skulle kunna förklara övergången till denna av feminina i-stammar.

Nu ha redan tidigare förhållanden framdragits, som tyda på, att utvecklingen varit en annan. HESSELMAN antager (Västnordiska studier 2, sid. 9), åtminstone för *-ini*-stammarnas del, en tidigt framträdande tendens i urnordiskan till övergång i *ō*-stamsböjning. Som närmaste utgångsform för *lausn* sätter han ett *\*lausnu*, »som i sin tur står för *\*lausinu* < *\*lausinō*»<sup>1</sup>.

Tillvaron av sådana former i urnordiskan kan emellertid även direkt påvisas, genom lånord i lappskan. WIKLUND anför i avhandlingen »Die ältesten germ. lehnwörter im finn. und lapp». (Le monde oriental. Vol. 5, 1911), sid. 236 åtminstone ett säkert fall (lapp. *viste* 'hus, bostad' = fvn. *vist*), där övergången till *ō*-stamsböjning i singular försiggått på en tid, då Sg. nom. hos *ō*-stammarna ännu ändades på *-ā*<sup>2</sup>.

Någon form *\*exl* har således sannolikt aldrig funnits; fvn. *øxl* återgår på ett urn. *\*axlu*. I vissa fall kvarstod ursprunglig i-stam ännu vid sidan av den nybildade formen: *\*bōni* > *bón* (gen. *bónar*) och *\*bōnu* > *bón*. Övergången har alltså skett på rätt olika tider, och i mindre utsträckning i de östra delarna av Norden (sedermera fsv., fda.), än i de västra.

I allmänhet uppgåvo de feminina i-stammarna i samband med antagandet av *ō*-stamsböjning sin ändelse *-r* för Sg. nom. Nominativen kom att sammanfalla med ackusativen, liksom hos *ō*-stammarna. Hos några kvarlevde emellertid den ursprungliga skillnaden mellan dessa båda kasus. Det gällde framförallt personbeteckningarna: *brúpr*, *váttr*, *Urpr*, *Gunnr*, *Auþr*, *Prúpr*, kvinnonamn sammansatta med *-unn(r)*, *-gunnr* och *-þrúpr*; men också en del andra: *unnr* 'våg', *nauþr* 'nöd' (jämte *nauf*); *forkunnr* 'nyfikenhet'; *móttr*, *slóttr*, *kroptr*, *réttr*, *grópr*; *burpr*, *stuldr*, *fundr*, m. fl. De ändades sålunda i Sg. nom, på *-u*, i ack. på *-u*. I båda dessa former sammanfölo de nu med u-

<sup>1</sup> Jfr MAGNUS OLSEN, Valbyamulettens runeindskrift (Kristiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandl. 1907), sid. 10: »Vi har ikke midler til at afgjøre, naar den feminine i-bøjning i ental er opgivet, men der kan ikke være tvil om, at dette maa være skeet en god stund før den historiske tid».

<sup>2</sup> Om en liknande tidig övergång av konsonantstammar till *ō*-stamsböjning i Sg., se WIKLUND, anf. arb., sid. 242.

stamsböjningen, därtill i Sg. gen. och i Pl. nom., gen. och dat. Till följd härav anslöto sig dessa ord med bevarad nominativändelse närmast till u-stamsparadigmen. Efter deras mönster nybildades då lätt en dativ på *-i* (> *-e*, t. ex. *máette*, *atburþe*, *brúþe*). Hos dem med rotvokalen *a* inträdde u-omljud i Sg. nom., ack. och i-omljud i Sg. dat. samt i Pl. nom. Liksom hos u-stammarna *kostr*, *hlutr*, *mundr* (i-stam?) genomfördes däremot, om rotvokalen var *u*, den oomljudda vokalen (*forkunnr* *brúþr*, *burþr*).

U-stammarna äro nu emellertid maskuliner i fvn. samt och synnerligen. De femininer, som en gång funnits i urn., ha antingen blivit maskuliner (*Niqrþr*) eller övergått till andra feminina flexionstyper (*kuern*, *hond*). På samma sätt har det gått med de ursprungliga feminina i-stammarna i u-deklinationen. I de flesta fall ha de blivit maskuliner (*mótttr*, *réttr*, *burþr* o. s. v.). Personbeteckningarna kunde givetvis icke genomgå denna genusväxling, de förblevo femininer. Just hos dessa ord har man anledning att vänta, att nominativformen skulle bibehållas. De anslöto sig då till iō-stammarna, med vilka de sammanfölo i Sg. nom.,<sup>1</sup> gen. och dat. Efter mönstret av *heiþr* nybildades ofta en ack. på *-e*. Detta är fallet med *brúþr*, *véttr*, *dís* (pl. *-er*); *Gunnr*, *Auþr*, *-unnr*, m. fl. Vidare med ordet *forkunnr* 'nyfikenhet'. *Urþr* däremot har ackusativen utan ändelse: *Urþ*. Likaså *unnr*, som emellertid endast tillhör det poetiska språket, och *nauþr*, som även har en nominativ utan *-r*: *nauþ*. — Med anslutning till appellativet *Skuld*, utan nominativändelse (t. ex. Vsp. 30, Grógaldur 4; þulor i Snorra Edda).

Vi ha redan påpekat, att de feminina i-stammarna med bevarat *-r* i Sg. nom. sakna i-omljud. Och vi ha sökt giva en förklaring till detta förhållande. Man skulle nu emellertid ha skäl att misstänka, att spår av denna nominativ på *-r* skall finnas kvar även bland de i-stammar, som fått genomfört i-omljud, m. a. o. bevarat sin ursprungliga stamvokal *i* i nom. och ack. över omljudstiden. I själva verket torde det också förhålla sig så. Jag erinrar om formerna *yrþr* och *skyldr*, m. Med iō-stamsböjning i historisk tid finnas en del ord med omljudd vokal, som med större eller mindre visshet kunna antagas ha

<sup>1</sup> Om nominativformen hos dessa ord se HESSELMAN, Västn. studier 2, sid. 22 f.



varit ursprungliga i-stammar<sup>1</sup>. Möjligt är emellertid, att dessas deklinationsväxling varit äldre och beroende på delvis andra faktorer. Det skulle föra oss för vida från ämnet att här närmare gå in på denna fråga.

Vi stå nu vid slutet av vår undersökning. Vi ha funnit orsaken till i-omljudets uteblivande i feminina ord (i större utsträckning i fvn. än i fsv.) och i maskulinerna *burþr*, *stuldr* o. s. v. (: fsv. *byrþ*, *styld*, f.) i en tidig deklinationsväxling. Då i-omljud verkade efter lång rotstavelse, hade dessa ord i själva verket ej *ĩ*, utan *ũ* i ändelsen i Sg. nom. och ack. — Oförklarad kvarstår nu endast ett ord: det maskulina *sauþr* 'får', nno. *saud*, *sau*, m. (AASEN, ROSS) — fsv. *søþer*, m., nsv. dial. *sö* (RIETZ, sid. 568). I fgutn. med omljud: *soyþr*, m. Att vi ha att göra med en ursprunglig maskulin i-stam, framgår av samstämmigheten i böjning och genus hos de nordiska formerna. Även got. har *sauþs*, m., i-stam. Genitiven ändas visserligen i fvn. stundom på -s (se FRITZNER), men det torde knappast vara riktigt att se anledningen till omljudets uteblivande i en tidig övergång till a-stamsböjning, som i fråga om *ormr* och *garþr*. Pl. ändas fvn. alltid på -er: *sauþer*. Genitiven *sauþs* torde vara en relativt sen nybildning, och den allmännare formen *sauþar* vittnar om att ordet alltså hört hemma bland i-stammarna. Genitiven ensam kan måhända ej vara utgångspunkten för den oomljudda vokalismen i paradigmet. Men om man tar i betraktande, att hos detta ord pluralen utan tvivel hade en rik användning, vågar man säkerligen förutsätta, att ett ljudlagsenligt Sg. nom. *\*seyþr*, ack. *\*seyþ* efter första omljudstiden blivit ersatt av *sauþr*, *sauþ*. Att sedermera gent emot böjningens alla övriga former det yngre i-omljudet fick vika i Pl. nom. och ack. (*sauþer*, *sauþe*), står ju i full överensstämmelse med utvecklingen av alla övriga i-stamsparadigm i fvn. (*staþer*, *axler*).

<sup>1</sup> HESSELMAN, Västnordiska studier 2, sid. 24 f.; BUGGE ANF 2. 209 f.; NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 374. anm. 1.

## Några fornnordiska preterita

av

Adolf Noreen.

### 1. Fvn. *setta* m. m.

Fvn. *setta*, *settr*, runsv. *seti*, *setu*, *situ* o. d., ä. fsv. *sætte*, *sætter*, t. e. i U alltid (utom 2 ggr *satt*), Vm cod. B alltid (utom en ggr *banzatom*), cod. D alltid (utom en ggr *satter*) osv., fgotn. *setti* (på en Ardre-sten från förra hälften av 1000-talet *setu*), *sett* är ännu icke nöjaktigt förklarat. Kocks mening (Beitr. XVIII, 454 och ännu Sv. ljudhistoria III, 118), att »*setta* hat das *e* durch analogie-einwirkung bekommen (vgl. die isl. prätt. *festa*, *lesta*, *merkta*, *berkta* etc.)», är ju alldeles oantaglig, då man ej kan fatta, varför just *setia* skulle råka ut för detta analogiinflytande, men icke *etia*, *fletia*, *huetia*, *letia* m. fl. mindre vanliga och därför lättare påverkade verber. För resten strider Kocks påstående, att »*satte* ist die ältere form» mot både isländskans, fornnorskans, älsta fornsvenskans och forngutniskans vittnesbörd. Fastmera är naturligtvis *satte* en analogibildning efter typen *velia* : *valpe*. Här som vanligt gäller den metodiska regeln, att man har att betrakta den svårförklarligare »oregelbundna» formen som den äldre och ursprungligare.

*Setta* är helt enkelt den ljudlagsenliga utvecklingen av ett urnord. *satiðō*, som synkoperades samtidigt med *dōmidō* och därför liksom detta fick *i*-omljud. För de fornnordiska språken gäller nämligen — såsom jag sedan länge lärt på mina föreläsningar — samma regel som för de västgermanska (se t. e. COLLITZ, Das schwache Präteritum, s. 180 noten), att mellan två dentaler synkoperas *i* efter kort rotstavelse samtidigt, med synkopen efter lång stavelse, t. e. fs. *latta*, *satta*, *quadda skudda* liksom *dōpta*, *sanda* gentemot *swebida*, *nerida* osv. Utom av *setta*, *settr* framgår detta till full evidens av följande två fall.



Till got. *matjan* 'äta (glupskt)', fvn. *metia* 'sörpla' heter pret. part. fsv. *mettr* (fsv. *mætter*), icke *mattr*. Att den ursprungliga formen här räddats beror naturligtvis på att den bevarat den äldre betydelsen '(full)matad' och därigenom isolerats i förhållande till sin i fråga om betydelse avsevärt specialiserade infinitiv (och presens). Att med FALK-TORP (Wörterbuch s. 747) och FICK-TORP (Wortschatz s. 305) till förklaring av *mettr* uppkonstruera ett okänt *\*matitjan*, är naturligtvis blott en nödfallsutväg, så mycket mindre tilltalande som det är minst sagt tvivelaktigt, om en sådan bildning är på germansk botten möjlig (se WILMANNS, Deutsche Grammatik II, 107).

Till *huetia* heter, såsom redan WADSTEIN (Beitr. XVII, 417) påpekat, pret. part. ej blott *huattr*, utan även *huettr*. Denna sednare form träffas, till sin riktighet bestyrkt genom assonans, i två gamla dikter: Eilifs þórsdrápa str. 6 och THORMODS þórgeirsdraða str. 1. GISLASON (Njála II, 121) förklarar den mycket riktigt såsom »et med *settr* analogt participium av *hvetja*». F. JÓNSSON däremot (Det no.-isl. skjaldesprog s. 107, Lexicon poeticum s. 300 och 395) tillgriper den djärva nödfallsutvägen att hänföra formen till ett uppkonstruerat verb *\*hvetta*, om vars påfallande bildning han dock ej ger någon upplysning. Mig synes det klart, att *huettr* är det ursprungliga och *huattr* en nybildning av samma art som fsv. *satte*.

Om fsv. *flytte* Dalalagen ff., *glædde* »Vidhemsprästen» ff., *rydde* Östgötalagen ff. och fgutn. *flyttu*, *lagrytt*, *steddum* äro gamla former eller nybildningar av samma art som fsv. *kwæfdhe* för *kwafðhe* o. d., lämnar jag därhän, då det väl aldrig kan avgöras. Att emellertid icke blott *huetia*, *metia* och *setia*, utan att alla till typen *velia* hörande verber på *-tia* och *-pia* synkoperats tidigare än de övriga av samma typ (och i följd därav en gång haft omljudda preteritiformer), framgår av ännu en omständighet. Som bekant kunna de nämnda verberna på *-tia* och *-pia* i motsats till de övriga aldrig, icke ens i det allra älsta språket, uppvisa några osynkoperade participformer (se min Altisl. gramm., 3 uppl., § 504 och § 418,2). Under det att det ännu ymnigt heter *valeþr*, *vakeþr*, *vaneþr*, *vareþr* osv., träffas blott *fluttr*, *gladdr* o. d. Detta hittills oförklarade förhållande måste naturligtvis bero på att de sistnämnda så mycket

tidigare än de andra erhållit synkoperade former, vilka alltså haft längre tid på sig för att påverka de osynkoperade.

Att *setia* så mycket längre än något annat hithörande verb behållit de ljudlagsenliga omljudda formerna, beror naturligtvis därpå, att det var så ojämförligt mycket vanligare än sina närmaste likar *etia*, *fletia*, *huctia*, *letia*, *metia* (*flytia*, *krytia*). Jfr hurusom alla verba preteritopresentia i svenskan så småningom antagit presens-pluralisändelsen *-a*, utom det vanligaste av dem alla: *äro*. Bland verberna på *-pia* är intet — utom möjligen *glepia* — särskilt vanligt, varför man hos dem ej gärna kan vänta sig någon omljudd form vara bevarad.

## 2. Typen *bodde*.

Preterita av typen *bodde* uppträda först vid tiden för övergången från äldre till yngre fornsvenska, t. e. *flydde* c. 1375, *forsmadde* c. 1385, *strødde* och *trodde* c. 1400 (se vidare E. OLSON, Arkiv XXIX, 216). De hittills framställda försöken till förklaring av denna typ äro icke tillfredsställande. OLSONS senaste förslag, att *flydde*, *forsmadde* o. d. fått *dd* i analogi med *thydde*, *radde* o. d. till *thȳ(dha)*, *rā(dha)* osv., sedan dessa sistnämnda förlorat sin ultima (OLSON, a. st. s. 229 ff.), är redan vederlagt genom BECKMANS påpekande (Språk och stil XIV, 26) av dels att typen *flȳdhe* (senare *flydde*) är både kvantitativt och kvalitativt betydligt starkare än typen *thydde* och därför ej rimligen bör ha råkat ut för någon den sednares segrande påverkan, dels att *flydde* o. d. är hemma även i sådana dialekter (uppsvenska och finländska) som ej förlorat *-dha* i *rāda* o. d. BECKMANS egen förklaring åter, enligt vilken *flydde* skall ha ljudlagsenligt utvecklats ur fsv. *flȳdhe* på grund av »accentförhållanden», vederlägges av den i våra dialekter vitt spridda formen *döe*, som tydligtvis är den ljudlagsenliga fortsättningen av fsv. *dōdhe*, vadan samma dialekters *flydde*, *bodde* osv. liksom ock riksspråkets *dödde* icke kunna vara ljudlagsenliga.

För min del uppfattar jag nu förhållandet på följande sätt. Vid den tid då denna typ började uppkomma, ändades de tvåstaviga preterita dels mera sällan på *-dhe* (t. e. *flȳdhe*), dels mycket ofta på *-te* (t. e. *kōpte*), dels och detta allra oftast på *-de*. Det hette nämligen då ej blott *kæmbde*, *fōdde*, *hængde*, *fælde*, *dōmde*, *brænde*, utan också redan *ærfde*, *syrghde* (se min



Altschwed. gramm. § 257, a och b), ja i vissa dialekter även *förde* (se OLSON, Östgöotalagens 1300-tals-fragment, s. CXIX. Detsamma gäller ock Erikskrönikan, som t. o. m. i den tre-staviga typen *kallade* har *d* för det äldre *dh*). I följd av denna sin övermakt påverkar denna sistnämnda grupp ej blott den talrika på *-te*, så att man redan i fsv. tid träffar nybildningar som *(for)gyld*; *mælde* m. m. och i nsv. tid *påminde*, *spillde*, *spände* m. m., utan än mera den jämförelsevis fåtaliga och därför betydligt svagare på *-dhe*. I alla dithörande fall utom det ovannämnda dialektala *döe* har därför införts det vanligaste preteritimärket *d*, som emellertid i denna ställning vid denna tid måste uppträda som *dd*. Detta av följande skäl.

Omedelbart efter vokal ägde den äldre fsv. icke ljudet *d* (annat än i och genom sammansättning, men icke ens då annat än vid särskilt stark association med simplex, se min Altschwed. gramm. § 225 anm.), men väl (*dh* och) *dd*. I följd härav substituerades i lånord dessas *d* efter vokal (förlitterärt med *dh*, t. e. i ä. fsv. *iūþe*, *þýþisker*, men på 1300-talet och senare) med *dd*, t. e. *skræddæræ* 1329 ff. (mlty. *schräder*), *krydde* c. 1420 ff. (mlty. *krūde*), *beredd* (mlty. *berēde*), (samman)*gadda* (mlty. *gaden*), *knodd* (mlty. *knoden*), *redd* (mlty. *rēde*), *sluddra* (mlty. *slūderen*) m. m., se Vårt språk III, 295, 436, 437, 440, 468, 511.<sup>1</sup>

Samma substitution föreligger väl nu i den ifrågavarande preterititypen. I första hand uppstod då den på 1400-talet förekommande, i Nya testamentet 1526 nästan regelbundet använda (se LINDQVIST, Reformationstidens bibelsvenska = Ant. tidskr XX, 7, s. 26 f.) och ännu i Bibeln 1541 (se OLSON, Arkiv XXIX, 222 not 2) så vanliga samt fortfarande i de östnordsvenska dialekterna (se HULTMAN, Finländska bidrag s. 176 f.) liksom i Dalarnas Älvdalsmål (se LEVANDER, Sv. landsmålen IV, 3, s. 81) gängse typen *hoodde* (*dijdde*, *skeedde*, *skyydde* m. m. Bibeln 1541). Sedan förkortades här den långa vokalen före geminatan, liksom väl redan tidigare skett i subst. *bredd* (isl. *breidd*), *vidd* (isl. *vídd*). adj. *rädd* (isl. *hráddr*) m. m.

<sup>1</sup> Jfr den av liknande anledning framkallade danska utvecklingen av inlånade *k*, *p*, *t* i *krukke*, *hyppig*, *splitte* o. d. av resp. mlty. *krūke*, *hūpich*, *spliten* osv.

## Fvn. *selda* och *keypta*

av

Erik Noreen.

Någon övertygande och allmännare accepterad förklaring av den *i*-omljudda vokalen i fvn. pret. *selda* (part. *seldr*) saknas hittills (»Eine sichere erklärung fehlt noch» NOREEN Aschw. Gr. § 549, 2, b; »auffallend ist der Umlaut in wn. *selde*» dens. Gesch. d. nord. Spr.<sup>3</sup> § 246, 2; jfr. dens. Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 503, anm. 1).

Kock i PBB 18: 453 f. (jfr även Umlaut und Brechung s. 149 f., Sv. ljudhist. 3: 118) antar att det ljudlagsenliga *\*salda* (återgående, såsom av skrivningarna med *ll* och konstant *d*, ej *ð*, *p*, och andra omständigheter framgår, på en bindevokallös grundform motsvarande fe. *sealde*, fsax. *salda*, fht. *salta*) ombildats efter de långstaviga svaga verbens preterita. På en tid då man hade pret. *fellda* av *fella* men ännu *\*valiða* av *velia* och pres. *fallir* jämte *\*valir* skulle den (i motsats till pret. *\*valiða* etc.) tvåstaviga preteritiformen *\*salda* ha ombildats till *selda* efter analogien *\*fallir: fellda = \*salir: x* (under det att analogien *\*fallir: fellda* icke kunde påverka *\*valir: \*valiða*). Till denna uppfattning synes HEUSLER Aisl. Elementarbuch § 319 ansluta sig. — Härtill är ju med PIPPING Studier i nord. fil. VI: 5, s. 15 att anmärka, att »presensbildningen hos typerna *fella*, *móta* avviker och redan i förlitterär tid avvikit så starkt från presenssystemet hos *selia* [*,setia*], att man ej inser, huru dessa former, framom presens av *velia*, *etia*, skulle kunnat tjäna som utgångspunkter för en proportionsanalogisk ombildning av pret. till *selia* [*,setia*]. Kocks uppställda analogi är för övrigt möjlig endast för den som tror på »*ir*-omljudet» (varom se senast WESSÉN i dessa förhandlingar s. 67 f.). Den som står skeptisk gentemot antagandet av ett dylikt måste väl säga



att i *selr* har synkopen av andra stavelsens *i* inträtt vid samma tid då *\*falliðō* gav *fellda*, eftersom första stavelsen har *i*-omljudts, vare sig denna tidiga synkope helt enkelt beror på att första stavelsen var lång (*\*saljīn*, så NOREEN Gesch. d. nord. Spr.<sup>3</sup> s. 210 f.) eller på att accenten av en eller annan orsak varit en annan än i ord av typen *\*stáðir* (> *staðr*); jfr LINDBROTH Idg. Forsch. 29: 197 ff., WESSÉN ovan s. 74 f.

WADSTEIN i PBB 17:420, 422 ser i *selda* en form uppkommen genom kompromiss mellan de två ljudlagsenliga formerna *\*salda*, återgående på en bindevokallös form, och *\*selða*, återgående på en form med bindevokal (motsvarande fht. *selita*). Denna förklaring förutsätter ju att man godtar WADSTEINS uppfattning av *i*-omljudet såsom inträdande i kort stavelse före synkoperat *i*. Detsamma gäller PIPPINGS a. a. s. 16 f. uttalade åsikt att *selda* representerar den ljudlagsenliga utvecklingen av en grundform *\*salidō* (under det att *valða* etc. bero på »förtidig analogisk synkope»): den förutsätter (bl. a.) den nämnda uppfattningen av *i*-omljud på kort rotstavelse. Rörande denna se senast WESSÉNS utförliga kritik ovan s. 60 ff.

COLLITZ Das schwache Präteritum s. 69 anser att *e* i *selda* »wahrscheinlich» härstammar från presenssystemet, men det är givetvis högst osannolikt (som också PIPPING a. a. s. 14 framhåller) att den *i*-omljudda vokalen så genomgående skulle ha inträngt i pret. på en tid då växlingen *relia valða*, *telia talða* var det absolut normala.

Man frågar sig nu om några preteritalformer med samma egendomlighet, nämligen ett som det synes omotiverat *i*-omljud, förekomma i fvn.,<sup>1</sup> och vi stanna då närmast inför *keypta* 'köpte' av *kaupa*.

De hittills gjorda försöken till förklaring av pret. *keypta* (part. *keyptr*) äro såvitt jag förstår otillfredsställande. COLLITZ (a. a. s. 44), som finner VIGFUSSENS förslag (varom strax nedan) svårligen antagligt, anser att *keypta*, *keyptr* hänvisa på ett förlorat presens *\*keypa*, naturligtvis icke så att fatta som vore *keypta* det till detta *\*keypa* hörande pret., utan *\*kauptra* skulle endast från *\*keypa* ha lånat sin omljudda vokal. Direkt oriktigt är HEUSLERS påstående Aisl. Elementarb. s. 110 att »*kaupa*...

<sup>1</sup> Beträffande *setta* se nu NOREEN i dessa förhandlingar s. 91 ff.

hat ein *j*-Prät.: *keypta*, *keyptr*. I så fall skulle vi ju äldst ha *\*keyppa*, en form som ej existerar. VIGFUSSEN (Cleasby-V., Dict. s. v. *kaupa*) antar att *keypta*, *keyptr* i själva verket ursprungligen icke höra till *kaupa* utan till got. *kaupatjan* 'kindpusta' (för betydelsen hänvisar han till lt. *kopslagen*). Till denna mening har NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 230 anm. 6 anslutit sig (*\*keypta* ist *\*køyptða* zu einem einst vorhandenen verb *\*køypta* (got. *kaupatjan*)). Utan att ingå på de betänkligheter av mer saklig art man torde kunna hysa mot denna uppfattning vill jag söka visa att den av rent ljudhistoriska skäl är oantaglig.

Förbindelsen *pt* uppträder i fornnorskan stundom som *ft*, t. ex. *leyfti* till *hleypa*, *stæyftizt* till *steypa*; se NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 239. Hos samme förf., Gesch. d. nord. Spr.<sup>3</sup> § 127 formuleras ljudregeln på följande sätt: *ps* und *pt* werden allmählich — früher im Anorw. als im Isl. (wo der Übergang vielleicht im Allgemeinen erst neuisländisch ist) — zu *fs* und *ft* . . . . z. B. aisl. Gen. *Hófs* (*Hóps*) ein Ortsname, anorw. Prät. Pass. *støyftizt* zu *steypa* 'stürzen'. Gen. *Hófs* (av sjönamnet *Hóp*), som förekommer i *Heiðarviga saga* 2 gånger<sup>1</sup> (se KÄLUND *Heiðarviga saga* s. XXI) är det enda hittills kända fisl. exemplet på övergången *ps* > *fs*, och övergången *pt* > *ft* finnes på fisl. område icke styrkt — fränsett pret. *keyfti* till *kaupa* om vilket i Aisl. Gr. a. st. anmärkes att det »kommt auch im aisl. ein paar mal vor».

Detta »ett par gånger» anträffade *keyfti* återfinna vi tydligen i två former hos LARSSON Ordförrådet i de äldsta isl. handskr., nämligen *kevfft* (part. pret. nom. sing. neutr.) i *Elucidarius* och pret. *cawfti* en gång i Cod. AM. 645 4<sup>o</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Bevarat *pt* träffas i denna sistnämnda handskrift åtminstone i *gleýpti*, *steýpt* och *ópt* (vardera en gång). Enligt LARSSON Isländska handskriften N:o 645 4<sup>o</sup> s. LXI har »framför *t* . . . *p* övergått til *f* blott i *cawfti*». Emellertid är det ytterst osannolikt att någon övergång *pt* > *ft* här föreligger, då en sådan för övrigt ej låter sig påvisas i fisl. och då vid denna tid den motsatta utvecklingen *ft* > *pt* är under genomföring. Cod. AM. 645 4<sup>o</sup> skriver för ursprungligt *ft* 7 gånger *pt* (*aptan*, *scípte* o. s. v.)

<sup>1</sup> Däremot *hapt* Heið. s. 74.

<sup>2</sup> De övriga hos LARSSON Ordförrådet förekommande preteriformerna av *kaupa* äro *kaýptesc* 1 g. i Stockh. Hom. och *key* . . . 1 g. i Grágás.



mot något över 100 (102 eller 104) gånger *ft* (*aftann*, *efter*, *lerefte*, *þurfti* o. s. v.; enligt LARSSON a. st.). Vi komma då bl. a. till den slutsatsen att *keyfta* har ursprungligt *ft* och följaktligen icke kan återgå på ett *\*kaupatida*.

Formen *cawfti* i cod. AM. 645 4<sup>o</sup> är anmärkningsvärd även i fråga om vokalismen. Typen *aw* betecknar i 645 *au* och *ø*. I stället för väntat *ey* står det enligt LARSSON a. a. s. LIV f. endast i *cawfti* och två former av *fproneyte* n., *førønawti* och *førønawtis*. För övrigt förekommer detta senare ord 11 gånger i 645 med *ey*, *ay*, *ø*, *é* i penultima. Handskriftens *aw* kan följaktligen omöjligt antas vara en alternativ beteckning för *ey*. I *førønawti* etc. måste väl *aw* bero på påverkan (grafisk eller språklig) från *fpronautr* m. (i 645: *fpronautar farrnawtom*). I *cawfti* kunde ju påverkan från presenssystemet föreligga, men det är också möjligt att vi här ha bevarad den ursprungliga form *\*kaufta* (= fht. *koufta*) som måste förutsättas även för *keypta* (*\*keyfta*).

För att förklara *i*-omljudet i de båda, som vi måste antaga ursprungligen bindevokallösa<sup>1</sup>, preteritiformerna *selda* och *keypta* uppställa vi nu den hypotesen att urn. *\*saldō*, *\*kauftō* till likhet med det övervägande flertalet svaga preterita ombildats till *\*saldidō*, *\*kauftidō*. Ett dylikt antagande kan synas alltför djärvt, men det är ju i princip det samma som faktiskt ägt rum när *visse* senare ombildas till *visste* (fe. *wiste*, fht. *wista*, *westa*). De svaga preterita voro ju i urnordisk tid av följande slag

- 1) Det övervägande flertalet ändades på vokal + *idō* (o. s. v.), vanligen *-idō*: typerna *dōmidō* och *walidō*.
- 2) Ett mindre antal voro bindevokallösa, vilka i sin tur sönderfalla i olika grupper:

a) De flesta ändades på *-htō*, nämligen åtminstone:

*\*þāhtō*, fvn. *þátta*

*\*þūhtō*, fvn. *þótta*

*wor[a]htō*, fvn. *orta*

*\*sōhtō*, fvn. *sótta*

*\*aihtō*, fvn. *átta*

*\*mahtō*, fvn. *mátta* — vartill vid någon ej bestämbar tidpunkt *knátta* slutit sig;

<sup>1</sup> Jfr COLLITZ a. a. s. 69, 44.

- b) \**þurftō*, fvn. *þurfta* (*þyrfta*)  
\**kauftō*, fvn. *keypta* (\**keyfta*, *kauftr*);
- c) \**wissō*, fvn. *vissa*;
- d) \**kunþō*, fvn. *kunna*  
\**unþō*, fvn. *unna*;
- e) \**wolþō*, fvn. *olla*;
- f) \**mundō*, fvn. *munda* (*mynda*);
- g) \**skuldō*, fvn. *skylda*  
\**wildō*, fvn. *vilda*  
\**saldō*, fvn. *selda*;
- ? h) Om fvn. *hugða*, *lagða*, *sagða* samt *hafða*, *lifða* återgå på bindevokallösa former eller ej, kan ej säkert avgöras.<sup>1</sup>

Bland dessa bindevokallösa preterita utgjorde tydligen de på *-htō* en grupp tillräckligt stor för att bilda en verklig formkategori. Däremot är det väl nästan att vänta att ett eller annat preteritum av återstoden skall ha råkat ut för ombildningar i syfte att förtydliga formernas preteritala karaktär. Det förefaller då rimligt att just de två verb som icke hade karaktären av modala hjälpverb (\**unþō* fränsett, som hade stödet av det så gott som likalydande \**kunþō*) ombildades till likhet med preteritiformerna av språkets övriga självständiga verb.

Även bland de modala hjälpverben finnas ju ett par som ha omljud i pret., nämligen *þyrfta*, sällsynt biform till *þurfta*, *mynda* jämte *munda* samt *skylda* (sällan *skulda*).<sup>2</sup> Dessa pläga uppfattas som konjunktivformer som inträngt på indikativens område. Att denna uppfattning är den riktiga beträffande *mynda* (och *þyrfta*) är ju högst sannolikt. Något annorlunda ställer sig saken beträffande *skylda*. Det vore dock påfallande om konjunktivformen så pass fullständigt som här vore fallet lyckats undantränga indikativen. Härtill kommer adjektivet *skyldr* 'skyldig'. Detta uppfattas av Torp Gamalnorsk ordavledning s. XXV som en denominativ *ia*-stam. Hos Fick-Torp Wortschatz s. 460 uppfattas däremot an. *skuldr* (*skyldr*)

<sup>1</sup> Jfr NOREEN *Gesch. d. nord. Spr.*<sup>3</sup> s. 207 f., COLLITZ a. a. s. 74 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fsv. *skulde*, men *skylde* 1 g. i Häls. L.



schuldig»<sup>1</sup> som det preteritiparticip *\*skulda-* som även föreligger i got. *skuld ist* 'es ist erlaubt' och fht. *scult, sculd* 'reus'; på samma sätt COLLITZ a. a. s. 65 (jfr även NOREEN Aisl. Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 514, 3). För anhängarna av denna som det förefaller tilltalande uppfattning återstår då att förklara *i*-omljudet i *skyldr*. TORPS mening å sist a. st. är väl att *skyldr* är en senare ombildning av det ljudlagsenliga *\*skuldr* (jfr fsv. *skulder*<sup>2</sup> jämte *skylder*). Enligt COLLITZ a. st. härrör *y* i adj. *skyldr* från pret. *skylda* (som i sin tur fått *y* från optativen). Men kan man antaga att adj. *skyldr* uppehållit det intima sambandet med pret. *skylda* utöver den tidpunkt då detta hunnit helt undantränga indikativformen *skulda*<sup>3</sup>? Eller kunde man möjligen anta att pret. *skylda*, adj. (urspr. pret. part.) *skyldr* äro att bedöma som *selda, seldr*?

Det kan vara lärorikt att i ett sammanhang betrakta de bindevokallösa preteritas öden. Förr eller senare ha nästan alla råkat ut för analogiska ombildningar, i syfte att göra dem mera »regelbundna» och att tydligare framhålla deras preteritala karaktär. De drabbas av dessa ombildningar tidigt eller sent beroende på dels deras resp. vanlighet, dels deras grad av (o)tydlighet som preterita betraktade. Det vanliga *vissa* håller sig på fvn. botten, i fsv. däremot växlar redan i den äldsta litteraturen *visse* med *visste*. Fvn. *kunna* motsvaras av fsv. *kunne* ~ *kunde* (nästan lika tidigt). Det mindre vanliga *unna* ersättes även i sen fvn. av *unti* (*undi*) och fsv. har här alltid *unte* (en gång, i Kopparbergsprivilegierna, pl. *unnom*). Det likaledes mycket otydliga *olla* ersättes i senare fvn. av (*v*)*olda* och fsv. har här blott (*v*)*ulte, volte* (jämte *valt*). De övriga hade ju i litterär tid genom sin ändelse *-da, -ta* preteritakarakter. När flertalet av de på *-ta* likväl råka ut för ombildningar beror det på deras »oregelbundenhet» i övrigt; Även här ombildas först de mindre vanliga verben: av *þekkia* finnes endast i skaldespråket pret. *þátta*, eljest har fvn. *þekþa, þekta*; i sen fvn. uppträder *sókta* för *sotta* och *orkta, yrkta* för *orta* (fsv. *søkte* ~ *sotte*, msv. *yrkte*; *\*orte* ej belagt

<sup>1</sup> Då något fvn. *skuldr* så vitt jag vet ej är känt är väl detta att uppfatta som »*\*skuldr* (*skyldr*)».

<sup>2</sup> Dock endast en gång i Östgötalagen och en gång i Upplandslagen, båda kanske blott skrivfel (jfr om det förra OLSON Ögl:s ljudlära s. 52).

<sup>3</sup> Jfr emellertid även subst. *skyld*.

fvn. *þókta* för *þótta* uppträder först sent och enstaka (fsv. *thokte*, *thykte* för äldre *þotte*); *átte* 'ägde' och *mátte* leva ju kvar ännu i nysvensk tid.

Med dessa fakta för ögonen ligger det väl ingenting som helst orimligt i att anta att de två säkerligen minst vanliga (och varandra till betydelsen motsatta) av de bindevokallösa preterita, *\*saldō* och *\*kauftō*, redan i urnordisk tid utbildats med vad som på denna tid måste ha känts som preteritalmärket par préférence, *-idō*.

Som en rätt likartad företeelse kan man peka på den flexionsändring som ägt rum i svenskan med verb av typen *hitta*, *skifta*, *hämta*, *skämta*, *vänta*. Dessa böjdes ju i äldre tid *hitta*, pret. *hitte*, men de ha nästan samtliga, åtminstone alternativt (t. ex. *lyfta*, *fästa*, *mista*), fått böjningen *hitta*, pret. *hittade*. En form som *hitte* har alltså tydligen jämförd med pres. *hitta* icke känts som tillräckligt preterital, och denna grupp av verb har därför övergått till typen *kalla*: *kallade*.







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**MATEMATIK  
OCH  
NATURVETENSKAP**





# FOTOGRAFISK UNDERSÖKNING AV CODEX ARGENTEUS

AV

THE SVEDBERG OCH IVAR NORDLUND †.

UPPSALA

EDV. BERLINGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.

1918.





## Fotografisk undersökning av Codex argenteus.

På uppdrag av professor OTTO VON FRIESEN i enlighet med Kungl. Maj:ts nådiga brev till Kungl. Maj:ts befallningshavande i Upsala län av den 9 febr. 1917 hava vi underkastat fem blad av den i Upsala Universitetsbibliotek förvarade pergamenthandskriften Codex argenteus en möjligast fullständig fotografisk undersökning för att härigenom få utrönt, huruvida en läslig fotografisk avbildning av densamma kan åstadkommas. Arbetet har utförts å den fysikalisk-kemiska avdelningen av Upsala Universitets kemiska institution.

Handskriften i fråga är skriven med silver- och guldbokstäver på bägge sidorna av purpurfärgade pergamentblad. Under den långa tid som förflutit sedan den nedskrevs — dess ålder uppskattas till circa 1400 år — ha åtskilliga förändringar inträtt, som göra att delar av densamma äro ytterst svårlästa, nästan otydbara och som lägga hinder i vägen för dess avbildande medelst vanliga metoder.

Skadorna äro förnämligast följande:

1) bläcket från enskilda bokstäver eller hela rader har så angripit pergamentet, att delar därav alldeles fallit bort.

2) pergamentets purpurfärg har bleknat och detta i högre grad på köttsidan än på hårsidan.

3) silvret har delvis fallit av (betecknas »avfallet» silver).

4) silvret har delvis förändrats kemiskt, troligen omvandlats till svavelsilver.

5) guldets har delvis fallit av (betecknas »avfallet» guld).

6) ena sidans text, särskilt köttsidans, har slagit igenom till den andra sidan (betecknas »genomslag», »genomslaget» silver).

Av dessa skador är naturligtvis 1) irreparabel. Lyckligtvis förekommer den endast i ringa utsträckning. N:o 2 är av ringa betydelse för frågan om avbildning. Det är på bekämpandet av



de svårigheter skadorna 3—6 åstadkommit, som vårt arbete huvudsakligen inriktats. Svårast att övervinna hava 5 och 6 varit.

Undersökningen har omfattat följande:

I. Spektralfotometrering av det från planum och skrift av olika slag reflekterade ljuset.

II. Fotografering av olika partier i skala 1/1 och format  $9 \times 12$  cm. vid möjligast monokromatiskt ljus — synligt, ultrarött och ultraviolett — av följande våglängder:

860—740 $\mu\mu$	ultrarött
725—650 $\mu\mu$	rött
577—579 $\mu\mu$	gult
546 $\mu\mu$	grönt
436 $\mu\mu$	blåviolet
405 $\mu\mu$	violet
366 $\mu\mu$	glasultraviolett
313 $\mu\mu$	kvartsultraviolett

III. Fotografering med röntgen- och radiumstrålar, dels direkt genomlysning, dels sekundärstrålsfotografering.

IV. Fluorescensfotografering, d. v. s. belysning av handskriften med ultraviolett ljus och fotografering av det därvid utsända synliga fluorescensljuset.

V. Fotograferingsförsök med oscillatoriska urladdningar.

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Omkring 150 plåtar togos.

## I.

### Spektralfotometrerering.

Om man för ett antal våglängder i synliga spektrum bestämmer reflexionsförmågan hos såväl olika delar av själva planum som typiska partier av skriften, så erhålles dels en exakt i siffror uttryckbar definition av handskriftens utseende vid undersöknings-tillfället, dels värdefulla upplysningar om de kontraster mellan planum och skrift, som äro att vänta vid fotografering med ljus av olika våglängder.

Då i ett fall som detta, då skrifttecknen bestå av ädelmetaller, ljusets incidens kan väntas ha stor betydelse, så undersöktes detta först. Handskriften belystes med ett riktat strålnippe från en projektionsapparat och incidensen varierades från nära  $90^\circ$  (raserande ljus) till  $0^\circ$  (ljus vinkelrätt mot skriftens plan). Verkan iaktogs i en riktning vinkelrätt mot skriftens plan — alltså i den riktning, under vilken fotografering helst bör ske. Några försök att variera även observationsriktningen visade sig icke innebära några löften om erhållande av ökade kontraster mellan planum och skrift och skulle för övrigt i hög grad komplicera fotograferingen. Det visade sig, att raserande ljus och överhuvud taget ensidigt ljus med stor infallsvinkel, som vid okulär besiktning ofta är fördelaktigt, i regel måste bli olämpligt vid fotografering huvudsakligen på grund av pergamentets bucklighet och därigenom orsakade skuggor samt reflexer från den mer eller mindre blanka ytan. En fullständig planpressning mellan spegelglas visade sig ej vara möjlig. Gynnsammast var i stället en möjligast jämn belysning med måttlig eller liten infallsvinkel (c:a  $40^\circ$ ). Vid denna belysningsform och ortogonal observationsriktning uppstodo icke några störande reflexer på pergamentet. Den metallglans, som vid vissa belysningsförhållanden synes hos bokstäverna och vilken då betydligt höjer kontrasten var även den i regel försvunnen, och bokstäverna syntes matta<sup>1</sup>. Detta förhållande spelar dock ingen

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<sup>1</sup> Jämför noten sid. 6.



egentlig roll vid fotograferingen, då metallglans endast uppträder hos sådana skriftecken, som äro så väl bibehållna, att de ändock kontrastera fullt tillräckligt mot planum.

För spektrofotometreringen inlades handskriften på ett underlag av svart papper mellan tvänne skivor av syrefri vit kartong, som uppfästes på reproduktionsbordet (Fig. 1). Framför skriften på ett avstånd av c:a 5 mm placerades en skiva asbestpapp. Den främre kartongskivan och asbestskivan voro försedda med utsnitt på endast ett par cm<sup>2</sup>. Dessa försiktighetsmått ansågos nödvändiga för att hindra pergamentets uppvärmning och uttorkning med

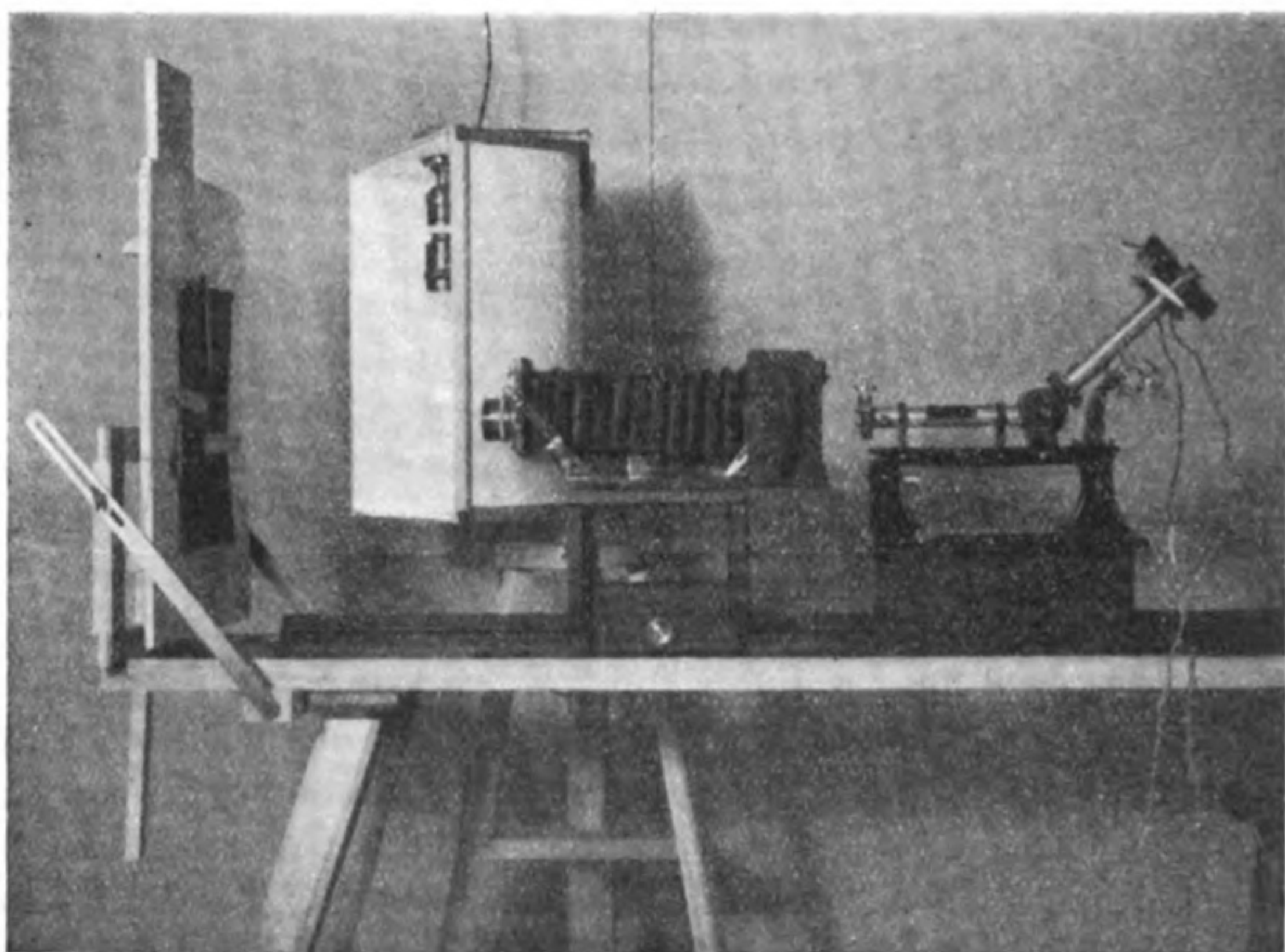


Fig. 1. Spektralfotometrering<sup>1</sup>.

åtföljande formförändring genom värmestrålning från de för belysningen erforderliga starka lamporna under den tämligen långa tid som erfordrades för spektralfotometreringen. Försöksanordningen framgår av fig. 1. Som ljuskällor användes två  $\frac{1}{2}$  watt-lampor om 1000 normalljus vardera försedda med stora mattvita reflektorer och placerade på c:a 50 cm. avstånd från skriften, så

<sup>1</sup> Ena lampan bortflyttad. Den på reproduktionsbordet synliga anordningen motsvarar en förut vid pappershandskrifter använd provisorisk uppfästning och ej den å sid. 3 beskrivna.



att riktningen från lamporna till skriften bildade c:a  $40^\circ$  vinkel med observationsriktningen. Kamerans objektiv, Tessar 1 : 4,5 F = 210 mm. kastar en bild i skala 1 : 1 på spalten till en König-Martens spektralfotometer. Den ena spalthalften mottager reflekterat ljus från ett skrifttecken eller en del av planum, den andra från ett stycke vitt jämförelsepapper (Lessebo Svenskt Normal 1 1913), som av kartongskivan hålles tryckt mot handskriften invid det ställe, som skall undersökas. Spektralfotometerens spalt skyddades för främmande ljus genom ett rör av svart papper och en överlagd svart sammetsduk, observatören genom lämpligt anordnade draperier av svart tyg (ej synliga å fig. 1). I efterföljande tabell 1 a, 1 b och diagramm Fig. 1 a, 1 b äro mätningarna sammanställda.

Dessa bestämningar ge oss följande allmänna bild av handskriftens reflexionsförmåga. Planum, såväl mörkt som blekt, har

Tab. 1 a.

Spektralfotometriskt undersökt parti		Reflexionsförmåga ( $tg^2\alpha$ ) <sup>1</sup> för våglängder i $\mu\mu$				
		450	500	550	600	650
Blad 23 bleka sidan	I. Planum, högra margen	0,1890	0,2467	0,2245	0,3099	0,4864
	II. Väl bibehållen silverbokstav mitt på bladet . . . . .	0,1890	0,2273	0,3417	0,3238	0,3663
	III. Bokstav med »mycket avfallet silver» . . . . .	0,1290	0,1543	0,1334	0,2090	0,2616
Blad 23 mörka sidan	IV. Planum, venstra margen .	0,1094	0,1369	0,1441	0,3641	0,4251
	V. Bibehållen guldbokstav . .	0,1242	0,2433	0,3768	0,4817	0,5123
Blad 62 bleka sidan	VI. Planum invid en arkad »A»	0,3867	0,4315	0,4159	0,4833	0,5528
	VII. Arkaden »A», förändrat silver . . . . .	0,1509	0,1960	0,2134	0,2572	0,2562
Blad 62 mörka sidan	VIII. Planum nära »A»s genomslag . . . . .	0,2137	0,2470	0,2369	0,3053	0,4361
	IX. »A»s genomslag . . . . .	0,1293	0,1668	0,1613	0,2068	0,2991
	X. Arkad med bibehållet silver nära »A»s genomslag .	0,1855	0,2101	0,2306	0,2416	0,2804

<sup>1</sup> Reflexionsförmågan hos det vita normalpapperet är satt = 1.



Tab. 1 b.

Partier	Förhållanden mellan reflexionsförmågorna för våglängder i $\mu\mu$				
	450	500	550	600	650
I : II	1,00	1,087	0,654	0,959	1,36
II : I	1,00	0,988	1,53	1,048	0,736
I : III	1,490	1,60	1,295	1,486	1,93
III : I	0,673	0,626	0,774	0,674	0,526
IV : V	0,881	0,562	0,383	0,758	0,829
V : IV	1,137	1,781	2,62	1,321	1,20
VI : VII	2,493	2,20	1,947	1,88	2,15
VII : VI	0,401	0,459	0,513	0,582	0,465
VIII : IX	1,850	1,48	1,47	1,474	1,458
IX : VIII	0,605	0,676	0,681	0,677	0,686
VIII : X	1,150	1,174	1,027	1,263	1,552
X : VIII	0,870	0,852	0,972	0,791	0,642

sin största reflexionsförmåga i yttersta rött samt ett mindre reflexionsmaximum i blått vid c:a 475  $\mu\mu$ . Genomslagen skrift reflekterar på ungefär samma sätt som planum men svagare. Skriftens reflexionsförmåga, såväl silvrets som guldets, stiger med växande våglängd. Kontrasterna mellan skrift och planum ställa sig sålunda. Bibehållet guld har en stark och utpräglad ljus kontrast i gult vid c:a 550  $\mu\mu$ <sup>1</sup>. Silver har ofta en utpräglad men icke så stark ljus kontrast på samma ställe. Stundom sjunker den ljusa kontrasten för silver i gult och blir noll eller svagt mörk. I yttersta violett stiger kontrastkurvan för allt silver utom »genomslaget» och låter förmoda att såväl bibehållet som »avfallet» silver av alla typer har ljus kontrast, i långvågiga ultraviolett (glasultraviolett). Genomslaget silver har stark mörk kontrast i yttersta violett. I yttersta rött har allt silver i synnerhet »genomslaget» stark mörk kontrast<sup>2</sup>. Som flere olika skrifttyper ofta förekomma på samma

<sup>1</sup> Med ljus resp. mörk kontrast menas att skriften framträder ljus resp. mörk mot planum. Kontrasten kallas utpräglad, om den ändras hastigt med ändrad våglängd.

<sup>2</sup> Därigenom att metallglans stundom uppträder vid »bibehållet» silver försvagas den mörka kontrasten ibland, åtminstone vid kortvågigt rött ljus, och kan t. o. m. i enstaka fall bli svagt ljus. Rött ljus blir därför ännu mindre lämpligt. I tab. 6 har kontrasten av denna anledning betecknats med 0.

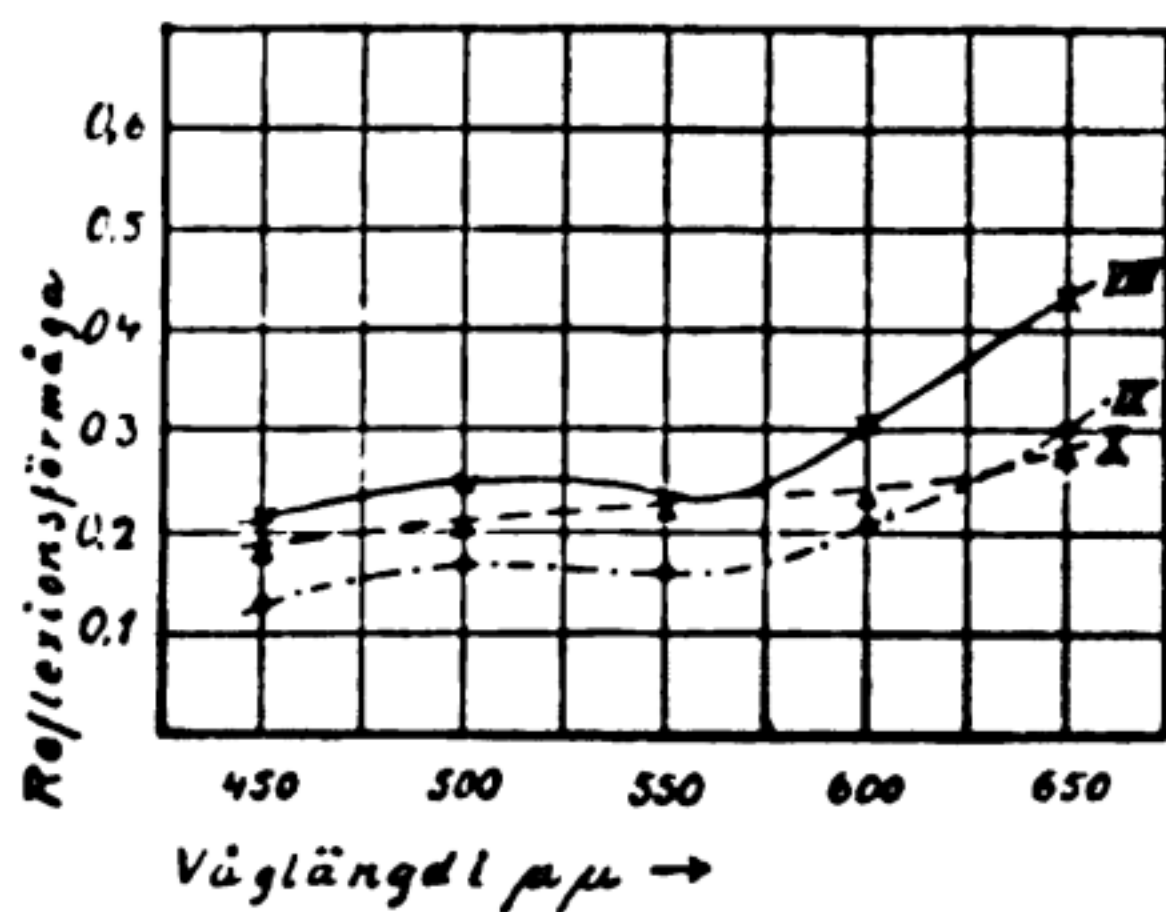
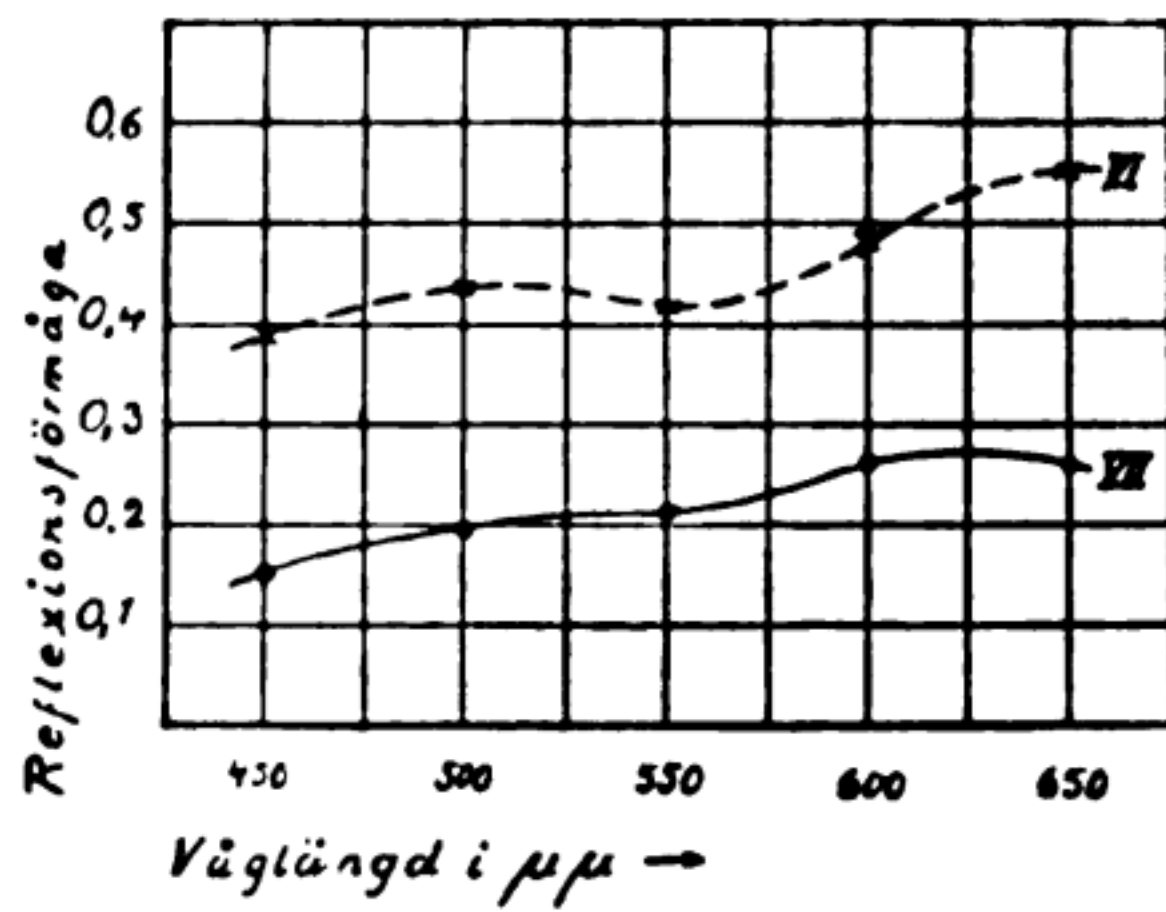
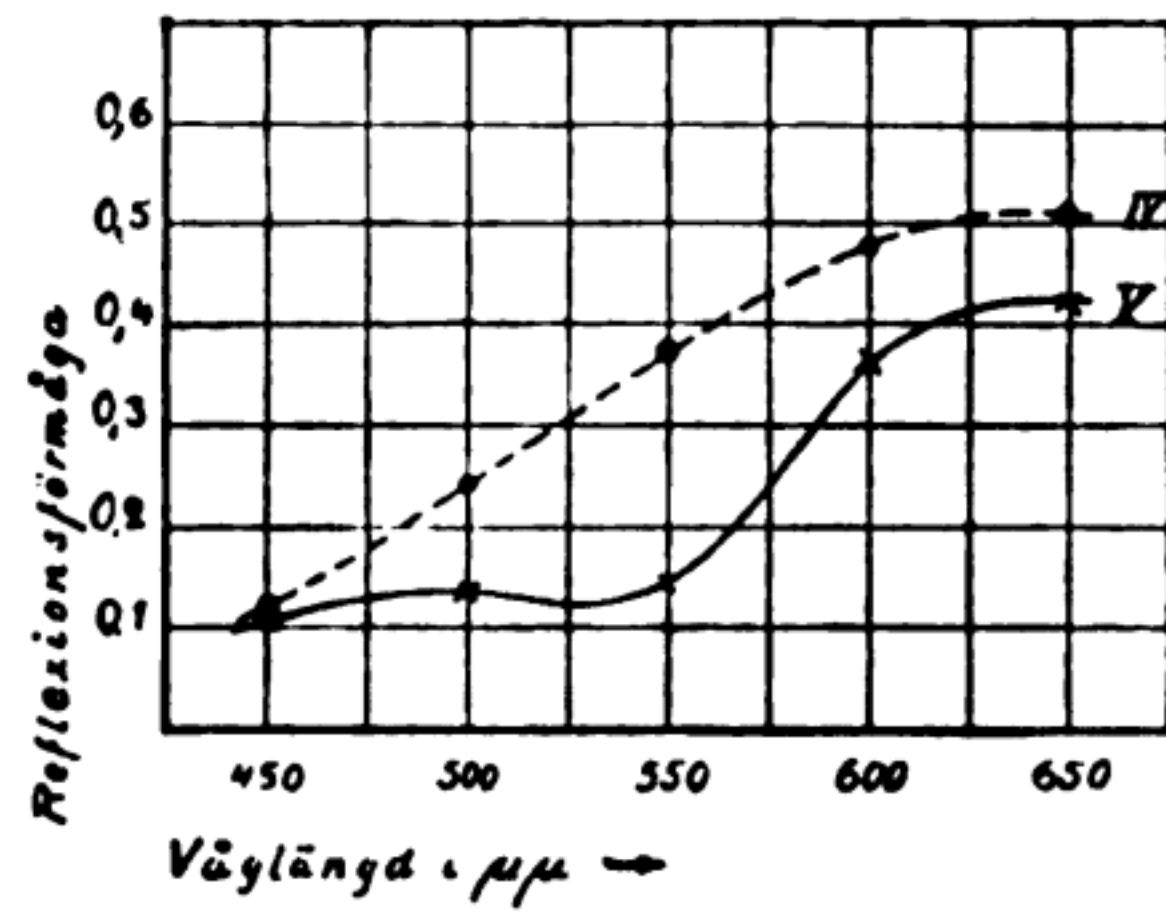
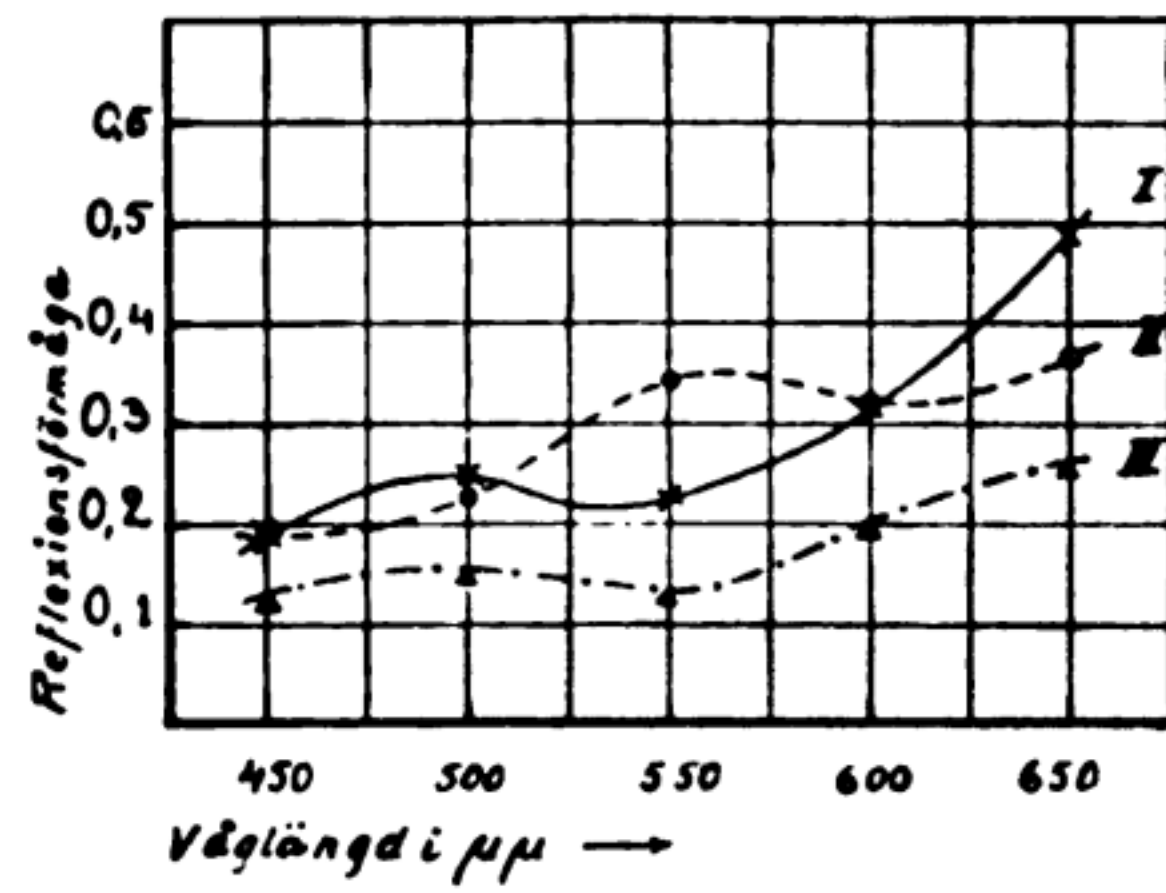


Fig. 1 a. Diagramm över skriftens och planums reflexionsförmåga (jämför Tab. 1 a.)



sida är det tydligt att varje fotografering med vitt ljus måste ge bilder med mycket olika och oberäkneliga, ofta nästan omärkliga, kontraster mellan skrift och planum. Under användande av monokromatiskt ljus bör det däremot vara möjligt att få fram bilder med jämna och relativt starka kontraster. För guld och vissa

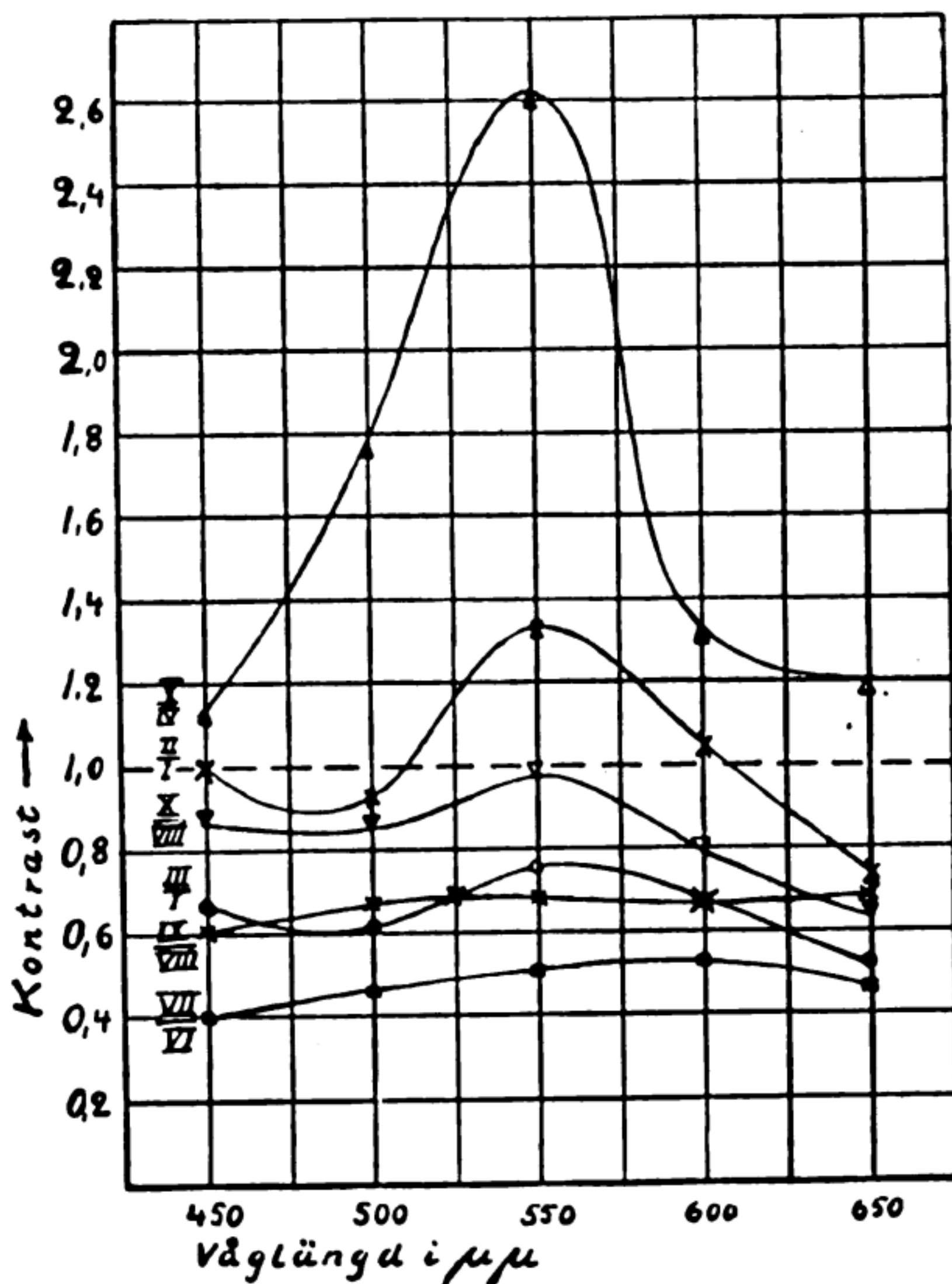


Fig. 1 b. Diagramm över förhållandet mellan skriftens och planums reflexionsförmåga (jämför Tab. 1 b).

slag av silverskrift kan gult ljus tänkas vara fördelaktigt. Rött och ultrarött som ger god mörk kontrast för bibehållet och »avfallet» silver och ljus kontrast för guld är troligen icke lämpligt på grund av den starka mörka kontrasten för genomslagen skrift. Ultraviolett bör kunna ge goda bilder, då såväl bibehållet som avfallet silver här visa ljus kontrast, »genomslaget» däremot mörk.

Fotograferingsförsöken hava till fullo bekräftat dessa slutsatser.

## Fotografering vid monokromatiskt ljus av olika våglängder.

*Ljuskällor:* för rött och ultrarött 2 st.  $\frac{1}{2}$  wattlampor på 1,000 normalljus vardera försedda med mattvita reflektorer.

För övriga delar av spektrum 2 st. kvartsglaskvicksilverlampor på 3,000 normalljus vardera för 220 volt 3,5 amp. monterade i mattvita hus, vilkas öppna framsida vid fotografering i synliga spektrum tillslöts med 7 mm. tjocka spegelglasskivor av storleken 44×64 cm.

*Objektiv:* för samtliga våglängder och format 9×12 cm. utom för  $\lambda = 313 \mu\mu$  och vid några försök för  $\lambda = 366 \mu\mu$  Goerz Dogmar 1:4,5 F = 165 mm.; för format 18×24 cm Zeiss Tessar 1:4,5 F = 210 mm.; för  $\lambda = 313$  en bikonvex kvartslins diam. = 27 mm. F = 210 mm.

*Ljusfiltra:* dessa placerades omedelbart framför objektivet och voro:

- 1) för  $\lambda = 860-740$  (ultrarött): 2 mm. skikt av 0,25 %ig vattenlösning av capriblau Gon. (Leonhardt & Co Mühlhausen) i spegelglaskyvet kombinerat med Wratten and Wainwrights  $\alpha$ -filtrum (»glass B»).
- 2) för  $\lambda = 725-650$  (rött) Wratten and Wainwright's  $\alpha$ -filtrum.
- 3) för  $\lambda = 577-579$  W & W. filtrum Mercury Yellow (»glass B»).
- 4) för  $\lambda = 546$  W & W filtrum Mercury green (»glass B») (genomsläpper 12 % av  $\lambda = 546$  och  $\frac{1}{2}$  %  $\lambda = 577-579$ ).
- 5) för  $\lambda = 436$  W & W-filtrum Mercury blue-violet (»glass B») (släpper delvis igenom  $\lambda = 405$  och  $\lambda = 398$ ).
- 6) för  $\lambda = 405$  10 mm. skikt av 0,2 %ig vattenlösning av kristallviolett (Hoechst).
- 6) för  $\lambda = 366$  Zeiss blau-uvioelglasfiltrum, ena kammaren fylld med 0,01 %ig vattenlösning av paranitrosodimetylanilin (5 mm. skikt) och andra kammaren med 20 %ig vattenlös-



ning av kopparsulfat<sup>1</sup>. I förening med glasobjektiv, som starkt dämpar  $\lambda = 334$  och  $313$  gav detta filtrum nästan rent ljus av  $\lambda = 366$ .

8) för  $\lambda = 313$  silverfiltrum bestående av ett genom katodförstoftning på bergkristallplatta utfällt silverskikt. Två dylika filtra av något olika täthet (I och II) användes<sup>2</sup>.

Av dessa filtra hava vi uppfunnit eller för vårt ändamål avpassat n:o 1 och 6 samt i viss mån 7 och 8. Största svårigheten erbjöd anskaffandet av ett gott filtrum för ultrarött (n:o 1). Det måste ha en möjligast långt ut i synliga rött gående absorption men samtidigt för utnyttjande av plåtarnas sensibilisering (se nedan) äga god transmission för ultrarött i gränsområdet till det synliga rött. Uppgifterna i litteraturen om filtra för ultrarött eller yttersta synliga rött äro få och endast ungefärliga. För fotografiska ändamål finnas endast beskrivna det Wood'ska filtret<sup>3</sup> bestående av dubbelt koboltglas + kaliumbikromatlösning samt ett filtrum med kaliumpermanganatlösning. Då koboltglaset enligt 3) samt enligt Hartley och Nichols<sup>4</sup> ej synes ha en för vårt ändamål gynnsam absorptionskurva företogs en spektroskopisk och spektral-fotometrisk undersökning av ett antal filtersubstanser som kunde tänkas användbara. Följande ämnen prövades i olika skiktjocklek och koncentration: koboltglas, kaliumpermanganat i vatten, fast jod, jod i kolsvavla, kristallviolett (Hoechst) i vatten, patentblau (Hoechst) i vatten, capriblau Gon. (Leonhardt & C:o Mühlhausen) i vatten, alkaliblau 4 B (Leonhardt & C:o) i alkohol — samt ett flertal kombinationer av dessa ämnen. För borttagandet av kortvågigt ljus, som de flesta av ovannämnda ämnen genomsläppa användes endera ammoniumbikromat i vatten eller ett Wratten & Wainwrights  $\alpha$ -filtrum. Det visade sig, att kaliumpermanganat i vatten, jod i kolsvavla + patentblau eller capriblau i vatten samt capriblau i vatten + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum voro de bästa och betydligt överlägsna det Wood'ska filtret. Absorptionsgränserna för dessa kombinationer befunnos vara:

<sup>1</sup> Vid några försök användes samma uviolkyvett beskickad med en delvis sönderdelad lösning av paranitrosodimetylanilin, som dämpade  $\lambda = 366$  starkt och genomsläppte stora delar av  $334$  och  $313$ .

<sup>2</sup> För utförandet av katodförstoftningen ha vi att tacka Docenten C. Bergholm.

<sup>3</sup> Eders Jahrbuch f. Photographie u. Reprod.-Techn. 1911 s. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Kayser Handb. der Spektroskopie III s. 413.

- 1)  $J_2$  1 % lösning i  $CS_2$  10 mm. skikt: 637  $\mu\mu$ , men med ett smalt absorptionsband omkring: 730  $\mu\mu$ .
- 2)  $J_2$  1 % i  $CS_2$  10 mm. + 0,2 % patentblau i  $H_2O$  10 mm.: 730  $\mu\mu$ .
- 3)  $J_2$  1 % i  $CS_2$  10 mm. + 0,5 % patentblau i  $H_2O$  35 mm.: 755  $\mu\mu$ .
- 4)  $KMnO_4$   $\frac{1}{3}$  % i  $H_2O$  30 mm.: 720  $\mu\mu$ .
- 5) Capriblau 0,05 % i  $H_2O$  10 mm. + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum: 720  $\mu\mu$ .
- 6) Capriblau 0,1 % i  $H_2O$  10 mm. + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum: 730  $\mu\mu$ .
- 7) Capriblau 0,2 % i  $H_2O$  10 mm. + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum: 760  $\mu\mu$ .
- 8) Capriblau 0,5 % i  $H_2O$  10 mm. + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum: 800  $\mu\mu$ .

Med dessa jämte några andra filterkombinationer togos ett antal spektralfotografier på med dicyanin A (Hoechst) sensibiliserade plåtar (känslighet fram emot 890  $\mu\mu$ ) för att utröna vilket av dessa filtra som hade den relativt största ljusstyrkan (brantaste absorptionskurvan). Det visade sig att jodfiltra släppte igenom betydligt mindre ljus än capriblau- och kaliumpermanganat-filtra med samma absorptionsgräns. Av de båda senare lämnade capriblau + W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum ett betydligt ljusare filtrum än kaliumpermanganat. För fotografering av handskriften användes därför capriblau i vattenlösning i en spegelglaskyvett med 2 mm. tjocklek jämte W & W  $\alpha$ -filtrum. På grund av de ytterst långa exponeringstider, som visade sig erforderliga inom ifrågavarande spektralområde kunde capriblaulösningen dock icke tagas starkare än 0,25 % motsvarande 0,05 % i 10 mm. skikt. Det intervall som med användning av detta filtrum påverkade det använda negativmaterialet låg praktiskt taget mellan 740 och 860  $\mu\mu$ .

*Bländare och exponeringstider:*

våglängd	avbländning	exponeringstid
$\lambda = 860-740$	1 : 4,5	60—90 min.
725—650	1 : 9—1 : 12,5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ —8 min.
579—577	1 : 11	15—150 sek.
546	1 : 11	10 sek.—7 min.
436	1 : 11	1—90 sek.
405	1 : 11	10—40 min.
366	1 : 22—1 : 32	2—60 min.
313	1 : 32	20—60 min.

*Negativmaterial:*

- 1) för  $\lambda = 860-740$ :

»Lomborg Spezialplatten für Reproduktionen, Tiefdruck und Landschaftsaufnahmen» sensibiliserade 3—4 minuter i ett bad bestående av:



dest. vatten 50 ccm.

alkohol 21 ccm.

0,02 %ig alkohollösning av dicyanin A (Hoechst) 6 ccm.

Omedelbart efter sensibiliseringen torkades plåtarna med ventilator. Torkningen skedde inom mindre än 15 minuter. Plåtarna användes i regel inom 24 timmar eller kortare tid och arbetade klart och slöjfritt. Rödkänsligheten vid denna sensibilisering sträckte sig till c:a 890  $\mu\mu$ .

2) för  $\lambda = 725-650$ :

Wratten & Wrainwright Pancromatic Plate

3) för  $\lambda = 577-579$ :

dels Agfa Chromoplåtar,

dels finkorniga fotomekaniska plåtar sensibiliserade för gulgrönt nämligen »Farbenempfindliche Berolina Trockenplatten Graphos» från Trockenplattenfabrik J. Gebhardt, Berlin — Niederschönhausen<sup>1</sup>. Dessa senare plåtar visade sig arbeta utomordentligt klart och kraftigt och besitta hög gul-grön känslighet.

4) för  $\lambda = 546$ :

samma plåtar som för  $\lambda = 577-579$ .

5) för  $\lambda = 436$ :

endast osensibiliserade plåtar, nämligen Agfa extra rapid, Imperial Process, Berolina Graphos samt Lomborg Special (se ovan under 1). Av dessa gävo de båda sista hårt och klart arbetande sorterna de bästa resultaten.

6) för  $\lambda = 405$ :

Lomborg extra rapid (hastig men tämligen hårt arbetande plåt) samt Lomborg spez.

7) för  $\lambda = 366$ :

Agfa extra rapid, Lomborg extra rapid, Münchener Reformplatte (en plåt av medelhastighet), Imperial Process, Lomborg Spez. samt Berolina Graphos. De bästa resultaten erhöles, såsom var att vänta, på de långsamma finkorniga fotomekaniska plåtsorterna och syntes Lomb. spez. och Berolina Graphos giva de klaraste, kontrastrikaste, mest täckta negativen. Vid fotografering med ultraviolett ljus är det särskilt viktigt att få ett hårdarbetande material med god täckkraft, då i allmänhet mycket kortvågigt ljus tenderar att ge föga kontrastrika negativ.

<sup>1</sup> Dessa jämte de nedan nämnda osensibiliserade Berolinaplåtarna hava av fabriken kostnadsfritt ställts till vår disposition, för vilket tillmötesgående vi här uttala vårt tack.

8) för  $\lambda = 313$ :

Lomberg spez. och Imperial Process.

Framkallning av negativ:

härtill användes en lösning 1 a + 1 b avkyld till c:a 12°, där

a) = vatten	1000 ccm
hydrochinon	25 g
kaliummetabisulfit	20 g
bromkalium	12 g
b) = vatten	1000 ccm
kaliumhydrat	50 g

Plåtarne badades i svag ättiksyra före fixeringen och garvades sedan med alun.

*Positivprocessen:*

Som positivmaterial bör i regel användas ett kontrastrikt sådant. I synnerhet gäller detta för negativ tagna med ultrarött och ultraviolett ljus. Kopiering har därför i allmänhet utförts på blankt hårdarbetande framkallningspapper (t. ex. »Leonar extra hart glänzend»). Då dylikt papper har en ganska kort skala är det ofta nödvändigt att delvis täcka för sådana partier av negativet, som äro särskilt tunna, d. v. s. svara mot mörkare ställen i handskriften. Detta visade sig enklast ske på så sätt, att i kontakt med negativet lades ett finkornigt mattglas med blanka sidan vänd mot negativets glassida. På den matta sidan täcktes sedan partiellt försiktigt med hjälp av svartkrita och stompf. Denna täckning verkar med så mjuka konturer att någon förändring i negativets detaljer ej är att befara.

Bättre än pappersmaterial för positivprocessen är naturligtvis hårt och klart arbetande diapositivplåtar eller fotomekaniska plåtar på grund av dessas bättre gradation, men har detta av praktiska skäl blott i ringa utsträckning kunnat tillämpas.

Kopior på papper ha framkallats i 1 A + 1 B + 10—30 droppar 10 %-ig bromkalium per 100 ccm vid c:a 18° där:

A) = vatten	1000 cmm
metol	5 g
hydrochinon	9 g
kaliummetabisulfit	50 g
B) = vatten	1000 ccm
kaliumkarbonat	150 g

Diapositiv framkallades i samma lösning med större bromhalt (2,5—5,0 ccm, 10 % KBr per 100 ccm lösning).



Fotograferingarna utfördes under användande av det i Fig. 1 och 2 avbildade reproduktionsbordet. Handskriften var i regel med underlag av svart papper inlagd mellan en skiva och en ram av vit kartong. Försök gjordes även med handskriften inpressad mellan tvänne spegelglasskivor i en för ändamålet särskilt konstruerad ram. Detta visade sig dock icke erbjuda några fördelar. Reflexerna från glaset voro också svåra att fullständigt undvika. Lampornas avstånd från skriften var c:a 75 cm. och vinkeln mellan belysnings- och fotograferingsriktningen var  $30^{\circ}$ — $40^{\circ}$ .

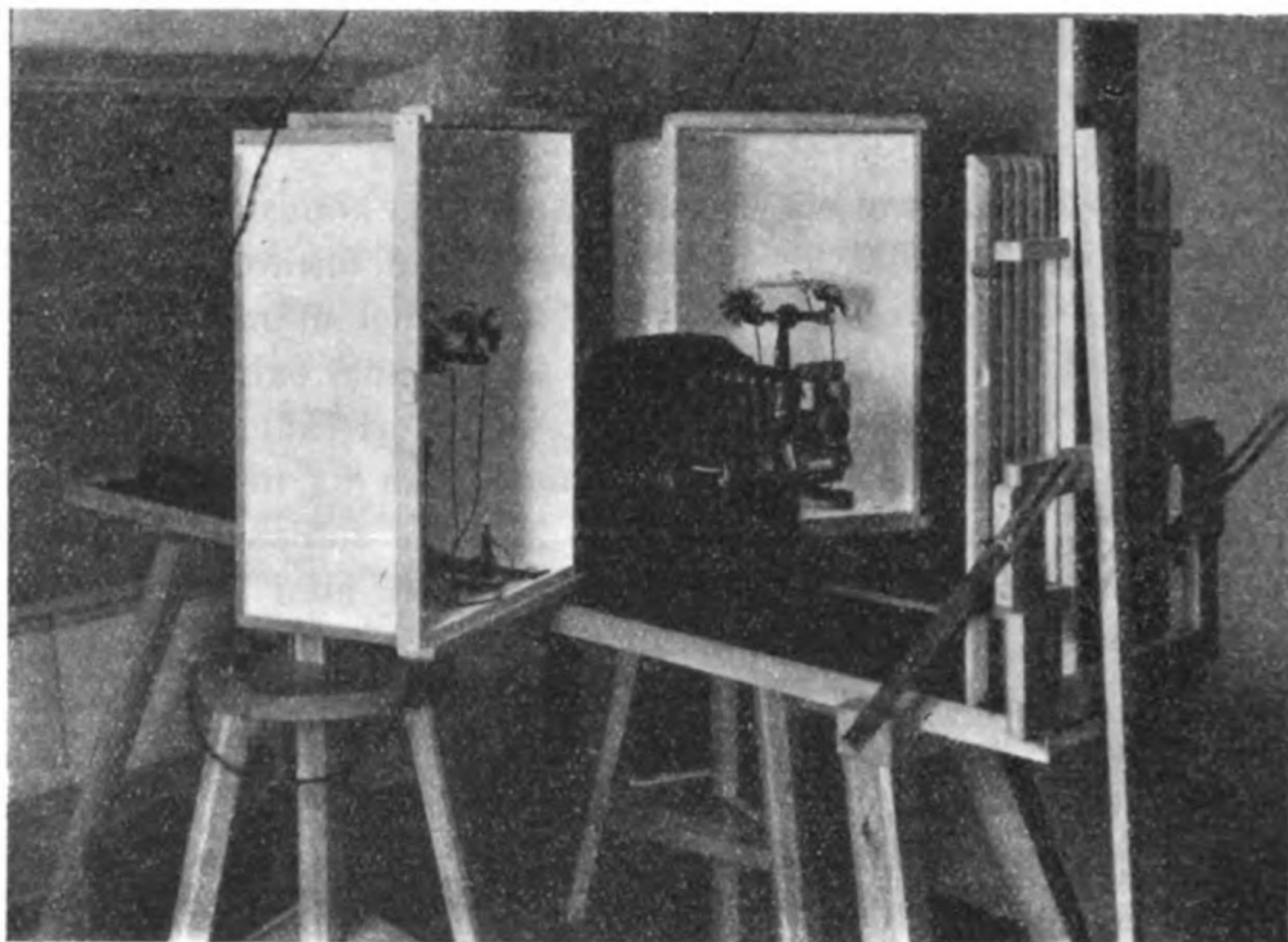


Fig. 2. Fotografering vid monokromatiskt ljus från tvänne kvicksilverlampor.

Av dessa fotografier framgår i enlighet med vad redan spektralfotometreringsarna läto förmoda, att guld avbildas bäst och med ljus kontrast i gult ( $\lambda = 577-579$ ), silver bäst och med ljus kontrast i långvågiga ultraviolett ( $\lambda = 366$ ). I rött och ultrarött avbildas guld med ljus kontrast, silver med god mörk kontrast<sup>1</sup>. Till följd av att även den genomslagna skriften avbildas med stark mörk kontrast är denna ljussort olämplig för avbildning. Hur de

<sup>1</sup> Jämför noten sid. 6.

olika skriftslagens kontraster växla vid passagen genom spektrum framgår för övrigt bäst av den vid slutet av avhandlingen införda tabellen 6.

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I samband med de i denna avdelning beskrivna fotograferingarna gjordes också några försök med handskriften placerad i genomgående ljus, inklämd mellan spegelglasskivor. Det är nämligen tänkbart att man med hjälp av två plåtar och deras diapositiv tagna den ena med reflekterat, den andra med genomfallande ljus möjligen skulle kunna i analogi med den bekanta avtäckningsmetoden vid palimpsestfotografering eliminera den genomslagna skriften. Redan en okulär undersökning visade emellertid att detta icke är möjligt. De svåra bokstäverna, avfallet silver m. m. framträda nämligen icke bättre utan i stället sämre i genomsikt. Ej heller avtäckningsförsök med olika plåtar tagna i reflekterat ljus ledde till något resultat.



### III.

## Fotografering med röntgen- och radiumstrålar.

Den relativt höga atomvikten hos det i skrifttecknen ingående materialet, guld och silver, anvisar såsom en möjlighet fotografering med röntgen- eller radiumstrålar. Vi hava gjort försök dels med direkt genomlysning, såsom brukligt är vid vanlig röntgenografi, dels med fotografering genom sekundärstrålning.

Vid de förra försöken var anordningen den av Fig. 3 a angivna.

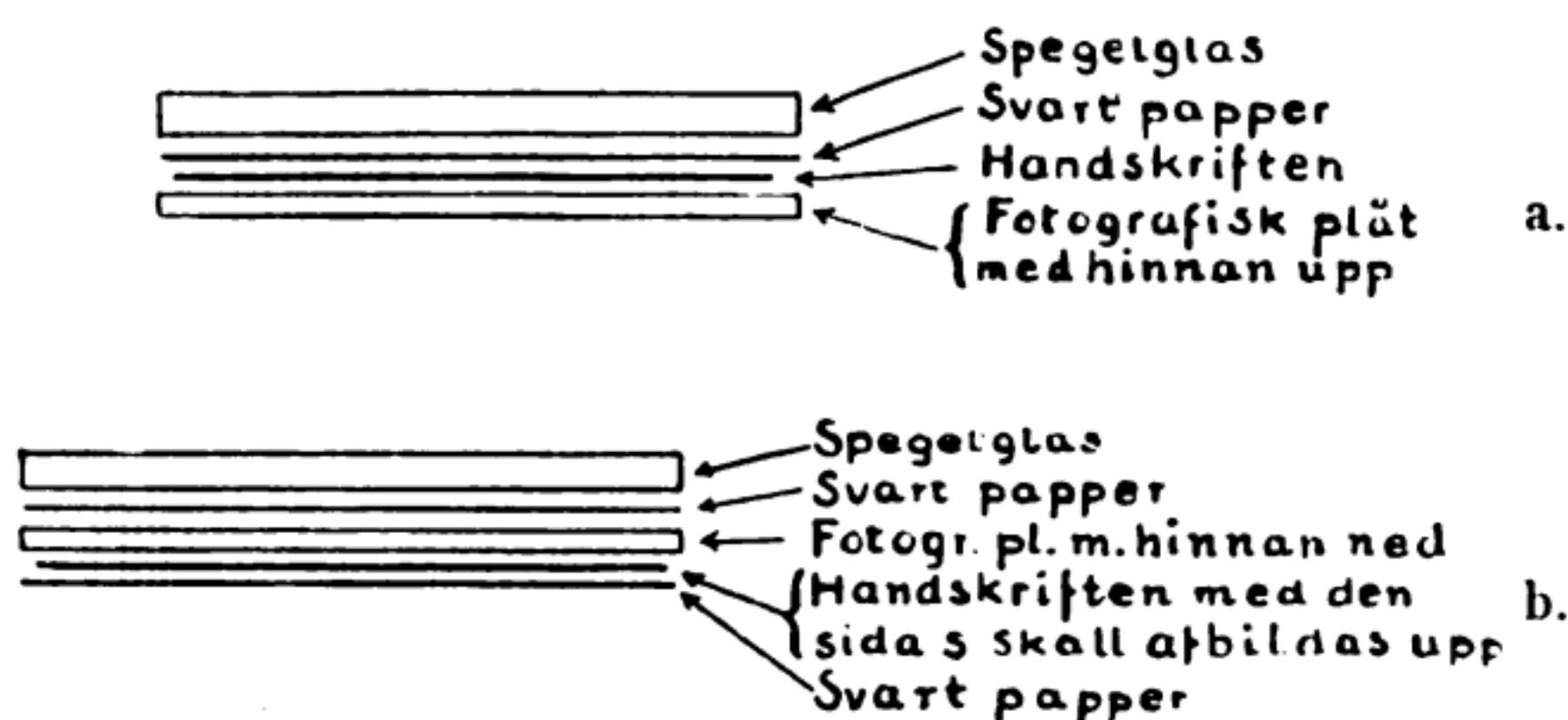


Fig. 3. Schema över anordningen vid fotografering med röntgen- och radiumstrålar.  
a genomlysning. b sekundärstrålning.

Det hela inlades i en kopieram och belystes ovanifrån med ett »Intensivstromrohr» från Gundelach-Thüringen, matat av ett induktorium på 40 cm slagvidd och försett med kvicksilverstrålavbrytare.

Som fotografiskt material användes dels Lomborg spez. plåtar dels Agfa planfilm. På grund av glasets starka, celluloidfilmens mycket obetydliga fluorescens under inverkan av röntgenstrålar kunde man vänta mindre slöjade negativ i senare fallet.

Avståndet mellan röntgenrörels antikatom och plåten var 65 cm, exponeringstiden 2 min.

De erhållna bilderna visa en tämligen slöjig skuggbild av bägge sidornas skrift. Bibehållet guld och silver avbildas tillfredsställande, övriga slag av skrift dåligt eller icke alls.

Försöken med sekundärstrålning anordnades så, som Fig. 3 b visar.

Även denna kombination inklämdes i kopieram och belystes uppifrån antingen med det ovannämnda röntgenröret eller med en kapsel innehållande 26,7 milligram radiumelement (i form av bromid). Den primära strålningen passerar genom plåten åstadkommande en allmän svärtning och träffar så den mot plåten vända sidan av handskriften. Härvid utsändes från denna en sekundärstrålning som är betydligt starkare från bokstäverna än från planum. Som nu skriften ligger tätt tryckt mot plåtens hinna, så erhålles en bild på denna. Tack vare sekundärstrålningens ringa genomträngningsförmåga är den andra från plåten vända sidan av skriften utan verkan. Spegelglasskivan tjänar utom till att planpressa handskriften och hålla den i kontakt med den fotografiska hinnan även som filtrum för strålningen.

Den fotografiskt starkt verksamma delen av den primära strålningen, de vekaste röntgenstrålarna samt större delen av  $\beta$ -strålningen från radium absorberas nämligen av glasskivan. Härigenom minskas plåtens allmänna slöjning. Vid ett par försök användes dessutom blyfiltra, ett på 5 mm. och ett på 15 mm., utan att någon märkbar förbättring inträdde.

Avståndet mellan röntgenrörets antikatod och plåten varierades mellan 25 och 125 cm. I allmänhet var det 65 cm. Exponeringstiden växlade mellan 30 sek. och 10 min.; 2 à 3 min. visade sig lämpligast.

Vid försöken med radiumstrålar varierades avståndet mellan Ra-preparatets centrum och plåten från 11,8 till 0,8 cm. I sistnämnda fallet (2 försök) flyttades preparatet hvarje hel resp. halv minut till en ny, närbelägen skärningspunkt mellan linjerna i ett på glasskivan placerat centimeternät. Vid de övriga försöken varierade exponeringstiden, då blyfiltrum ej användes, från 5 till 80 min., med 5 mm. bly var den 2 timmar, med 15 mm. bly 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  timmar.

Samma framkallning användes som vid de under II beskrivna försöken. Negativen som erhöles med röntgen- och radiumstrålar voro vanligen starkt slöjade och visade så små kontraster, att även kopior på hårdarbetande positivmaterial ej gävo tillräckligt klara bilder. För att få kraftigare sådana framställdes därför förstärkta duplikatnegativ på följande sätt. Originalnegativet kopierades på en fotomekanisk plåt och detta diapositiv ånyo på en fotomeka-



nisk plåt. Det så erhållna negativet visade betydligt större kontraster mellan skriften och planum än originalplåten och, tack vare den jämnhet med vilken planum avbildades, endast obetydligt ökade fläckar och andra störande fel hos planum.

Den förra av de i denna avdelning skildrade metoderna, genomlysningen, visade sig vara utan egentligt värde ur avbildnings-synpunkt. Den senare, sekundärstrålningsmetoden, är ur flere synpunkter av större intresse. Först och främst torde detta vara första gången som avbildning av skrift åstadkommits genom sekundärstrålning. Hårtill kommer att avbildningen i fråga verkligen äger vissa praktiska fördelar. Den ger sålunda fullkomligt otvetydigt ena sidans skrift under uteslutning av genomslag. En av de svåraste skriftslagen, bortfallet (d. v. s. till stor del bortfallet) guld avbildas på detta sätt tydligare än genom någon annan av oss prövad metod. Planum avbildas med en jämn ton utan alla individuella ojämnheter, något som i hög grad underlättar urskiljandet av små kontraster mellan skrifttecknen och planum. Emellertid äger metoden också nackdelar, av vilka den betydelsefullaste är den, att »bortfallet» silver ej avbildas fullt tillfredsställande.

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#### IV.

### Fluorescensfotografering.

Till en början företogs en okulär besiktning av handskriftens fluorescensförmåga vid bestrålning med olika för ögat osynliga ljussorter, nämligen

$\lambda = 366 \mu\mu$  (»glasultraviolett») isolerat ur kvicksilverlampans strålning med Zeiss uviolfiltrum (se ovan sid. 9–10),

$\lambda = 313 \mu\mu$  (»kvartsultraviolett») isolerat ur kvicksilverlampans strålning med silverfiltrum (se ovan sid. 10),

Röntgenstrålar,  $\beta$ - och  $\gamma$ -strålar från radium (se ovan sid. 11).

De tre sistnämnda strålningarna hade ingen märkbar effekt. Av de två förstnämnda, som bägge orsaka fluorescens, var åtminstone vid de intensiteter, som stodo till vårt förfogande  $\lambda = 366 \mu\mu$  överlägsen vad fluorescensljusets styrka beträffar. Det föreföll oss som om också graden av kontrast mellan skrift och planum skulle vara större vid belysning med ljus av våglängden  $366 \mu\mu$  än vid  $313 \mu\mu$ .

Fotograferingen utfördes på följande sätt. I ett stort med skjutluckor försett ljusstätt skåp A (fig. 4 a) av storleken  $60 \times 80 \times 100$  cm var belysningssystemet inneslutet. Detta bestod av en kvartsglaskvicksilverlampa på 3,000 normalljus (3,5 amp. 220 volt) med lysröret (a) i horisontellt läge. Framför detta var placerat en kollektorlins (b) av bergkristall med en diameter av 40 mm. och en brännvidd av 80 mm. och framför denna kondensorlinsen (c) även den av bergkristall och med en diameter av 58 mm. och en brännvidd av 150 mm. I det från c konvergerande ljusknippet var vid en öppning i skåpets vägg ultraviolettfiltert ljusstätt anbringat. De av filtert framläppta ultraviolette strålarna fingo därefter falla på handskriften (g), som endera på vanligt sätt var monterad på reproduktionsbordet (se sid. 14) eller också i ett fall var inspänd mellan tvänne spegelglasskivor, av vilka



den bakre var 7 mm., den främre mot kameran vända 3 mm. tjock. Belysningssystemet injusterades så, att det ultravioletta ljuset koncentrerades så mycket som möjligt på det parti av handskriften som skulle fotograferas. Då fotograferingen sker med hjälp av det från pergamentet på grund av ultraviolettbelysningen utsända synliga fluorescensljuset, så måste framför kamerans (k) objektiv anbringas ett ljusfiltrum, som utestänger det från skriften reflekterade ultravioletta ljuset men släpper fram det synliga fluorescensljuset. Till filtrum användes en glaskyvett (h) med 2 mm. skiktjocklek innehållande svavelsyresur 5 0/0-ig kininsulfatlösning.

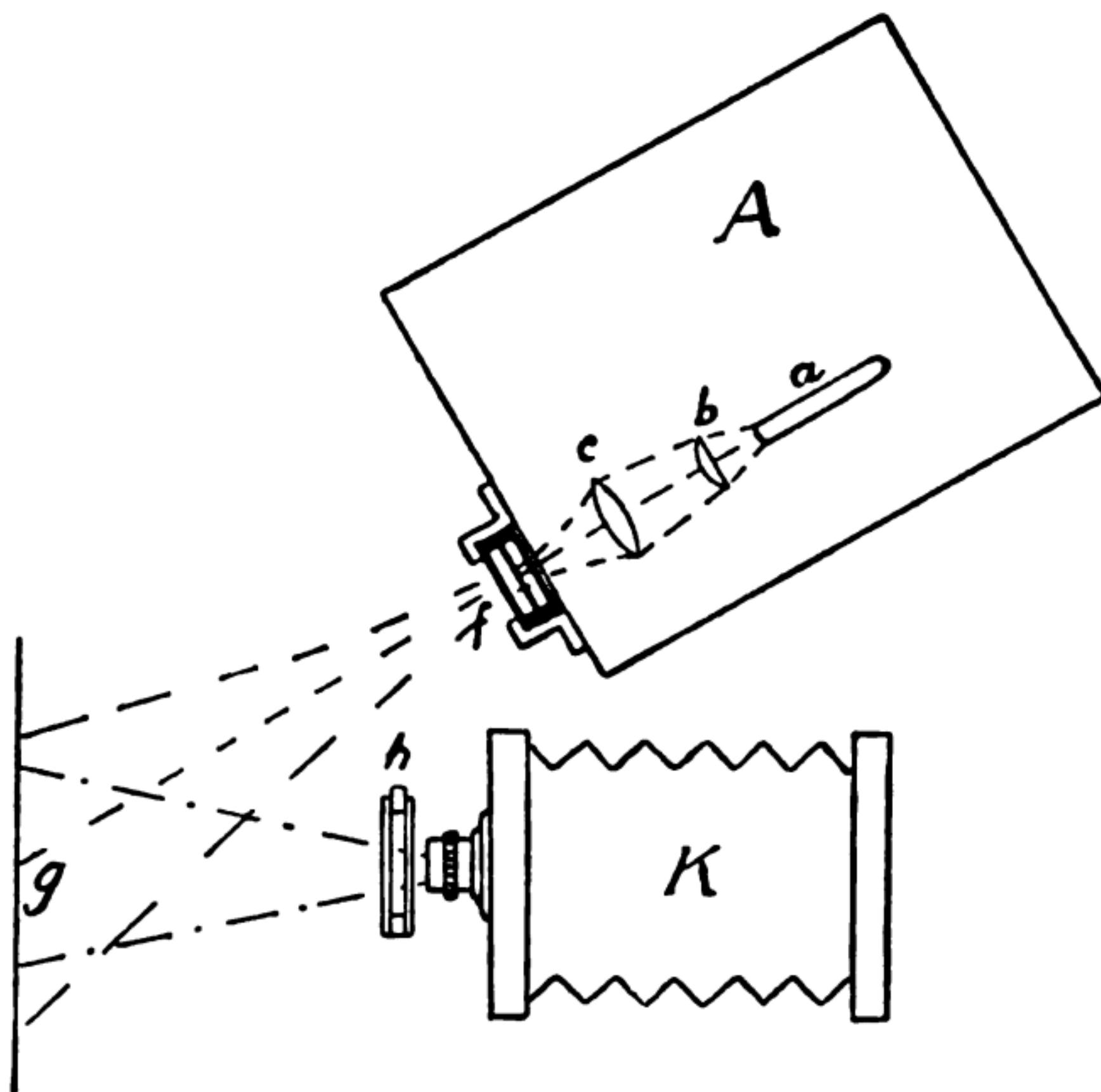


Fig. 4 a. Schema över anordningen vid fluorescensfotografering.

För att undvika en fluorescens hos själva filtrervätskan, vilket möjligen kunnat verka störande, försattes denna med något klorvätesyra, som i hög grad nedsätter kininsulfatets fluorescensförmåga. Det rum i vilket fotograferingarna företogs var fullkomligt mörkt. Som objektiv användes för formatet 9×12 cm. Goerz Dogmar 1:4,5 F = 165 mm och för formatet 18×24 cm. Zeiss Tessar 1:4,5 F = 210 mm., bägge oavbländade. Exponeringstiderna varierades från 15 till 360 minuter och var i allmänhet c:a 120 min.

Vid handskriftens bestrålning med det ultravioletta ljuset fluorescerar själva planum tämligen kraftigt under det att bokstäverna



(framsidans) äro alldeles mörka. »Genomslagen» skrift fluorescerar även fast betydligt svagare än planum. För att utröna de gynnsammaste betingelserna för fotograferingen både med hänsyn till möjligast kort exponeringstid och erhållande av största kontraster undersökte vi det från planum emitterade fluorescensljuset spektroskopiskt. Det visade sig vara ett band förlöpande från gulgrönt till violett med största intensiteten inom området blågrönt till blåviolett. Följaktligen borde vanliga osensibiliserade högkänsliga bromsilverplåtar ge de kortaste exponeringstiderna. Ett antal provexponeringar företogs med olika plåtsorter, nämligen:

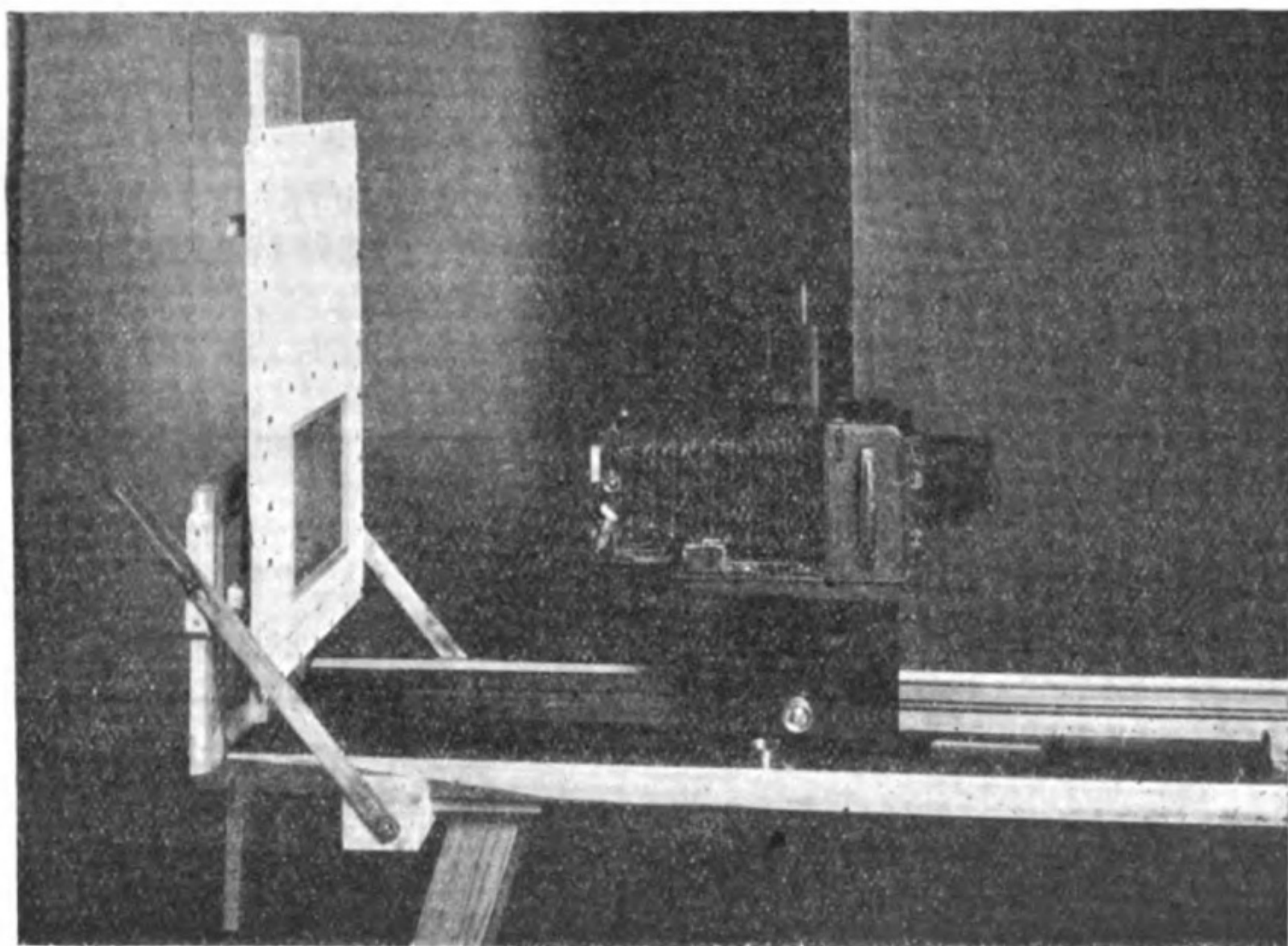


Fig. 4 b. Fluorescensfotografering.

Hauff Ultrarapid, Agfa Isorapid, Agfa Extra rapid, Agfa Isolar, Agfa Kromoisolar, Lomberg Extrarapid, Berolina Graphos orto, Wratten & Wrainwright pancromatic. Såsom var att vänta visade sig de högkänsliga osensibiliserade plåtarna ge de kortaste exponeringstiderna. Gynnsammast av dessa voro de hårt och klart arbetande Lomberg extrarapid och Agfa Isolar.

Försök gjordes också att öka kontrasten mellan planum och skrift genom anbringande av ett kristallviolettfilter framför kamerans objektiv. Tankegången härvid var följande. Det av planum emit-



terade fluorescensljuset reflekteras till någon del från bokstäverna, varigenom kontrasten nedsättes. Men bokstävernas reflexionsförmåga är i allmänhet störst i långvågiga delen av synliga spektrum (se ovan under I) alltså bör ett undertryckande av denna del (här gulgrönt till blågrönt) verka fördelaktigt. Fotograferingarna, som verkställdes på Agfa Isolar plåtar visa att knappast någon förbättring åger rum, väl antagligen därför att redan fördelningen av plåtens känslighet nedsätter det långvågiga ljusets roll ofantligt i jämförelse med det blåviolettas.

Enligt denna metod erhållas mycket hårda och klara bilder där samtliga slag av skrift, utom »genomslagen» och avfallet guld, uppträda med kraftig mörk kontrast. »Genomslag» framkommer med svagare mörk kontrast, som ej stör mycket. Avfallet guld avbildas sämre än vid fotografering med gult ljus.

Tab. 6 ger en samlad översikt av kontrasterna vid de olika fotograferingsmetoderna. Tab. 7 innehåller försöksdata till de reproducerade fotografierna av Codex argenteus.

Tab. 6.

Ljussort	K o n t r a s t					
	Guld		Silver			
	bibe- hållet	avfallet	bibe- hållet	för- ändrat	avfallet	genom- slaget
$\lambda = 860-740$ . . . . .	+	0	— —	— —	— —	— —
725—650 . . . . .	+	0	0 <sup>1</sup>	—	— —	— —
577—579 . . . . .	++	+	+	0	0	—
546 . . . . .	++	+	+	0	0	—
436 . . . . .	+	0	+	0	0	—
405 . . . . .	+	0	+	+	0	—
366 . . . . .	+	0	++	++	0	—
313 . . . . .	+	0	0	0	0	—
Röntgengenomlysning	— —	—	—	—	0	0
Röntgensekundärstrål- ning . . . . .	++	+	++	++	0	0
Radiumsekundärstrål- ning . . . . .	++	+	++	++	0	0
Fluorescens . . . . .	— —	—	— — —	— — —	— —	—

+ betyder ljus skrift på mörk grund  
 ++ „ starkare ljus skrift på mörk grund  
 — „ mörk „ „ ljus „  
 — — „ starkare mörk „ „ „  
 — — — „ ännu starkare mörk skrift på ljus grund  
 0 „ ingen märkbar kontrast mellan skrift och skriftgrund.

<sup>1</sup> Jämför noten 2 sid. 6.

## V.

### Fotograferingsförsök med oscillerande elektriska urladdningar.

Slutligen hava vi också gjort några försök att avbilda handskriften med hjälp av de elektriska spetsurladdningar, som böra utgå från dess av metall bestående bokstäver, om dessa utsätts för ett elektriskt växelfält av tillräckligt hög spänning och frekvens. Anordningen framgår av Fig. 5.

Metallplattorna voro förenade med polerna till det ovan (se under III sid. 16) nämnda induktoriet och en därmed parallellkopplad större leydnerflaska.

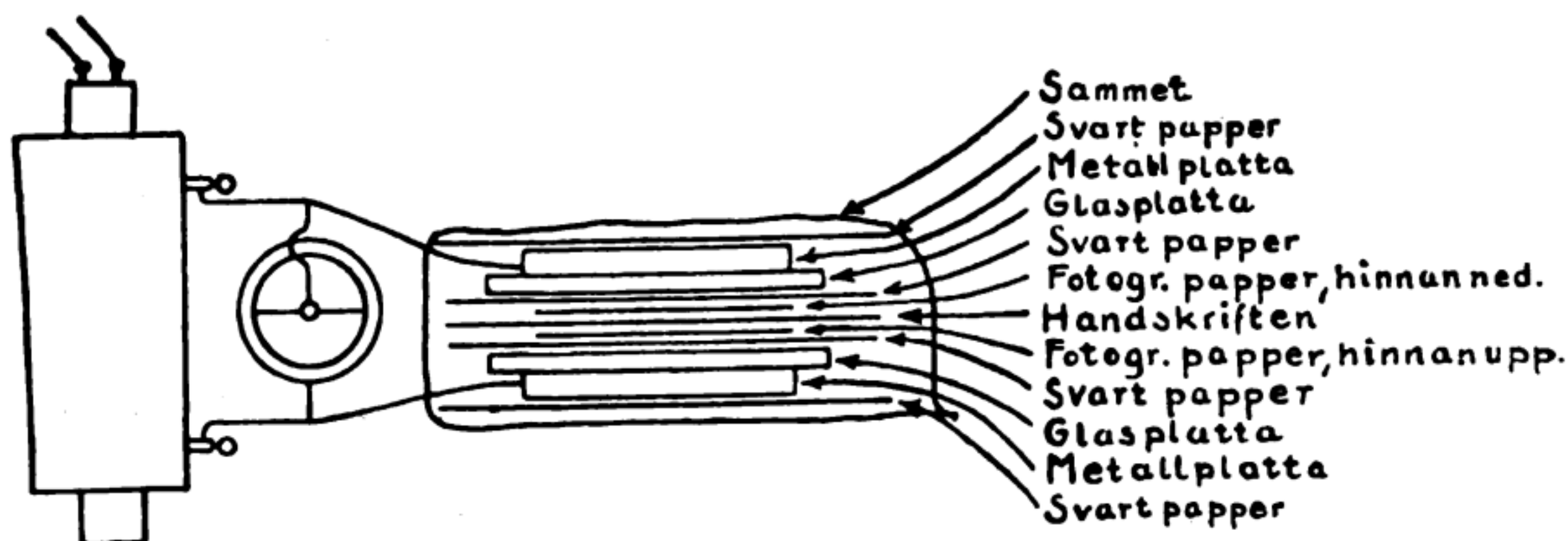


Fig. 5. Schema över anordningen vid fotograferingsförsök med oscillerande elektriska urladdningar.

Vid de av oss valda försöksbetingelserna kom icke någon avbildning av skriften till stånd. Spetsurladdningar uppkommo på så många punkter att en oregelbunden allmän slöjning av negativet inträdde. Det är möjligt att under användande av mycket lägre spänning och proportionsvis förlängda exponeringstider bättre resultat skulle ha erhållits.



Tab.

## Försöksdata till de reproducerade

Figur	Expone- rings- nummer	Sida i Codex och parti av sidan	Det verk- samma ljusets våglängd i $\mu\mu$	Ljuskälla
I	141	23 M. n. h. <sup>1</sup>	860—740	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> wattlampor <sup>2</sup>
II	47	„	725—650	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> watt-lampor
III	33	„	579—577	Hg-lampor med glas
IV	35	„	546	„
V	36	„	436	„
VI	51	„	405	„
VII	45	„	366	Hg-lampor
VIII	38	„	313	„
IX	87	„	Fluorescensfotogra-	
X	103	62 B. n. h.	579—577	Hg-lampor med glas
XI	106	„	366	Hg-lampor
XII	123	„	Fluorescensfoto-	
XIII	126	63 M. ö. v.	579—577	Hg-lampor med glas
XIV	129	„	366	Hg-lampor
XV	136	„	Fluorescensfoto-	
XVI	110	62 M.	579—577	Hg-lampor med glas
XVII	107	„	366	Hg-lampor
XVIII	120	„	Fluorescensfoto-	
XIX	118	„	Röntgensekundärstrålningsfotografering.	
XX	146	25 M.	—	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> watt-lampor
XXI	148	„	366	Hg-lampor
XXII	143	„		Fluorescensfoto-

<sup>1</sup> Beteckningarna under rubriken »Sida i Codex och parti av sidan» be-  
65, blekta sidans övre vänstra del, o. s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Lamporna placerade på blott 50 cm. avstånd från skriften.

7.

## fotografierna av Codex argenteus.

Ljusfilterum	Objektiv och avbländning	Negativmaterial	Expone- ringstid
2 mm. 0,25 % capriblau + Wratten $\alpha$ -filterum	Dogmar 1:4,5	Lomb. spez.; dicyanin A.	60 min.
Wratten $\alpha$ -filterum	Dogmar 1:12,5	Wratten pancromatic	2,5 min.
Wratten mercury yellow	Dogmar 1:11	Berolina Graphos orto	15 sek.
" " green	"	"	2 min.
" " blue-violet	"	Berolina Graphos	80 sek.
10 mm. 2 % kristallviolett	"	Lomberg spez.	40 min.
Zeiss uviolfilterum	Dogmar 1:32	Berolina Graphos	17 min.
Silverfilterum I	Kvartslins 1:32	Imperial process	60 min.
f e r i n g (se sid. 17)	Dogmar 1:4,5	Lomberg extra rapid	150 min.
Wratten mercury yellow	Dogmar 1:11	Agfa chromo	30 sek.
Zeiss uviolfilterum	Dogmar 1:32	Lomberg spez.	7 min.
g r a f e r i n g	Dogmar 1:4,5	Agfa isolar	90 min.
Wratten mercury yellow	Dogmar 1:11	Agfa chromo	30 sek.
Zeiss uviolfilterum	Dogmar 1:32	Lomberg spez.	7 min.
g r a f e r i n g	Dogmar 1:4,5	Agfa chromo-isolar	60 min.
Wratten mercury yellow	Dogmar 1:11	Agfa chromo	30 sek.
Zeiss uviolfilterum	Dogmar 1:32	Lomberg spez.	7 min.
g r a f e r i n g	Dogmar 1:4,5	Agfa isolar	120 min.
avstånd 65 cm.	—	Lomberg spez.	5 min.
Wratten K 1-filterum	Tessar 1:22,5	Agfa chromo-isolar	45 sek.
Zeiss uviolfilterum	Tessar 1:32	Lomberg spez.	13 min.
g r a f e r i n g	Tessar 1:4,5	Agfa isolar	300 min.

tyda t. ex. 23 M. n. h.: Blad 23, mörka sidans nedre högra del; 65 B. ö. v.: Blad



Fig. I—IX återge ett parti, fotograferat med olika slag av monokromatiskt ljus från ultrarött till ultraviolett samt med fluorescens.

Fig. X—XII ett annat parti, fotograferat med gult och ultraviolett ljus samt med fluorescens.

Fig. XIII—XV ett annat parti, fotograferat som fig. X—XII.

Fig. XVI—XIX ett annat parti, XVI med gult, XVII med ultraviolett ljus. XVIII med fluorescens och XIX med röntgensekundärstrålar.

Fig. XX—XXII en annan sida, XX fotograferad med starkt inhomogent ljus så som handskriftsfotografering vanligen utföres, XXI med ultraviolett ljus och XXII med fluorescens.

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II



I







IV



III







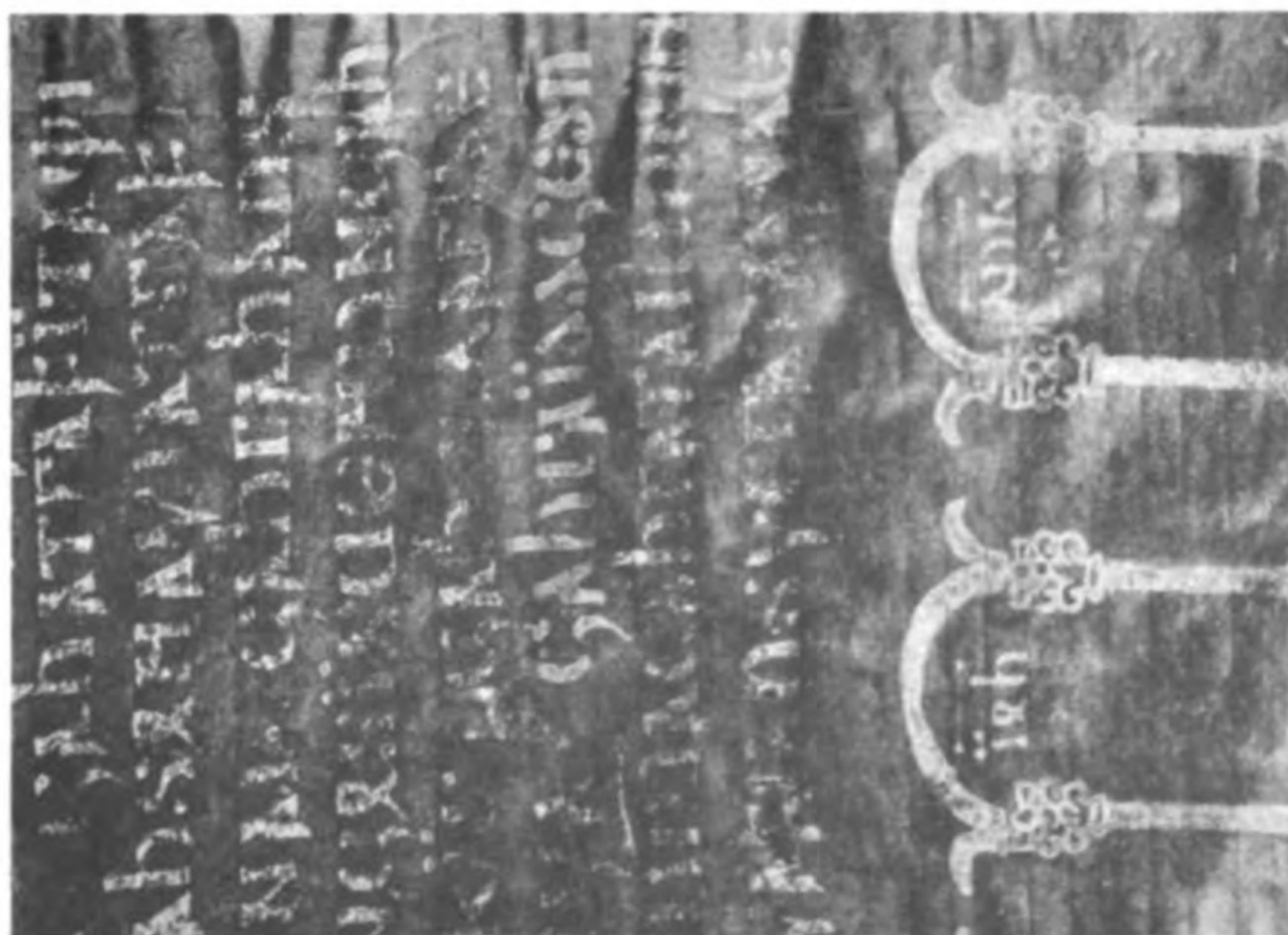
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V



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VII



VIII



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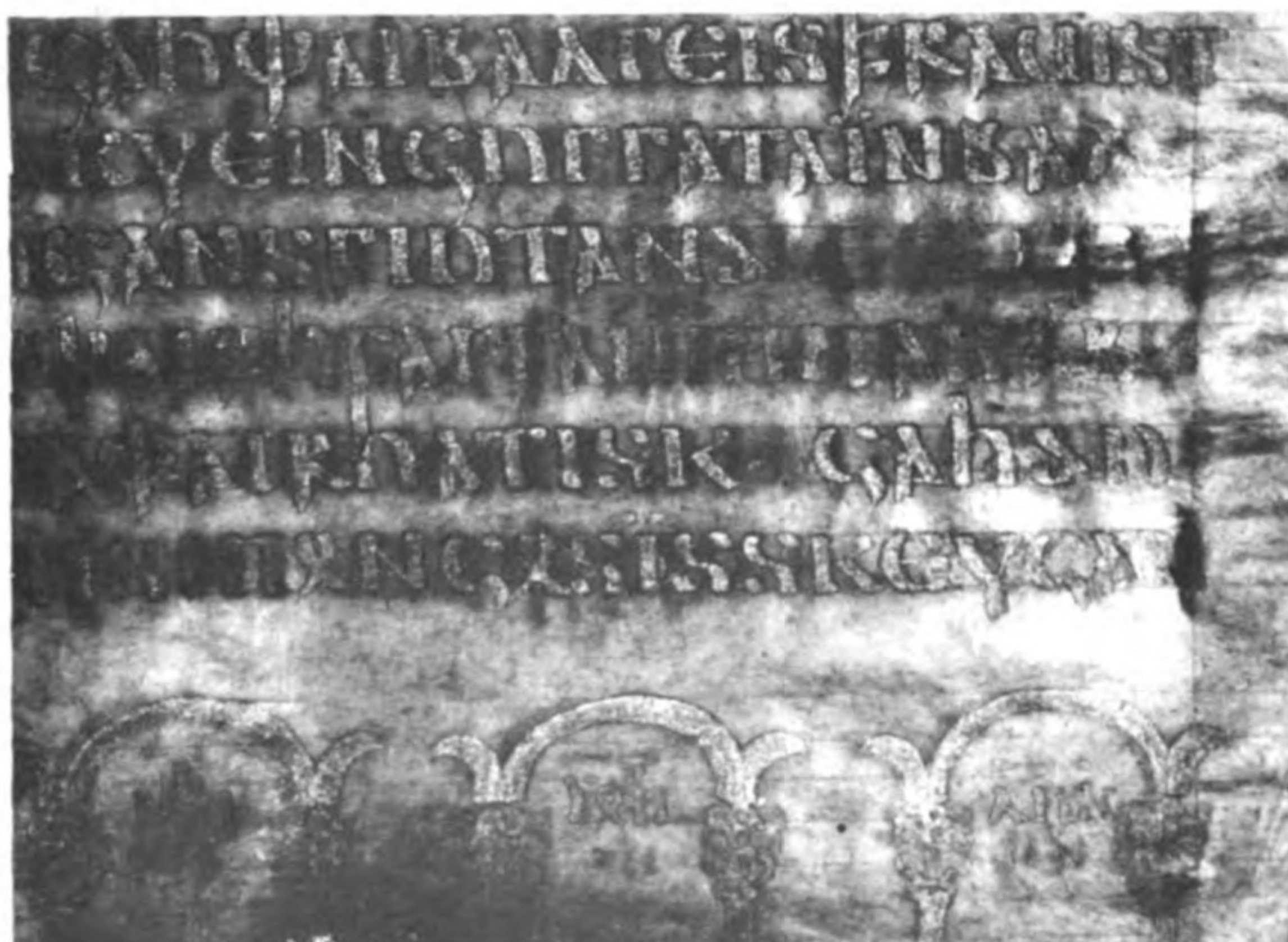


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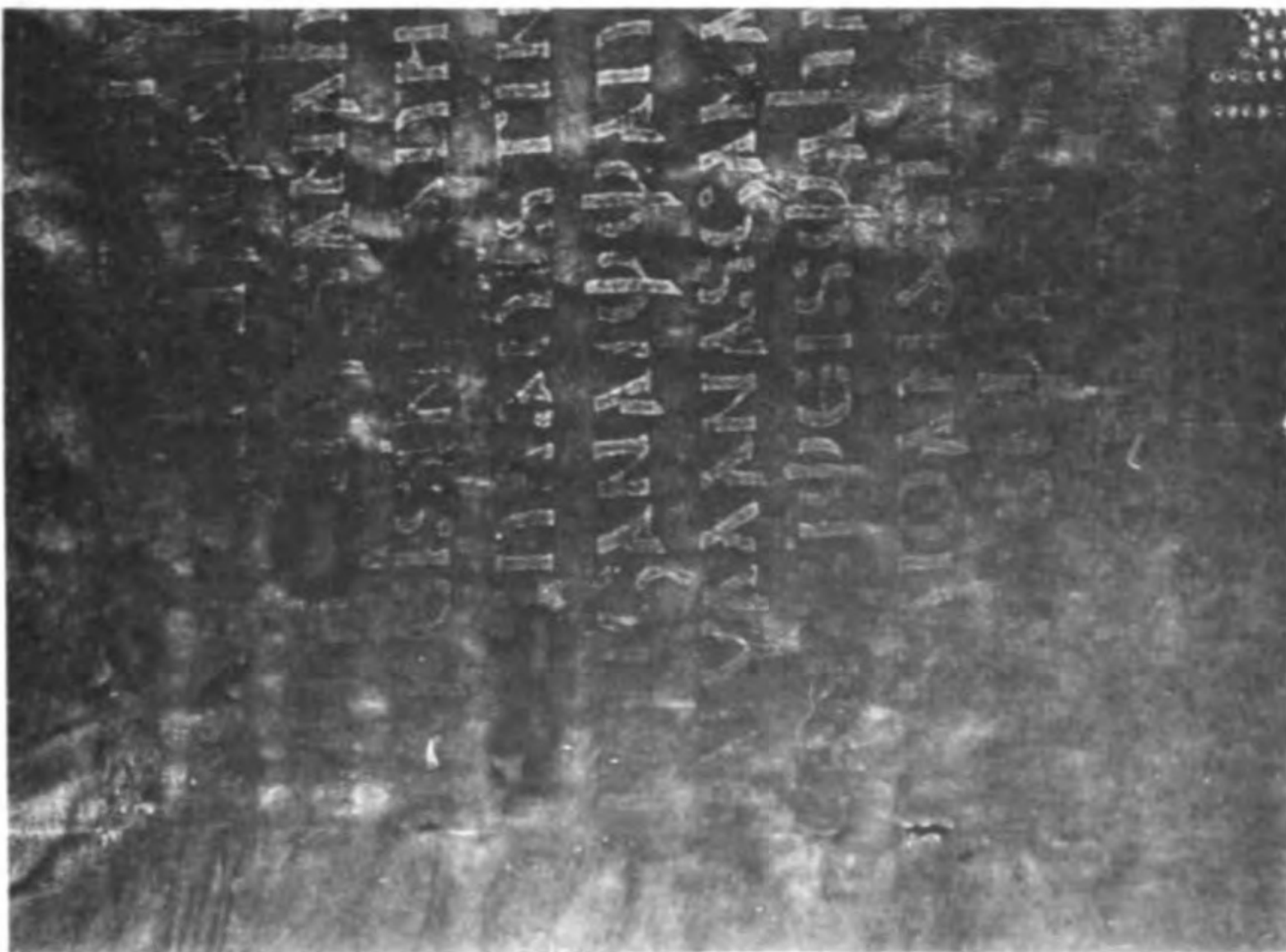
XI



XII



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XIX



XIII





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IN DIEBUS MARTII  
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FRANCISCI XAVIERII  
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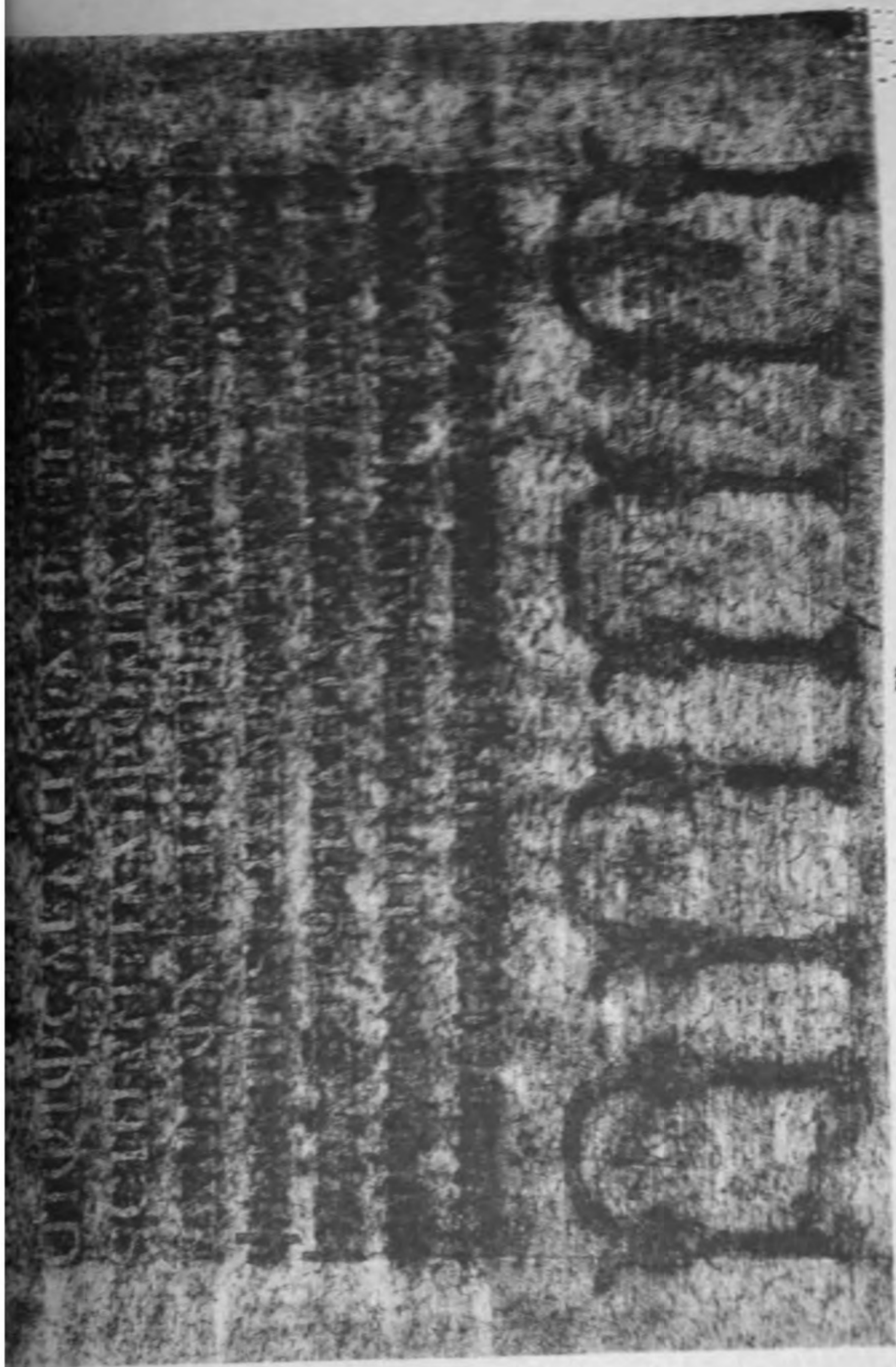
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XX



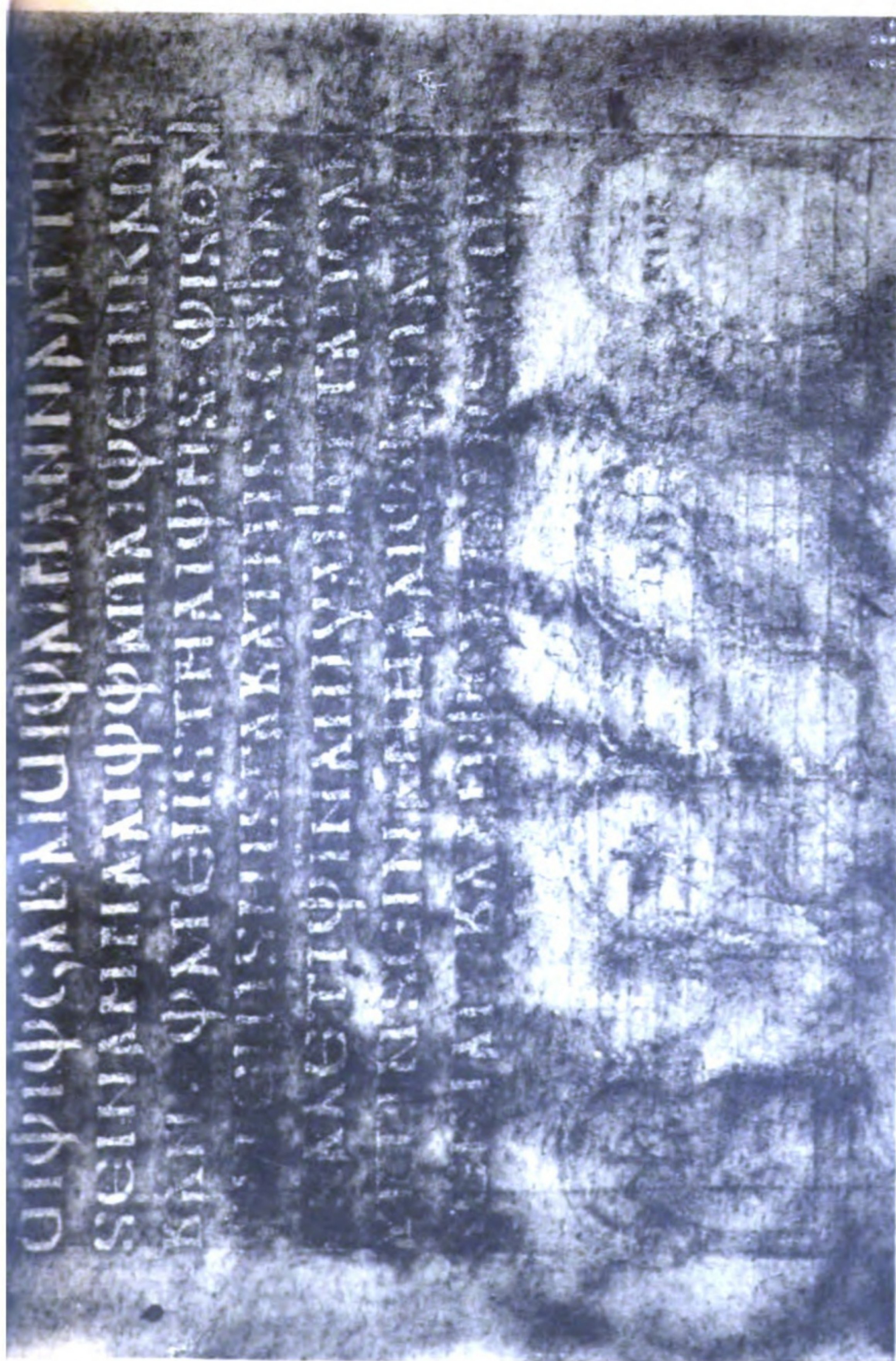
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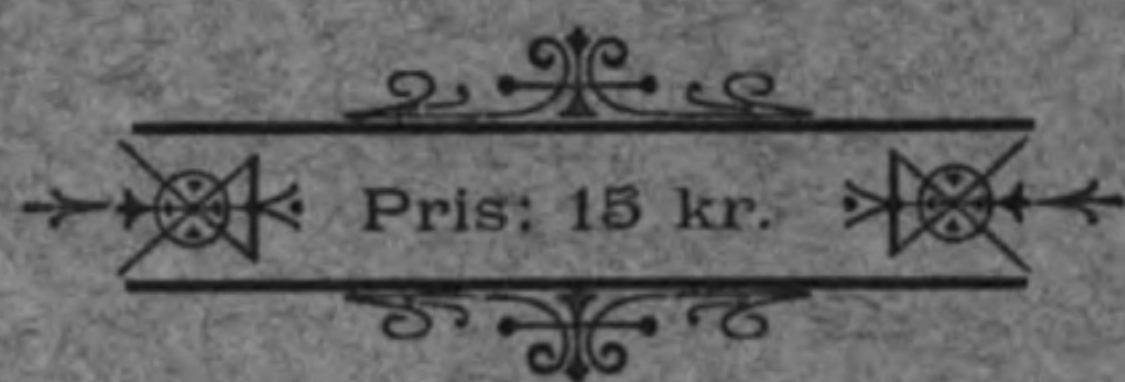
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